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THE *Nation*

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Good Reading for Republicans—*Wayne Morse*

THE *Nation*

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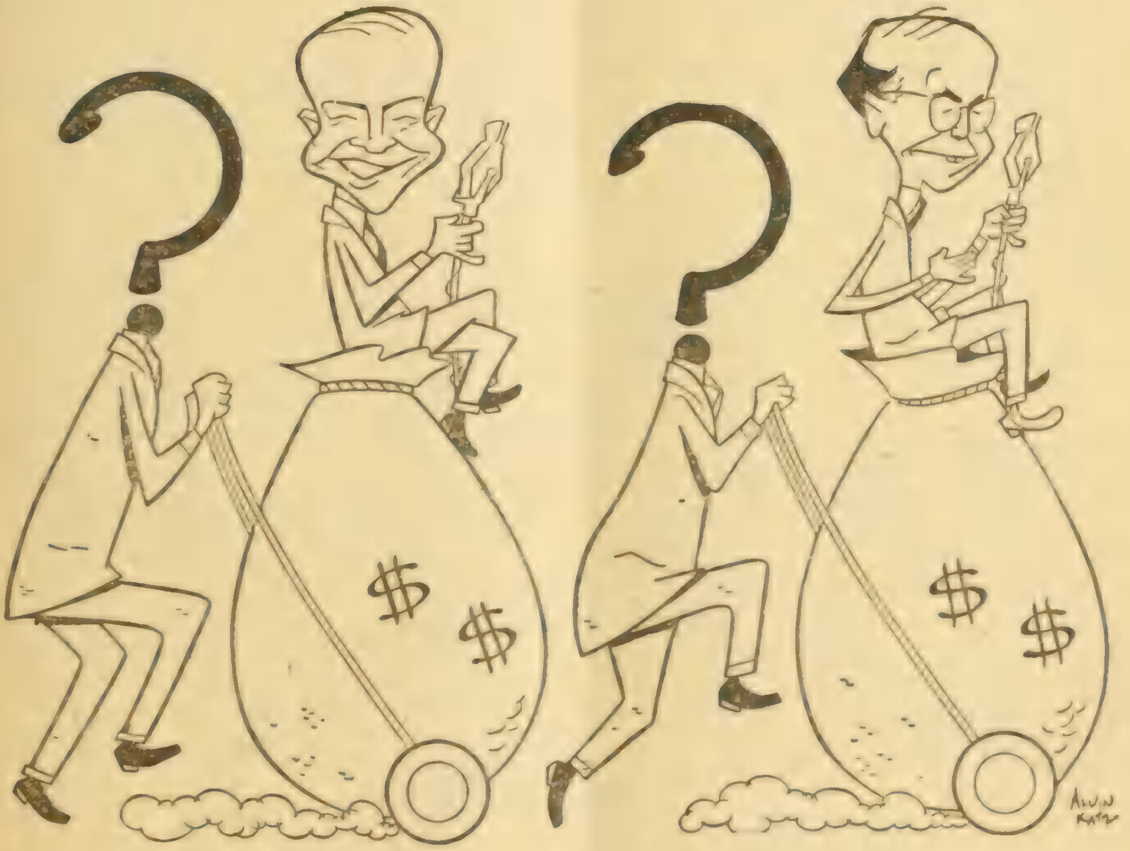

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Letters to the Editors

Justice Douglas's HQ

Dear Sirs: The New York Committee to Draft Justice William O. Douglas for President has set up an office at 856 Second Avenue (telephone: MUrray Hill 4-9807). Its chairman is Bernard Sorkin, formerly of the Independent Voters for Douglas. The immediate aim of the committee is to supply information to any group interested in obtaining the Democratic nomination for Justice Douglas.

Time is exceedingly short, and many people will have to be reached and familiarized with the principles for which Justice Douglas stands if a real boom is to be started for him at the convention. Unfortunately the committee cannot do its work effectively without more funds. It hopes that all *Nation* readers who support Justice Douglas will respond generously.

KATHARINE B. FAULKNER,
New York Secretary

Academic Freedom at Minnesota

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 22 you printed an article on the removal of Forrest O. Wiggins from the faculty of the University of Minnesota. The author, Dick Bruner, broadly hinted that Mr. Wiggins was discharged because of his political beliefs. However, in presenting the facts, Mr. Bruner neglected to mention the study made by a committee of the American Association of University Professors which delved into the Wiggins case in some detail. The following excerpts are taken directly from the conclusions set forth in the last half of the A. A. U. P.'s Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure report:

6. While we do not purport to sit as a board independently to review the question of Dr. Wiggins's scholarship, we have read this address ["The Ideology of Interest," in which Dr. Wiggins blamed the Korean war on "capitalists and militarists" in the United States]. . . . We believe that perhaps undue emphasis was placed upon it by Dean McDiarmid. Nevertheless, we reach the conclusion that there is no reason to doubt that Dean McDiarmid's conclusion as to the lack of scholarship evidenced by it was reached in good faith.

7. The exercise of administrative discretion not to reappoint Dr. Wiggins was, in part, based upon an appraisal of his scholarship record which took into account the fact that since coming to Minnesota he has written for publication only two articles and that these have been administratively considered to lack good qualities of scholarship. . . . Under the circumstances, we cannot say that administrative consideration of this factor of productive scholarship indicates in any way violation of academic freedom. . . .

8. . . . We have no hesitancy in concluding that the department's failure to formulate such a judgment [on Dr. Wiggins] at any time during the course of five years was an administrative shortcoming, to say the least. . . . But the failures of the department and dean in these respects, if they were failures, were failures of administrative practice, and do not show a violation of academic freedom. . . .

9. While the fact of divergency of viewpoint between a department and the higher levels of administration at a university in regard to retention of a probationary appointee of known views, considered by many to be radical, may naturally arouse suspicion of violation of academic freedom, in this connection it is important to an accurate appraisal that the following things should be remembered:

(a) While the Department of Philosophy is presently unanimous in recommending the retention of Dr. Wiggins for at least one more year, it is not presently unanimous in respect of his permanent retention.

(b) Even assuming unanimity of viewpoint in the department on the question of permanent retention, difference in viewpoint between a department, the dean, and the president, and ultimately the Board of Regents, would not necessarily indicate any deviation from justifiable administrative discretion, or violation of academic freedom. Each of these levels of government of the university justifiably may have quite a different approach to the problem. . . . We think it was entirely appropriate for Dean McDiarmid to consult with persons outside the Department of Philosophy.

10. Dean McDiarmid, in making the study and recommendation, so far as we can determine, was not subjected to any pressure of any kind from any person off campus. Dr. Conger himself stated to this committee that he has no reason to doubt that the recommendation of Dean McDiarmid was made in good faith.

11. There is no evidence whatsoever that the administration of this university, or anyone connected with the university who had anything to do with this matter, was motivated in any degree not to reappoint Dr. Wiggins by considerations of racial prejudice. In fact, we are convinced that the administration would welcome competent Negro scholars on the faculty, and that it was a cause of deep regret that this termination affects a Negro.

12. There is no doubt that the ideological and international climates of the day make adherence to academic freedom difficult. It is easy to understand how, because of such climate, many persons jump to the conclusion of violation of academic freedom when a Negro with so-called radical views is not retained. On the basis of all the evidence available to us, however, we are unable to conclude that the failure to reappoint Dr. Wiggins for the 1952-53 academic year was influenced by this climate of the day. We find nothing in the records of either President Morrill or Dean McDiarmid to justify a presumption that they gave in to improper pressure or in any other way failed to act in good faith.

In conclusion, we express regret that public discussion of the issues in Dr. Wiggins's case has made necessary this recital of the evidence reflecting upon Dr. Wiggins, contrary to the express intent of the university rules of tenure. . . . [Section 9] further provides that "for this reason it shall not be necessary for the dean or chairman to provide any person in these categories (instructors and assistant professors not yet on tenure) who is not reappointed with any statement of causes or reasons for his action."

Recommendation: It is recommended that no further action be taken at this time for the reason that the evidence does not establish violation of academic freedom.

Minneapolis CHARLES R. WHITE

Pleased Reader

Dear Sirs: William J. Fielding should be congratulated for his excellent article on E. Haldeman-Julius, which appeared in your May 10 issue, and *The Nation* highly commended for publishing it.

Brooklyn JACK BENJAMIN

CORRECTION: In the article entitled The Mutual Fund Rainbow, which appeared in *The Nation* of June 14, one sentence read, "The Lehman stock bought at $104 in 1929 would be worth around 140 today." It should have read, "The Lehman stock bought at $104 in 1929 would be worth around $240 today."—EDITORS THE NATION

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Will Europe Save America?

Secretary Acheson's voyage to Europe was in itself an indication that things on the international scene are getting more and more complicated. The bombing raids in North Korea had set off explosions of protest from London to New Delhi. But perhaps more serious in the long run was the anxiety of the West European Chancelleries concerning Germany. The French government in particular felt that another real effort ought to be made to bring about a Big Four conference, considered more urgent than ever in view of a possible sudden aggravation of the situation in Berlin. The Quai d'Orsay has learned with apprehension that the National Security Council, at a special meeting in Washington just before Acheson's departure, agreed on strong measures, even at the risk of general war, to counter any attempt Russia might make to force the Western allies out of Berlin by means of a new blockade. During a press conference on Sunday in Berlin, Secretary Acheson emphasized the West's determination to remain in Berlin at any price.

Meanwhile in Washington the Senate is approaching one of the most fateful decisions in history with the casual air it might adopt toward a ceremonial resolution approving Mother's Day. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for instance, approved the contractual agreements with Germany after a *pro forma* discussion lasting only a couple of hours. In the end it may be that the recalcitrant parliaments and peoples of Europe and West Germany, who see the problem in its true dimensions, will save us in spite of ourselves.

Consumers Be Damned!

The cynical contempt for the public welfare shown by the Senate Commerce Committee in pigeonholing, by a nine-to-four vote, President Truman's nomination of Thomas Buchanan for a second term on the Federal Power Commission received little notice in the press. Buchanan was the one strong consumers' member remaining on the commission, the one member who dissented from the Phillips Petroleum decision of 1951, in which the departed Mon C. Wallgren helped nullify the President's veto of the Kerr bill and relieved the so-called "independent" gas companies from FPC rate regulation.

The anti-consumer bloc in the Senate was not forced to show its hand against Buchanan. The Senate Commerce Committee pole-axed the nomination under conditions which prohibited the minority from filing a dissent and thus forcing a roll-call vote of the entire Senate. Among the Senators voting to knife Buchanan by stealth was President Truman's own Democratic Senate floor leader—McFarland of Arizona.

Mr. Truman can and should give Buchanan a recess appointment pending the election of a new Congress. But the attitude of the present Senate is clear: let any member of a quasi-judicial agency show that he is interested in protecting consumers against price gouges, and he is a dead duck when he comes up for confirmation for another term.

House Arrest à la Acheson

President Truman has asked for and received a full report on the State Department's extraordinary order barring Owen Lattimore from leaving the country. It should make interesting week-end reading for him. Once aware of its blunder, the State Department held a day-long "planning" session and then issued a blustering statement to the effect that such orders are never—well, hardly ever—based on "fantasies or inanities"; in this case the information came from "an official source." But the official source—Central Intelligence—immediately countered with the hedge that the report was based on "raw and unevaluated data," and the next day the Department of Justice conceded that the tip was false. In a frenzied effort to get off the hook, Washington officials have secured the indictment of the Seattle tipster and a formal apology has been offered Mr. Lattimore.

But the State Department has not the slightest intention of changing its bizarre passport policies. The Lattimore incident indicates that more and more emphasis will be placed on administrative techniques in the "anti-subversion" campaign. In effect Mr. Lattimore was placed under "house arrest." Only a short time back Mr. Acheson brushed aside as of no consequence Senator Wayne Morse's hard-hitting attack on the department's passport policies. It can be assumed, therefore, that he will con-

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tinue to knuckle under to the McCarrans and the McCarthys. Incidentally, Senator Morse's office received a telephone call from Herbert A. Philbrick and Newton H. Fulbright, who write on "the red network" for the New York *Herald Tribune*, demanding to know why the Senator was interested in the passport procedures of the State Department and calling his attention to the fact that the Communists were also critical of these procedures. "We have come a long way in America in connection with political smears," Senator Morse points out, "when persons jump to the conclusion that a Senator is a Communist, a Communist dupe, or a Communist supporter because he defends a constitutional principle."

Fruits of Integrity

Few acts of President Truman have done him less credit than his failure to reappoint Judge Delbert E. Metzger to the federal bench in Hawaii. By refusing to fix bail in a Smith Act prosecution in the amount demanded by the Department of Justice, Judge Metzger incurred the bitter antagonism of Senators O'Mahoney and McCarran and of former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath [*The Nation*, September 15, 1951]. Judge Metzger's action would have been courageous under any circumstances; it took on added dimensions by reason of the fact that his term was about to expire. Since the end of his term last September 28, he has continued to serve, but President Truman has now appointed Judge Jon Wiig in his place. Obviously the Administration never intended to reappoint Judge Metzger and merely waited until public indignation over the attempt of the Department of Justice to intimidate a federal judge had subsided before nominating a successor. Even so, the action is hard to explain since the Judge was a favorite of President Truman's and has always been highly regarded by the Supreme Court and by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. For his refusal to knuckle under to official pressure, as well as for his long, distinguished record, Judge Metzger leaves the bench with the respect and admiration of all those who respect honesty, independence, and courage in our judiciary.

Joe and Pat

Joe and Pat—Senators McCarthy and McCarran—now want to silence the American press. Recently Senator McCarthy sent a letter to eleven national advertisers asking them to withdraw their advertising from *Time*, which last November published a rather uncomplimentary cover story about him. Inclosed with the Senator's letter was a copy of an article by Nora de Toledano, wife of Ralph de Toledano, co-author of "Seeds of Treason," which appeared in the February issue of the *American Mercury*. Just why the *American Mercury* should be a party to a proposal to boycott a magazine on a political issue is rather hard to understand, but perhaps it aspires to take over *Time's* accounts. This attack on a free press is cut from the same pattern as Senator McCarran's attempt to silence Henry Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas *Sun*. Greenspun, who is suing McCarran for $1,000,000 damages, contends that Nevada's senior Senator telephoned a leader of the Las Vegas gambling fraternity on March 19 and ordered all gambling advertisements removed from the *Sun*.

Recently Senators McCarthy and McCarran, both members of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, joined in rebuking Conrad E. Snow, head of the State Department's Loyalty-Security Board, for the new political offense of "reviling" a Senator. When Mr. Snow admitted having made statements against McCarthyism, Senator McCarran broke in to demand, "Where did you get the right to revile a member of the Senate?" Apparently free speech is as obnoxious to Joe and Pat as a fress press. Leonard F. Schmitt, leader of the insurgent Wisconsin Republicans, who has finally decided to oppose McCarthy for the Republican nomination, should make excellent use of the issue. If McCarthy survives the blows that Schmitt, a Roman Catholic of German descent, can deliver, he will still face Henry Reuss, now assured of the Democratic nomination, in November. For Joe, the signs read "stormy weather ahead."

Symbol of America

The superliner United States, this country's newest pride of the seas, was a pretty picture as she sailed down the Hudson this week to begin her first crossing of the Atlantic. There was an aura of brightness about her: gay bunting stiff in the breeze, the gleaming white expanse of her graceful superstructure, the red, white, and blue of her raked stacks that sent—as the advertisements pointed out—a "thrill of pride through every American's heart." She's the longest thing afloat now—three feet longer than the Queen Mary, though considerably slimmer in the waist and, as befits her youth, a trifle sprightlier in her ways. Wherever she berths the world over, she will symbolize what can be accomplished under the treasured American system of Free Enterprise, especially when the government puts up nearly two-thirds of the money.

The Magnificent Example

Over a year ago Mr. Truman requested a $775,000 grant from Congress to finance the construction of five detention camps. According to recent testimony given by James V. Bennett, director of prisons, before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee, the camps are now ready for occupancy and could house as many as 15,000 persons. J. Edgar Hoover is reported as having said the occupants are already picked out.

The President acted under a provision of the Internal Security Act which impowers him to take into custody in the event of war anyone "who there is reasonable ground to believe" would engage in espionage. This section of the act calls to mind Hermann Göring's explanation at the Nürnberg trial of why the Nazis built their concentration camps. "People were arrested and taken into protective custody," the chief of Hitler's Luftwaffe testified, "who had committed no crime, but who one might reasonably expect would do all sorts of things to damage the German state if they remained in freedom."

How to Vote in November

It is idle to speak of the McCarrans and the Walters as "un-American." There have always been two Americas. One is racist, chauvinist, anti-foreign, inbred, scornful of its rich international heritage, and—when not actually reactionary—dedicated to the preservation of the status quo. This is the America of the McCarran-Walter (anti-) Immigration bill, which Congress has just passed over the President's veto. The other America is humanist, progressive, democratic by instinct, proud of its varied origins, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. This is the America of which President Truman's veto message was an admirable expression.

In which kind of America do you believe? One way to express your belief is to note now the names of those Representatives and Senators who supported the President's veto and of those who opposed it—and to vote accordingly in November. *The Nation* knows no better test of qualification for reelection than a legislator's stand on this measure.

Coalition in Korea?

IT IS not surprising that our bombing of the Korean power installations aroused more excitement—initially, at least—among our allies than in China. In the long run China's only effective answer could be retaliation on Formosa or Japan, a step which might mean the opening of World War III. This is precisely what our allies don't want—hence the speed and intensity of their reaction.

London and Paris have of course looked askance before now at our handling of affairs in Korea. The trouble has been that from the beginning we have monopolized a situation which properly belongs to the whole United Nations. This might appear a less serious offense to our allies could we assume the whole ultimate cost as we today assume the sole authority. Unfortunately, we cannot. Every time we seal an operational plan in this small war, we may be sealing the fate of millions of our friends in a new and world-wide war. For it is perfectly certain that if there is a next war we shall not be able to win it alone; nor do we expect even to try.

This, bluntly, is the stake that our allies have in the war room of General Mark Clark. Whether the admission to this room of a British deputy—and, as many Frenchmen are now insisting, of a French deputy, too—is sufficient to satisfy our allies remains to be seen. As this is written, the British Parliament is again scheduled to debate the question. In any case, the following London dispatch from *The Nation's* staff correspondent, Andrew Roth, points up the need for swift and drastic change in our Korean policy, military as well as political.

London, June 30

THE bombs which fell on the power plants on the Korean-Manchurian frontier may well have damaged Anglo-American relations more than they did China's fighting power. By neglecting to consult Britain beforehand, Washington has vexed its most vital British friends—the Attlee-Morrison leadership of the Labor Party, which not only has more popular support here than the Conservatives but is the only group which can count on the support of the trade-union masses.

Equally important, Washington has made its most fervent backers—the Churchill-Eden leadership of the Conservative government—appear as unprincipled stooges of the United States. It has also given powerful ammunition to the Bevanites, who are arguing that this kind of undisciplined American action constitutes as great a threat to world peace as Soviet aggression. Even the ardently pro-American *Economist* described the failure to consult as a "capital blunder."

Although it is generally recognized that Washington's neglect was inadvertent, the ungraciousness of its apologies has left a bad taste in British mouths. Acheson did little to mend matters when at a packed meeting of members of Parliament he refused to concede Britain's automatic right to be consulted. Even more hurtful to British pride was the attempt of some Washington officials to weasel out of the situation by suggesting that former Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison was on record as agreeing in principle to such bombardments. This provoked an unusually sharp repudiation from Morrison, who after describing himself as a "warm supporter of cordial Anglo-American relations," hit at what he termed the tendency of American officials to "intervene in British politics" by making "false allegations" about confidential diplomatic exchanges. He reiterated that he had agreed to the bombardment of Manchurian airfields only in the event "the truce talks had broken down and . . . serious large-scale military operations had been resumed. Neither of those circumstances obtains today."

Attlee's restrained but firm statement in Commons clearly had the approval of the entire membership. He made it plain that he was complaining as a loyal but still proud ally. He said that the Labor Party has "never concealed our admiration for the prompt way in which the Americans took up the challenge to the United Nations and the last thing in the world I should wish would be any causing of difficulties in Anglo-American relations. . . . We all know that the United States have provided the bulk of the forces and have sustained the heaviest casualties. But that has never meant that we have no say in the matter, nor has this ever been claimed by our American friends." Pointing out that the decision to bomb the power plants must have been made before Lord Alexander, British Defense Minister, had left Korea, he said: "A British minister visits the scene of operations and is apparently told nothing of this major operation. . . . That does seem to me to require some explanation." He paid tribute to the "immense patience" shown by the American negotiators and admitted that there was an arguable case that strong military action might bring the Chinese to terms. He himself, however, took an opposing view: "I think it is a profound mistake in psychology, and it is not the first that has been made in the course of the whole of these events. I think it will lessen the chances of an armistice and may lead us nearer to a general conflagration in the East, and if that happens no one knows where it may stop."

EDEN regretfully had to admit that "Her Majesty's Government" had not been informed of the American plans, although he insisted that the deed, now done, deserved Britain's wholehearted support. The Conservatives are particularly embarrassed because Churchill had clearly instructed Lord Alexander and Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd to be as nice as possible to the Americans on their Korean trip on the assumption that you attract more with honey than with vinegar. Washington's snub, however inadvertent, has made the Conservative tactic seem unalloyed slavishness. In fact, Bevan and his supporters are arguing that whereas the Labor government restrained the Americans, the Tories are content to be dragged in their wake. Bevan insists that American policy combines resistance to aggression with the fostering of counter-revolution, and at a recent labor rally he remarked: "I don't believe that one British soldier will risk his life in order to put Chiang Kai-shek back in China."

Bevan received unexpected support from Viscount Hinchingbrooke, former chairman of the Conservative Reform Committee, who told Commons last week: "We are a country which has gone through two wars in one generation. We are in many ways an exhausted country . . . we need a long period of peace. If the United States, in a different phase of development in a different corner of the world, cannot march with us, then I think I would begin gently but definitely to indicate to them that we cannot face the endeavors which they seem successfully to be able to endure. . . . I would admit of a temporary separation and a switch in foreign policy." A. R.

The "Subversive" U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

INTERESTING things have been happening in the United Nations—some in plain view of everybody, others in the corridors. All have been related, and all point up the fundamental truth that the United Nations must either function as an instrument of peace, of negotiation, of diplomacy, or become simply a screw in the machinery of war preparations. Unless a commentator perceives this alternative, he can give no more than a routine report of moves and counter-moves which throw little light on the course of events. He will miss the real drama now going on in the United Nations—the fight between the "yes-men" and the "subversives" for the direction of policy.

Last week the best posts from which to watch developments were the sessions of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. At the first meeting of the Security Council an exceptionally large audience, attracted by Jacob Malik's presence in the chair, saw the West lose the initiative and Russia regain it. Little importance, in my opinion, should be attached to Mr. Malik's surprising mildness—his abandonment of the charge he had brought in the Disarmament Commission that the United States was waging germ warfare and his proposal that all states support the Geneva protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of bacteriological weapons. What was more significant was the effect of Mr. Malik's presentation on the delegates, the press, and the public. It was a revealing indication of what Soviet diplomacy might accomplish—in Korea and in Germany too—if it chose to use the opportunities open to it. By the mere appearance of a conciliatory spirit the Russians created a feeling of hopeful interest among the neutrals and uncertainty among the Western members of the Council. (Later of course, after the bombing of the Korean power plants, Malik abandoned his conciliatory attitude.)

The proceedings of the Economic and Social Council represented a victory for those who would prefer to use the United Nations to reduce tension over those who are afraid of any move which might imperil the rearmament program. One of the views now considered dangerous, even subversive, by an influential part of the American Congress and Administration is that economic and technical aid to backward countries should be provided by the U. N. out of an international fund and not unilaterally by the United States. When the Economic and Social Council, on June 23, approved by a vote of fifteen to nothing the creation of a nine-man committee of experts to draw the blueprints for the proposed development fund, the smaller nations, backed by the "subversives," won at least a moral triumph over the United States and the other great powers. Between now and the next Assembly, the "subversives" will become more subversive—because the economic experts in the Secretariat are solidly behind Gunnar Myrdal in his determination to use the fall meeting of the Economic Commission for Europe to push the issue of East-West trade.

In this anniversary week of the Korean war any clear stand in the U. N. on either the conduct of the war or the prospect of a settlement is also regarded as highly dangerous. Several delegations and some of the best elements in the Secretariat expressed shock and bewilderment at the devastating mass air attacks on the power plants on the Yalu River; yet they should not have come as a surprise to anyone who had read carefully the earlier statements by General Clark. In regard to the truce negotiations, the logic of circumstances makes it more unlikely every day that an agreement will be reached at Panmunjom while there is no agreement in sight on Germany—since Germany remains the key to peace or war. But a German settlement implies a four-power conference and the will to negotiate—and even to ask for this has become "subversive."

The lines of the struggle grow still clearer when one considers certain "invisible" developments. The offensive against the United Nations as an independent organization, not subservient to any strategy but that of peace, has been stepped up in recent months. More dangerous than the open attacks of the U. N.'s enemies are the intrigues of its friends—the silent conspiracy within the organization to convert it into a diplomatic affiliate of NATO.

The farewell speech delivered on June 11 by Porter McKeever, chief public-information officer of the United States delegation, was not only a courageous attack on his bosses for having disappointed the great hopes aroused at San Francisco. It was also a scathing criticism of their failure to make adequate use of the U. N. in the cold war against Russia. This reproach was not entirely just. In refutation one can cite the creation of the Little Assembly, the restrictions on the authority of the Security Council, where the veto made Russia strong, the resolutions favoring "collective measures," the tendency to supplant the Security Council by the Assembly, where the United States has had a sure majority.

"Invisible" events have also led Secretary General Lie to take measures to prevent the U. N. being called a "Communist nest"; again, the exigencies of the cold war and the policy of containment explain the continuing purge of the Secretariat. If Mr. Lie had not committed himself so definitely to the Western position, if he had kept the Charter as his Bible, he would not have yielded to the dominant hysteria but would have found in his high and neutral mission the strength to protect the people who worked under him. If it proved impossible to maintain the sovereignty of the United Nations in a country where violent passions were unleashed by the cold war, he could have had the organization moved to some other country where it could function more freely.

From now until the next Assembly meets in New York in October the underground struggle against United Nations "subversives" will gain in intensity. And the vigor with which it is pressed will be in proportion to the difficulties and delays encountered by Western diplomats in obtaining the ratification of the treaties of Bonn and Paris. At the same time efforts to subordinate the U. N. to NATO will become more open and more persistent—unless the independent delegations, which were showing signs of restlessness in the last Assembly, decide to revolt.

The Men Behind the Money

BY BARROW LYONS

ON THE eve of the Republican convention, which opens Monday in Chicago, the race has narrowed down to two men, or—to put it more accurately—to two camps. Although a dark horse may be nominated, no impressive showing has been made by any candidate other than Taft and Eisenhower, who obviously symbolize the division of forces within the Republican Party. The division is the more interesting since on most basic domestic issues Taft and Eisenhower appear to be in substantial agreement; and, until recently, even on foreign policy it has often been difficult to distinguish between them.

Yet the differences exist; else why the vast sums that have been spent on their rival candidacies, and the high passions involved? Perhaps the quickest way to an understanding of the basic issues dividing the two men is to study not only the candidates themselves but their supporters, on the reasonable theory that a man who invests in a future President of the United States ought to know what he hopes to get.

In the nature of things it is difficult to define or classify precisely the two groups struggling for the control of the Republican Party. The cleavage follows so broken a line that in more than one case institutions, families, and industries are themselves divided. For instance, Ford is for Eisenhower; Chrysler for Taft. Nevertheless, certain significant generalizations about the two camps may be formulated. Consider, for example, the following lists of bankers and industrialists who have so far made known their preference or can, with considerable assurance, be placed:

FOR EISENHOWER

Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman Chase National Bank, New York; Thomas J. Watson, chairman International Business Machines Corporation, New York; Thomas I. Parkinson, president Equitable Life and director Chase National Bank, New York; Howard C. Petersen, president Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, Philadelphia; Philip D. Reed, chairman General Electric and International General Electric, New York; Henry deW. Collier, executive Standard Oil of California and chairman Arabian-American Oil Company; J. Frank Drake, chairman Gulf Oil Comporation, Pittsburgh, and director Chase National Bank; John Hay Whitney, J. H. Whitney and Company, New York; Ernest T. Weir, chairman National Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh; John L. Collyer, president B. F. Goodrich Company, Akron; Clarence Francis, chairman General Foods Corporation, New York; William E. Levis, president Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo; J. David Zellerbach, president Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco; Thomas McCabe, president Scott Paper Company, Chester, Pa.; Fred G. Gurley, president Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; Aksel W. Nielsen, president Title Guarantee Company, Denver; Henry Ford II, Ford Motor Company, Detroit; Paul G. Hoffman, chairman Ford Foundation; Lieutenant General Lucius Clay, chairman Continental Can Company, New York.

FOR TAFT

B. E. Hutchinson, director Chrysler Corporation, Detroit; Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, U. S. N. R., financial adviser to the Rockefellers and former partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, New York; Henry H. Timken, Jr., chairman Timken Roller Bearings, Canton, Ohio; George Wharton Pepper, chairman of executive committee Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, Philadelphia; Charles A. Edison, chairman Thomas A. Edi-

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son, Inc., West Orange, N. J.; General Robert E. Wood, chairman Sears Roebuck, Chicago; Edgar M. Queeny, chairman Monsanto Chemicals, St. Louis; Edward L. Ryerson, Inland Steel Corporation, Chicago; Robert H. Morse, Jr., chairman Fairbanks, Morse and Company, Chicago; John D. M. Hamilton, attorney for Pew oil and shipbuilding interests, Philadelphia; Benjamin S. Katz, president Gruen Watch Company, Cincinnati; Joseph B. Hall, president Kroger Company, Cincinnati; Louis E. Leverone, vice-chairman Automatic Canteen Company of America, Chicago; Albert Woods, president Commercial Solvents Corporation, New York; C. S. Tomkins, president Tomkins Products, Detroit; Frederick C. Crawford, president Thompson Products, Cleveland; Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher Chicago *Tribune;* Arch W. Shaw, director Shaw-Walker Company, Chicago.

The lists indicate what the results of the primaries have already shown us: that Eisenhower's chief initial support came from the Eastern seaboard, Taft's from the Middle West (the first lists of backers issued by the candidates showed this geographical cleavage even more sharply). Closer examination finds the Eastern banking fraternity heavily represented in the General's camp—Wall Street, including Morgan, Mellon, and some at least of the Rockefeller interests, is definitely for Eisenhower—while Taft's support stems to a larger extent from moderate-sized Middle Western industrialists.

The geographical division relates to some fundamental changes that have taken place in the American economy during several recent decades. Middle West industry in this period, with the help of direct or indirect government subsidies and war orders, has accumulated huge reserves and thus won considerable freedom from Wall Street. With this increased autonomy has come a spirit of revolt against Eastern political as well as financial leadership. This is particularly marked among the Midwest "management crowd"—the men who actually run the plants, whether or not they own them. Salesmen who regularly cover the area report that management is almost wholly pro-Taft, even in establishments where ownership is pro-Eisenhower.

ALTHOUGH Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank, has not been mentioned by Eisenhower, there can be little doubt about his position, in view of the number of Chase directors who are rooting for the General, plus the support he is getting from Governor Dewey (whose Presidential and gubernatorial campaigns Mr. Aldrich helped finance). Mr. Aldrich's power and prestige spring partly from his considerable ability and partly from the fact that his sister married John D. Rockefeller, Jr. As head of Chase, the principal Rockefeller bank, he has linked it in many ways with both Morgan and Mellon interests.

One of the first indications of Mr. Aldrich's position was the announcement that General Eisenhower would be assisted in his campaign by Herbert C. Brownell, Jr., chief political strategist for Dewey and the brother of a Chase director. Thomas I. Parkinson, a director of the Chase bank, and Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the Morgan-financed International Business Machines Corporation, are credited with having influenced the General to accept the presidency of Columbia University. Eisenhower has another line to the Morgan interests through Philip D. Reed, chairman of General Electric; his line to the Mellon financial complex is through J. Frank Drake, chairman of Gulf Oil and a director of the Mellon National Bank and Trust Company.

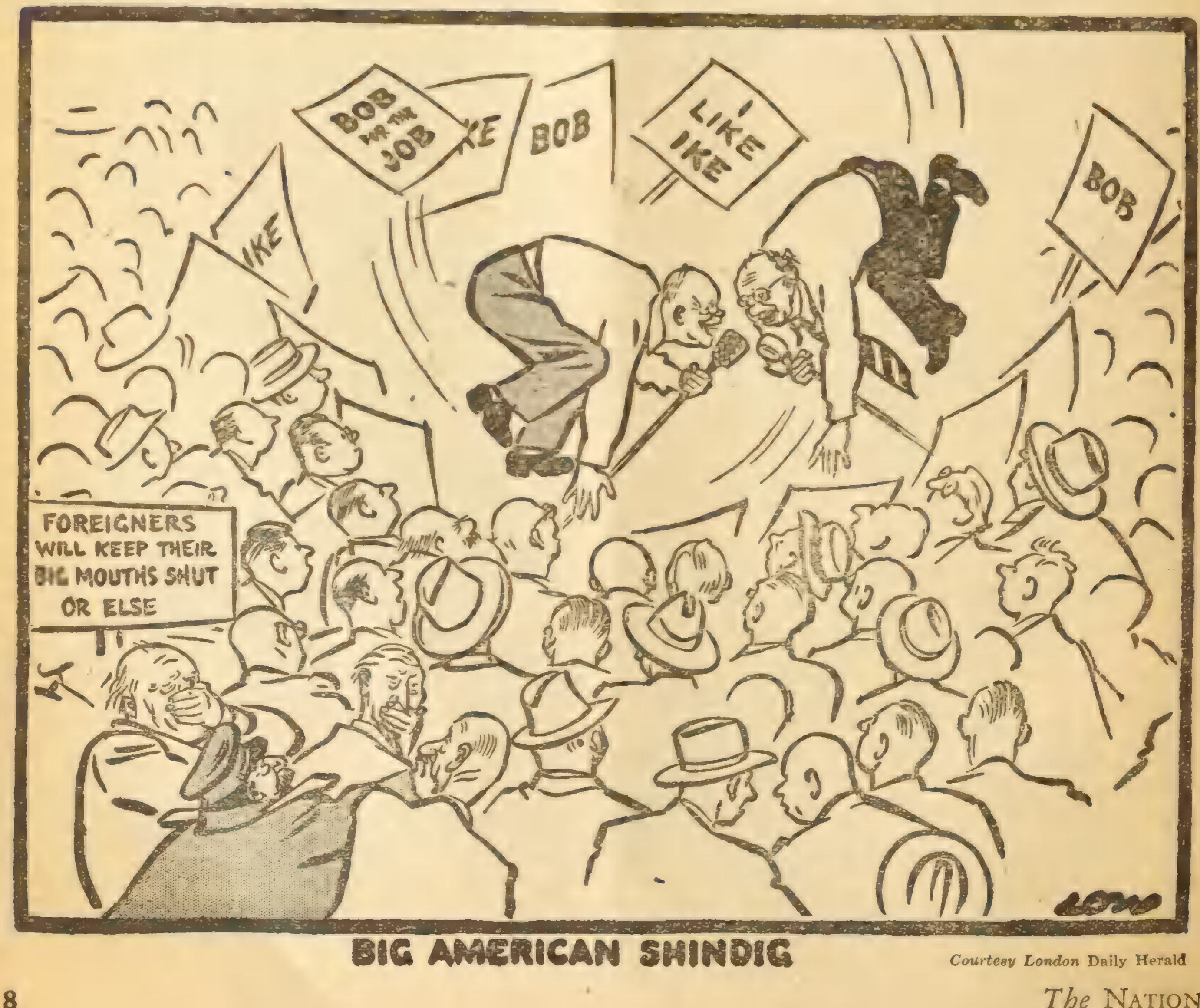
The type of support Eisenhower is receiving is also suggested by the active role which General Clay, former military governor of Germany, is reported to be playing in the campaign. Clay's financial assistant in Germany was Major General William H. Draper, Jr., formerly of Dillon, Read and Company, now United States special representative in Europe detailed to the Mutual Security Agency and to NATO. Draper and Eisenhower are intimate friends. According to "All Honorable Men," a well-documented study of certain aspects of our German policy by James Stewart Martin, who served under Clay as head of the Decartelization Branch of Military Government, Clay, Draper, Philip Reed, and other men now supporting Eisenhower were primarily responsible for the failure of the decartelization program in Germany. To this extent, at least, big business—in the classic sense of the phrase, and with all its overtones—is in the front room of the Eisenhower ménage. It constitutes the core of the so-called "liberal wing" of the Republican Party—the internationalists, the interventionists, the supporters of Wendell Willkie's candidacy in 1940.

One of the great dangers in the present state of world turmoil is the development of economic super-government competing in *Realpolitik* with the United Nations. If we Americans had learned to master the forces of economic concentration within our own country, this might not be so great a threat. An Eisenhower administration, however, in which the President would almost be forced to rely upon the advice of former oil, steel, aluminum, and chemical cartelists for guidance in international affairs, could hardly be expected to promote strong control of international business.

Of a very different complexion is the pro-Taft list. Here are the men who, by and large, supported Taft against Willkie in 1940 and Bricker against Dewey in 1944. Here, to a large extent, are the legitimate heirs of the war-time isolationists, nationalists, and America Firsters. At one level their struggle against Eisenhower can be said to lack all ideological significance; they are simply fighting, as the Eisenhower group is fighting, for control of the White House and all its political prerogatives. The real differences between the two camps, as the *Wall Street Journal* has pointed out, are differences of method and approach rather than of ultimate objectives.

IN GENERAL the Taft supporters are old-style rugged individualists whose primary concern is with the domestic markets, and who, when they bother with foreigners at all, prefer force to finesse. They are friendly neither to NATO nor to the United Nations, and they are more inclined to support an aggressive policy in Asia than in Europe. They believe in American air power everywhere, but they want to keep the American foot soldier at home. They are inclined to take a dim view of the long-range survival value of European capitalism, feeling that the colonial powers are not "pulling their weight" and may have to be abandoned anyway in case of war. They are convinced of American ability to take over colonial markets if desirable, with or without the aid of a native middle class and/or of the European colonial powers.

On the other hand, the Eisenhower camp, faithful in military matters to the Marshall rather than the MacArthur school, is aggressive in Europe and cautious in Asia. NATO is not only a military plan; it is a philosophy which makes the Elbe more important than the Yalu. The General and his followers continue to believe in the United Nations as an instrument of American policy. More interested than the Taftites in foreign markets and sources of raw materials, they are more tactful in their approach to actual or potential foreign allies. They are committed to propping up Europe's industrial capitalism and to the support of the colonial powers. For the Eisenhower men believe that the best way to deal with explosive nationalist movements is through the nations that now control the backward areas. There is recognition of the importance of colonial reform; the Eisenhower men fully appreciate the need for developing a fairly prosperous and trained middle-class element among native populations. But they believe that where reforms are needed, the controlling powers should make them. In their view, France, Holland, Belgium, and Great Britain must be supported, not only in order to tighten the bonds that hold the Western alliance together and to save Europe for the capitalist world, but as a means of controlling areas for which the United States should have no direct responsibility


BOB FOR THE JOB
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FOREIGNERS WILL KEEP THEIR BIG MOUTHS SHUT OR ELSE
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BIG AMERICAN SHINDIG

Courtesy London Daily Herald

For some time John Foster Dulles has been offering himself as mediator between the two camps. Certainly he would seem to be a natural choice for the role, for he has a foot in each. He has strong ties with the Taftites, who once looked upon Germany and Japan as powerful and friendly barricades against the Russian threat. But he also has strong ties with the Eastern financial groups which supported Governor Dewey, and is one of the Governor's closest political friends and advisers. Apparently his mediation would be welcomed by Taft, but it is not so clear that it would be entirely acceptable to Eisenhower. He has lately been urging a "dynamic" foreign policy, as opposed to "passive" containment. This is hard to reconcile with the previously expressed views of Marshall and Eisenhower, which have at least allowed room for the notion that the two worlds, Russian and American, might coexist without war. And in an important recent speech Dulles seemed to challenge the whole Eisenhower school of thought by warning that communism, in its fight for world domination, was concentrating first upon Asia.

Less sharp but nevertheless existent are the differences on domestic issues. Taft has been complaining that Eisenhower has not said yes or no on the Taft-Hartley act. The complaint is symbolic. The Taftites are forthright in their reaction; many among them are intensely bigoted both on labor and on race problems. The Eisenhower group has shown itself more resilient in its approach to issues on which, in the long run, the cards are stacked against them. And certainly it is true that Eisenhower is supported by a larger percentage of employers with records of "enlightened" labor relations than Taft.

As has been indicated earlier, it can be cogently argued that Taft and Eisenhower do not differ on basic objectives: the maintenance of capitalist American leadership in a capitalist world. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the differences in method and approach. Should Taft be the next President, for instance, it can reasonably be anticipated that he would cut back European economic and military aid to a far greater extent than would Eisenhower; that he would be less inclined to use the United Nations; that he would emphasize strategic air power as our chief military weapon; that he would take a stronger line in Asia and—indifferent to the need for allies—a weaker one in Europe; that Point Four and similar programs would lose even the token support they now receive; that the possibility of negotiations with the Russians would be lessened; that labor would be in for a tough time at home.

Eisenhower's election would mean the opposite trend all along the line. In more general terms the difference might be summarized as follows: President Eisenhower, recognizing the existence and significance of the worldwide revolutionary ferment, would attempt to "contain" it; President Taft would attempt to control it, with or without the aid of European powers.

President Truman has cleverly permitted the Republicans to monopolize this debate. Adroitly he has jockeyed himself, and most of his party, into a liberal position on important domestic issues, while letting Eisenhower—vulnerable in this field—defend his foreign policy for him. The question is whether the Dixiecrats will permit the Democratic Party as a whole to capitalize on Truman's shrewd maneuver.

Rebellion Against Adenauer

BY JOHN ALTMANN

Bonn and Berlin

CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER can consider himself the most disliked man in the Federal Republic, as West Germany officially calls itself. His unpopularity has even penetrated the ranks of his own party. Reaching its height on the day the contractual agreement with the Western powers was signed, the feeling against him found expression in open rebellion. Some provincial governments and the Senate of West Berlin refused to comply with the order of his Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr, that "flags be displayed on public buildings in celebration of the signing" and that "the event be observed in schools." As a result the order had to be hastily rescinded. No flags were flown from public buildings in West Germany on Monday, May 26; no schools held celebrations. In Darmstadt a gigantic black flag of mourning was raised on a public monument in the center of the city by "unknown young men," and in Bonn itself a transit workers' protest strike halted all buses and street cars for an hour.

A similar attitude toward the agreement has been displayed by some of Dr. Adenauer's heretofore most influential supporters, inside and outside his immediate official family. Dr. Sigurt Paulsen, publisher of the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz* and long-time friend of the Chancellor, closed down his paper three days after the signing, letting it be known that he was no longer able to support Dr. Adenauer's "anti-national" policy. Next Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Af-

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Letter from a German

So far all German rearmament decisions have been made without the consent of the German people. If you would take the time to investigate, you would discover at once that an acknowledged majority do not wish to be remilitarized.

Two horrible world wars had to be fought to put an end to German-Prussian-Nazi militarism and imperialism. . . . We tried to make amends [for war crimes] by adopting the ways of democratic countries, believing that the new American order of things was the real solution to our sorry problems. The diehards among the militarists and Nazis hated us for our willingness to adopt American democracy . . . but we believed in you and hoped that our sincere willingness to cooperate would give us the chance for a new and better start in life.

Our democratic happiness lasted only a short time. Our efforts for peace and demilitarization . . . were no longer favored by the very Allied authorities who had made us adopt these doctrines. And now we are being denounced as Communists if we refuse to believe in the blessing of a revival of Nazism and militarism.

Once after the war you saved us from starvation. You saved also my little family from a dreadful end. I cannot forget this. Once in our miserable lives as Germans you made us happy, and for this we thank you from the bottom of our hearts. But now we wish 1952 had never arrived.—*Extract from a letter to* The Nation *by Oscar C. Pfaus, Hamburg, Germany.*

fairs, challenged the Chancellor's policy in a public statement and demanded an East-West conference on German unification.

The controversy over the contractual agreement began long before it was signed. On the one hand, yesterday's adherents of the "thousand-year Reich"—the militarists and Nazis—boldly presented themselves as converts to democracy and offered their services to a "European Fatherland"—whatever that means. Amply supplied with funds, they launched veterans' weeklies supporting rearmament, one of which was subsequently outlawed in Austria by the Allied Control Council as "neo-Nazi." Opposition to rearmament has rallied an impressive list of organizations and individuals: the German trade unions; the Social Democrats; many youth groups under the slogan "Without us!"; church leaders, intellectuals, and outstanding former political leaders like Karl Severing and Carlo Schmidt.

In the second phase of the battle the issue was no longer whether or not Germany should have an army. It was whether Germany should be united or divided, whether there should be a West German army and in consequence an East German army—which meant the danger, sooner or later, of civil war. Alarmed by this prospect, the West Berlin *Nacht Depesche*, a paper known for its hostile attitude toward East Germany, felt compelled to write: "Germans of one side should not be armed to the teeth against Germans of the other side." Chancellor Adenauer, however, disregarded the mounting concern and anger and signed the *Generalvertrag* without even allowing a last debate in the Bundestag on a step of such great importance for the future of Germany.

AS SOON as this was done, the language of the reactionaries and neo-Nazis, in a press that is in great part at their disposal, became more violent and threatening. The main target of their attacks is the determination of the German workers to fight the renazification and remilitarization of Germany. Members of the student societies in Bonn invaded a Niemöller meeting and prevented the Pastor from speaking. Werner Finck, a well-known anti-Nazi writer, was intimidated in Köln during the showing of his satirical anti-rearmament revue "Hat Off—Helmet On." One of his assailants shouted, "You were in a concentration camp once; the next time you will be hanged." The hoodlumism of the Bund Deutscher Jugend, a youth organization whose orders to its members are signed by the "Führer of the Bund," caused a liberal Frankfurt paper to exclaim recently, "Does the street belong to the 'Brown Battalions'? They do not yet kill people or put them in camps, but sometimes it seems as if we were not very far from it."

Bills have been introduced in the Bundestag to "clear" all members of the S. S. and "lesser" members of the Gestapo. Major General Hauser, one-time leader of the S. S., has said he will fight for "the juridical acknowledgment of the Waffen-S. S. as part of the former Wehrmacht," which would make 2,000 former S. S. men eligible for enlistment in the European army. In Stuttgart 4,000 old soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Panzer Division were urged by their former commander, who is today a high officer in West Germany's militarized border police, to "preserve their strength." The para-military neo-Nazi organization, Free Corps Germany, founded last summer, held "maneuvers" during the Easter holidays in the Lüneburg plain, which is ordinarily reserved for the armed forces of the Western Allies.

Militarist and neo-Nazi propaganda fills the illustrated weeklies, which publish an endless succession of such stories as "The Nonsense of Denazification," "The 'Kamerad' Who Marched with Me," "How Our Navy Died," or "The Life of Magda Goebbels." The commercial daily press is as bad if not worse. The soldiers' weekly *Stahlhelm* headlined one of its editorials: "Out with the Traitors!" and announced: "We will hunt you down, and that very soon. If a general strike is called, this terror will be met by another terror!" It was this press which the moderate printers' union silenced all over West Germany some weeks ago by a forty-eight-hour strike directed against pending anti-labor legislation.

The action of the printers' union, which had not called a strike since the days of the Kapp putsch in 1920, opened the third phase of the battle. Numerous protest strikes by West German organized labor have been met by howls for "strong measures" against "union insolence." Posters of the so-called Free Democratic Party in West Berlin have called the West German unions "public enemy No. 2, next to the Soviets." The Free Democratic Party, let it be said, is neither very free nor very democratic; one of its few liberal leaders, Dr. Hans Reif, a deputy, has warned that the party is being "infiltrated by former high-ranking Nazi personalities" and must guard "against domination by right-wing tendencies."

The militarists continued their campaign with a demand from two veterans' associations in convention on June 9 for "an immediate positive solution to the question of the so-called war criminals." At the Hanover convention Nazi General Andreae, just released from a Greek prison, shouted: "We soldiers tell the politicians that a real European community is impossible if built on the principles of Nürnberg, Landsberg, and Werl." At Dortmund General Heer emphasized that "all German soldiers greet wholeheartedly the European idea, but the wrong done to the so-called war criminals must first be righted." Deep in the hearts of most people here is a nightmarish fear of the forces that twice in recent history led Germany into war and disaster. They experienced a spine-chilling shiver, therefore, when they heard that three former Hitler generals, all of them aristocrats—von Schweppenburg, von Manteuffel, and von Schwerin—had been chosen as corps commanders for the German contingent of the European army.

Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Party and the provincial governments of Hesse and Lower Saxony are awaiting the outcome of their appeal, now pending before the German Supreme Court at Karlsruhe, to have the signing of the contractual agreement declared null and void because it violates the German constitution. What the Social Democrats will do in case of a negative decision is anybody's guess. It is still uncertain also whether the union leaders will call for a general strike to check the danger of anti-labor legislation and renazification.

The conservative *Welt am Sonntag,* in a June issue, summed up the problem of Germany as follows: "Two determined blocs oppose each other. We face the danger of a mental civil war. To avoid this, the duty of a German government is to do all it can to make the four powers come together and discuss the German question. . . . Perhaps the peace of the world depends on it."

Chlorophyll: Fact or Fraud?

BY JOSEPH J. SELDIN

HUMAN body odors have long been combated by all kinds of soaps, ointments, sprays, and mouth washes. Millions of dollars have been spent to convince men and women that they face loss of jobs and friends unless they get rid of "B. O." But until two summers ago commercial aids to the olfactory betterment of man dealt only with his external odors. It was the advent of chlorophyll which first revealed that his whole internal system was subject to treatment.

A few months after the green tablets were put on the market, they outdistanced all competitors. Shelves piled high with products in the morning were empty by nightfall. Everyone was eager to try the new miracle pills. Their popularity was so sudden, so spontaneous, that keen-eyed merchants of allied products decided to jump on the bandwagon. At the end of 1951 eight million dollars had been spent on advertising, and sales had reached thirty-five million dollars. In 1952 sales are expected to push one hundred million dollars, and there is a twenty-million-dollar advertising budget.

Chlorophyll is found at present in about 150 consumer products—internal deodorants and breath sweeteners, toothpastes, chewing gums, dog foods, mouth washes, shampoos, cigarettes, reducing pills, douches, foot pads, air purifiers, nasal solutions, skin ointments, toilet paper, suppositories, and an ashtray with a chlorophyll refill. As a result of the huge demand the supply has run short, but processing plants are being rushed to completion to meet the need. It is about time, therefore, to examine chlorophyll—what it is and what evidence there is for its effectiveness in the varied commercial products which exploit its magic qualities.

Chlorophyll is the green coloring in plants and vegetable life. The name comes from the Greek *chloros* (green) and *phylon* (leaf). In chemical structure it is much like the hemoglobin in the human blood, and it seems to have a similar function, for just as the hemoglobin turns food into life-supporting substances, chlorophyll enables plants to make use of nutrients in the soil.

JOSEPH J. SELDIN is an advertising man who has done considerable free-lance writing.

Discovery of the similarity a hundred years ago led to considerable medical experimentation in the hope that chlorophyll might be used to treat some of man's ailments, but a simple urine test finally established the fact that chlorophyll in leaf form cannot be assimilated by the animal body. Only if leaf chlorophyll is transformed so that it is soluble in oil or water can body fluids readily absorb it. A chemical change in the urine is evidence of the absorption.

EXTENSIVE experiments with oil- and water-soluble chlorophyll have been carried on by Dr. Benjamin Gruskin, a Philadelphia physician. In his treatment of wounds, burns, and skin diseases Dr. Gruskin observed that the use of chlorophyll seemed to have a regenerative effect and was accompanied by the disappearance of the characteristic foul odor. Describing his treatment of 1,200 cases, Dr. Gruskin wrote in a medical journal of the "stimulating effect" of chlorophyll on the growth of connective cells. He theorized that chlorophyll worked not as a bactericide but by strengthening the tissue—increasing its resistance—against the invading bacteria. With respect to the disappearance of the foul odor, he suggested that by breaking down carbon dioxide and setting oxygen free, chlorophyll tended to "inhibit the action" of odor-causing anaerobic bacteria.

Gruskin's article appeared in 1940, and many experimenters since then have treated wounds, burns, and skin diseases with chlorophyll and obtained pretty much the same results. Thus encouraged, the medical researchers have tried using chlorophyll in the treatment of other human ills, such as cysts, ulcers and tumors, bed sores, anaemia, and cancer. Dental researchers have experimented with it for gingivitis, bad breath, pyorrhea, and in general post-operative therapy. The published reports of the research are generally favorable to chlorophyll as a healing and deodorant agent, though of course its worth cannot be thoroughly appraised until the results of all the experiments have come in, which may take several years.

The reports do show, however, that the tests had certain critical limitations, and these bear on the effectiveness of the many chlorophyll products now on the market. In almost all the professional experimentation, for example, the chlorophyll was used as a dressing, in physical contact with a wound, burn, or other lesion. Such application is of course a vastly different matter from taking chlorophyll pills through the mouth to deodorize the system. Only in the last two years have initial reports on the value of chlorophyll as an internal deodorant been published: some have been favorable, some unfavorable.

Another limitation is that in almost every experiment described in the professional literature the chlorophyll used was the Rystan Company's brand called Chloresium. In 1941 the Rystan Company of New York bought up the Gruskin patent covering the therapeutic uses of water-soluble chlorophyll. Rystan is an ethical drug house, and Chloresium—an ethical product—has a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll, as required by the Council of Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association. The published results, therefore, were obtained with about as pure chlorophyll as can be produced.

The importance of this big concentration cannot be overstressed, particularly in evaluating chlorophyll as a systemic deodorant. Researchers have joined in warning that "dosage is a critical factor, with the deodorant effect dropping off as you decrease the dosage." Thus the degree of concentration is basic to any appraisal of the chlorophyll products on the druggists' shelves today. None of them, however, state this vital fact on their label. The label of only one—a mouth wash—even refers to concentration, and this in terms that defy being pinned down to a percentage.

While the Federal Food and Drug Act does not require such a statement on the label, the basic reason for its omission is that the cost of manufacturing a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll is prohibitively high. Even when obtained from its most economical source, alfalfa—harvested during certain seasons and at certain hours of the day—chlorophyll costs about a dollar a pound for each per cent of concentration. How much, then, can be present in a mouth wash that sells to the consumer for 49 or 69 cents? Simple arithmetic makes it clear that no consumer product on the market today contains a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll or anywhere near it.

Many of these products seem to have only enough chlorophyll for coloring and advertising purposes. An air purifier ends kitchen odors not because of its chlorophyll but because of its formaldehyde, which anaesthetizes the sense of smell. Crib sheets impregnated with water-soluble chlorophyll lose its deodorizing effect after the first washing. Foam-rubber inner soles water-proofed to seal in the chlorophyll fail for that reason to deodorize perspiring feet.

Physicians generally are not greatly impressed with chlorophyll. Their search for a really good healing agent is unlikely to be ended by its discovery. And as for its power to prevent body odors, there is still "no conclusive evidence." The Federal Food and Drug Administration is in fact "skeptical concerning the effectiveness of the deodorant action" and is awaiting further scientific studies. Meanwhile, the makers of chlorophyll products are riding high. There's lots of green in their future—if not in their products at least in their pockets.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Reading for Republicans

BY WAYNE MORSE

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG. Edited by Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., with the Collaboration of Joe Alex Morris. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

AS THE 1952 Republican convention assembles, a review of the private papers of Senator Vandenberg is most appropriate, for the convention this year may very well be D-Day for the Republican Party—Demise Day. Many of us in the Republican Party feel that a political dirge rather than a march of victory awaits if the convention does not keep faith with the spirit and political teachings of Arthur Vandenberg. His vision was focused on the destiny of the United States in the next century, not limited to the next election. As a statesman he recognized the importance of a non-partisan foreign policy to the future of the nation; but his statesmanship was not without its opportunism, and it is no discredit to him to say that his political sagacity caused him to recognize that the Republican Party must adopt a non-partisan foreign policy if it was to survive as a political force in America.

These private papers provide an account of statesmanship at its best, of very human statesmanship. In the opinion of this reviewer the book supports the thesis that it was the crusading spirit, the courage, the logic, the persuasive force of a converted isolationist that held a majority of Republicans to strong support of a non-partisan foreign policy during the war years and up to the time of Vandenberg's death. But salesmanship as well as statesmanship played a part in maintaining the principle that politics must stop at the water's edge. If the isolationist wings in both major parties, which incidentally were only silenced and not converted during the period of Vandenberg's leadership, had not been confronted with the teamwork of two such giants as Vandenberg and Connally, it is more than likely that division and discord would have seriously hampered the war effort.

One of the fascinating aspects of this book is its vivid portrayal of the human factors in American politics even in the field of foreign policy. So many people seem to forget that government is operated by mere men, and that human factors explain in no small measure the acceptance or defeat of proposals and policies. Vandenberg was a keen student of human motivations, of the psychological impulses that make politicians tick. His diary shows strong appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of human beings, including himself as well as his colleagues in public life. It was undoubtedly his tolerance of the shortcomings of others—and a strength of character which enabled him to rise above personal abuse and unfair criticism—that made him so successful as a compromiser of conflicting points of view. Both the tendency and the ability to compromise constituted one of Vandenberg's strengths and also one of his weaknesses. Too frequently he rationalized a bad compromise on the theory that half a loaf is better than no bread at all, failing to recognize that the handling of the compromise had left the bread inedible.

His diaries also disclose what this reviewer frequently observed—a tendency to separate foreign policy and domestic policy into watertight compartments, a failure to see the many inseparable connections between them. Part of the explanation is to be found in Vandenberg's notions of sound political strategy. For example, I recall very vividly an incident in 1947 when the Taft-Hartley bill was pending before the Senate and the Senator from Ohio was defeated by a very close vote on one of the amendments he had proposed. Vandenberg voted for the Taft amendment, but within an hour told me in the cloakroom of the Senate that he was glad Taft had been defeated. When I expressed surprise, the Senator from Michigan explained that he had voted for the amendment as a matter of political strategy, because he felt that if he went along with Taft on such domestic issues, their slumbering feud on foreign policy would be less likely to break out into the open.

This willingness of Vandenberg's to compromise some of his own convictions on domestic policy in order to protect what he considered the much more important issue of a non-partisan foreign policy concealed what I believe to be a fact—namely, that he had been converted from a reactionary to a liberal, not only in the field of foreign policy but on domestic issues as well. In respect to foreign policy his conversion led him to make a public confession of faith; in respect to domestic policy, for the sake of peace within the political family, he tended by his votes to subscribe to the same old reactionary doctrines but personally prayed for a new liberalism which placed human values first in party doctrine.

Chapter 27 of the book—entitled China, the "Conundrum of the Ages"—illustrates Vandenberg's processes of rationalization at their best and worst. Such mistakes as he made can detract very little from the greatness of his contribution to the history of the country. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that during the period which preceded the fall of China, Vandenberg, like so many others, had concentrated on European problems to such an extent that he neglected the problems of Asia more than it was wise to do.

This chapter shows that Vandenberg was aware that things were not going well in China; he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress. Yet he made no real fight to check our government's mistakes in China or to insist upon the laying down of American conditions aimed at preventing the Nationalist Chinese government from continuing to make mistakes that played into the hands of the Red Chinese. In fact, he let months go by without insisting upon a full disclosure by the Administration to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of State Department policy in Asia, including such findings as were set out in the Wedemeyer report. The breakdown of the non-partisan foreign policy in Asia cannot be rationalized away by placing the responsibility for it entirely on the

Administration, because the Republican leaders, particularly the great spokesman of a non-partisan foreign policy, Senator Vandenberg himself, could have forced a Congressional and public review of Asiatic policy at any time from V-J Day to the date of the disastrous retreat of the Nationalist government to Formosa. The very important question of why Vandenberg did not make a real fight on Asiatic policy remains unanswered.

One of the great tenets of Vandenberg's philosophy was his belief that permanent peace will never come to mankind except by way of a system of international justice through law. It was a faith he was still formulating as far as its articles of principle were concerned, but those articles were taking on more and more specific form during the closing years of his life.

We see him in 1945 somewhat reluctantly agreeing to support a resolution that the United States should accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, although his comments at the time showed a distrust of foreign judges passing on any issue involving the United States. By 1947 we see him more willing to agree that mutual disarmament must be in the long run one of the prerequisites to world peace.

By the time of his death he had made a glorious record in defense of the principle of international justice through law by his repeated support of the framework of the United Nations, although he recognized its defects and its need for improvement in procedures, powers, and jurisdiction. If he had made no other contribution, his faith in this principle and his labors to establish it would be sufficient to enthrone him among America's great.

Some Questions on Korea

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR. By I. F. Stone. Monthly Review Press. Distributed by Citadel Press. $5.

THE policy of the United Nations in Korea is based on the acceptance of a series of propositions about the conduct and objectives of North Korea, Communist China, and the Soviet Union. Perhaps the key propositions are that the war was started by a North Korean act of unprovoked aggression which caught South Korea and its friends by surprise; that the Chinese intervention was an act of aggression; that the United Nations are sincere, and the Communists insincere, in efforts to achieve an armistice.

There is a tendency to regard these and kindred propositions as logically necessary inferences from incontrovertible facts. To doubt the facts or the inferences is to be the dupe of Communist propaganda. Yet in the light of history it would be odd if the issues in Korea were as simple as that. Samuel Butler once wrote that the art of life was to draw sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises. The art of politics is certainly no simpler. Governments must perpetually make great decisions in the light of evidence that is seldom consistent and never complete. Mr. Stone has written an able and informed exposure of the gaps, the obscurities, and the inconsistencies in the evidence on which United Nations actions in Korea are ostensibly based.

Of course Mr. Stone tries to do much more than that. He is not quite exact when he states in his preface that his book is "what it purports to be . . . the hidden history of the Korean War, the facts to be found in the official accounts themselves if texts are carefully examined and reports collated." Mr. Stone's real thesis is that the official reports are so riddled with omissions, distortions, and errors that the truth cannot be found by merely reading them but only by the careful appraisal and interpretation of each report. His own evaluation and appraisal lead him to the conclusion that the main propositions on which United Nations policy is based are dangerously astray. He puts forward an alternative series of interpretations which he believes more consistent with the available evidence. To this reviewer some of the views Mr. Stone puts forward seem reasonable and even necessary inferences from the evidence he presents: others look like rash conjectures. In the chapters on the origin of the war, the strands of argument seem strained and fragile. Mr. Stone puts forward the "hypothesis" that American Intelligence knew of the North Korean build up and that an imminent attack by the Northerners was probable; that Rhee, in connivance with MacArthur and Dulles and other American leaders, decided to encourage the Northerners to attack by not warning them against it, invited them to attack by making purely defensive formations in the South, and then deliberately provoked the invasion by "minor forays" across the border. For Rhee and MacArthur and Dulles a war in Korea would ease many problems, Mr. Stone argues. It would give Chiang Kai-shek protection against invasion from the mainland. It would put off the question of withdrawing American troops in Japan and surrendering air and naval bases there. It would save the Rhee regime from imminent overthrow.

If Mr. Stone interprets the purely defensive formations of the South Koreans as an invitation to attack by the North it is hard to know what inferences he would have drawn if their formations had been offensive. Perhaps an even more obvious invitation to attack? And if the Northerners were provoked into a large-scale, carefully planned invasion by "minor forays" by Southern forces, they were, from Mr. Stone's standpoint, uncommonly obliging. If they could be provoked to such a major reaction by a little needling along the border, their responsibility for the ensuing conflict does not seem to be materially diminished. Perhaps few of the great historical acts of aggression have been entirely unprovoked. There is no doubt that in Korea Dr. Rhee gave the North plenty of verbal provocation.

No incident seems to be too trivial for Mr. Stone to "collate" if it can be conceivably construed as evidence for the "hypothesis" that the South attacked first. He suggests there may have been a sinister connection between a Commonwealth military conference in Melbourne, in June, 1950, and the Korean war. Sometimes his eagerness to make a point leads Mr. Stone to make naive mistakes, as when he states that the lifting of the ban on left-wing rallies in Japan was "due to pressure from Allied Headquarters, where a spokesman said, 'We are not going to allow the re-creation of a police state in Japan'—one of the few times when Allied Headquarters made itself felt in MacArthur's realm." Allied headquarters were, of course, MacArthur's purely American headquarters.

It is a pity that Mr. Stone's theorizing about the origins of the war is so tendentious, for when he goes on to analyze the conduct of the campaign and of the truce talks his reasoning steadily gains in persuasiveness and strength. This is because, as his story proceeds, he comes to rely more on documentary evidence and less on his personal appraisement of the motives and intentions of United Nations and Communist leaders. It is a reasonable inference from the documentary evidence Mr. Stone collates that official reporting of the Korean conflict by the U. N. military authorities has often been alarmingly unreliable and misleading. The author's analysis of the official statements made in November, 1951, about the fate of prisoners of war in Communist hands is a most effective indictment of irresponsibility in high places. Mr. Stone has an easy time in exposing the obscurities and inconsistencies in many of the day-to-day reports of military operations. His conjectures about the motives of those making the reports are often plausible but not always convincing. He does, however, give convincing evidence, particularly in his analysis of the reports of the first push north across the parallel, that the phrase "United Nations policy" was generally only a euphemism to describe American decisions. This was partly because General MacArthur had the knack of confronting the United Nations with *faits accomplis* which, in the effort to maintain a united front, most of its members felt bound, however reluctantly, to indorse, and partly because America, in its global power and in its Far Eastern efforts, dwarfed all of its friends.

Mr. Stone's theories about the failure to achieve an armistice are perhaps more important than anything else in this book. He suggests that it is simply because Washington does not want an armistice. It would create too many political difficulties. A peaceful settlement in Korea would mean a slackening of world tension, and American citizens would no longer be ready to make the sacrifices the Administration believes necessary in the defense effort. Since the United Nations have lost the unquestioned air supremacy they earlier enjoyed in Korea, a settlement which reflected the military situation would be much less favorable than the sort of settlement that was hoped for a year ago. Moreover, an armistice would revive politically dangerous controversies about American policy toward Formosa and toward Communist China. The Administration may wish to postpone redefining its attitude on those explosive issues.

While Mr. Stone falls far short of proving this implied indictment of the official American attitude, he certainly presents a case that should go to a jury.

Mr. Stone claims that he has written a case study in the cold war. Whatever the merits of his own diagnoses in Korea, his book raises three wider and deeper questions for America, and for all America's friends and allies.

Can America reasonably expect to hold the loyalty of its old allies, particularly of the Western democracies, unless, on future issues, it gives them fuller opportunities to influence its policy than it has given them in the Far East?

Can America reasonably expect to exercise effective control over its new allies, particularly over a rearmed Japan and Germany, when it has apparently not always been able to control the much less powerful Rhee regime?

Is America's main objective to contain the Soviet Union or to destroy communism wherever and whenever it appears? The first aim points to negotiation, the second toward war.

W. MACMAHON BALL

After the Plague

PAINTING IN FLORENCE AND SIENA AFTER THE BLACK DEATH. By Millard Meiss. Princeton University Press. $12.50.

THE second half of the fourteenth century generally receives only passing attention in histories of Italian painting. In Florence, Giotto was dead, and few of his direct pupils were left to carry on in the tradition he had so firmly established. As for Siena, Duccio, the founder of the local school, had died in 1319; death had ended the career of his brilliant disciple, Simone Martini, at Avignon, where he was celebrated by Petrarch; and the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti were among the victims of the plague in 1348. It is plausible, therefore, to think of Sienese painting as suffocating in its own elegance until Sassetta brought to it a new simplicity, and of Florentine painting as succumbing to Sienese charm until the great Masaccio reawakened it through his own discovery of Giotto. Painters like Orcagna, Barna, Bartolo di Fredi, and Francesco Traini are—or have been—for the scholars and connoisseurs alone. With this admirable book another estimate becomes possible.

Professor Meiss has cut across specialists' preserves to consider Florentine and Sienese painting of the period 1350-1375 as a single entity. He is less interested in their differences than in how the times brought them together. He combines a perceptive eye with a sure grasp of social and religious history. As a result, he has very nearly achieved that rare combination—a book for scholars which a more general, if studious, public can read with profit. At the same time he has surveyed and brought up to date the manifold and complicated work of scholars the world over.

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Essentially, this book is about the effects of the Black Death on Tuscan life and art. In 1348 more than half of the inhabitants of Florence and Siena were wiped out. The horror of those days and the religious revival it inspired became positive forces in the painting of succeeding decades. Instead of being merely decorative echoes of the work of an earlier generation, the best art of the 1350's and 1360's projected the new attitudes of mysticism, spiritual turmoil, and a kind of neo-Byzantine formalism. New themes, like the Madonna of Humility, appeared, and very old ones, like the Christ in Majesty, were revived, while stories popularized by Giotto, like Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, underwent unexpected evolutions. A new generation of mystics found their counterparts among the painters. All of this is carefully recorded and expertly appraised.

As a former laborer in Professor Meiss's special field, I am all admiration for the master-work he has brought to completion. I can only wish that he had kept in mind a somewhat broader public. By a little shifting of emphasis, more of that public could have been attracted to explore the world he has opened up. The prevailing finances of publishing make it inevitable, I suppose, that the plates—which are excellent—must be gathered at the back. This is unfortunate, because Meiss's interesting comparisons and very close analysis of individual paintings would have gained considerably if the plates had been scattered through the text. A reader willing to peer back and forth, like a spectator at a tennis match, will find these analyses and comparisons extremely rewarding.

Meiss writes clearly and often he writes well. There is not enough evidence, however, of his own keen enthusiasm for his subject. If he had allowed his style to gain a certain momentum, he might have avoided such verbal traps as the one on page 15, where he describes a Madonna as follows: "Though she appears to be seated, what she sits on is not visible." The plates provide, as the jacket rather stumblingly announces, "a useful corpus of illustrations of hitherto not readily available material." Professor Meiss has done better than that: he has collected some magnificent and original works of art isolated in lesser-known chapels and provincial Tuscan churches—not to mention their further isolation in the pages of scholars' tracts and journals. With knowledge and with judgment he has held them up to the mirror of history.

Love's labor—and not lost.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Trimming the Budget

ECONOMY IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. By Senator Paul H. Douglas. The University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

THE extraordinary difficulties faced by Congress in trying to deal with enormous federal expenditures are expertly described by Senator Douglas. The budget is so unimaginably big ($85 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1) and the staff resources of Congress are so inadequate to study individual items that members of Congress are almost helpless in exerting specific and sensible controls. As a professional economist Douglas accepts the now classical doctrine that a government deficit in times of full employment is dangerously inflationary, and he begs his fellow-liberals to realize that a liberal is not necessarily a wastrel. As a scholar in government the Senator thinks that Congress should reassert its constitutional power to control the purse strings. There are sections in which he has sacrificed thoroughness of explanation for terseness, and one is not sure that the dogmas he asserts in these sections—he proposes a $1.8 billion cut in foreign aid—are necessarily true. But the book is highly valuable both because it describes individual federal activities which Douglas thinks are wasteful and because it pulls together general ideas he has previously expressed only in isolated speeches and in connection with his efforts to trim specific appropriations.

Summed up briefly, Douglas thinks that the Department of Agriculture and the Department of State are grossly overstaffed; that rivers and harbors expenditures—particularly for such "civil" functions of the Army Corps of Engineers as digging deeper channels in the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers—are uneconomic; that postal, airline, shipping, and agricultural subsidies are inflated; that the military establishment is the worst offender in the field of wasteful spending—and tries to cover up by calling even its expenditures for servants for officers abroad "classified" material. He would cut $7.6 billion from proposed expenditures, raise an additional $2.4 billion by plugging tax loopholes, and bring the government's "consolidated cash budget" into approximate balance.

No experienced observer of the federal government's multitudinous activities can effectively dispute Douglas's belief that certain checks that tend to prevent wasteful hiring in private industry do not exist in government. No competition for profits, for example, tends to persuade administrators to hold down costs. There is a certain amount of "empire building" arising from the fact that supervisors create better-paid jobs for themselves by increasing the number of subordinates they control. It is also true that bureaucrats tend to resist any reduction or abolition of their functions: the prime example is the way in which the Corps of Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau joined to indorse the Pick-Sloan plan for the Missouri Valley in order to block development of a new valley authority that would supersede both.

This reviewer happens to agree with Douglas's basic thesis—that the doctrine of "compensatory government spending" is sound, that in times of depression inflated spending is justified, but that the inevitable logical corollary is that in times of full employment an unbalanced budget is a disgrace and an economic menace. There is a certain irony, however, in the Senator's suggestion that one way for Congress to improve its controls is to hire more staff members for its appropriations committees and create a new "watch-dog" group in the General Accounting Office to keep a constant independent check on the budget. Just as in the administrative departments, when we want new services performed by Congress we get them by hiring more people. It would have been useful, too, if Douglas had discussed some of the Hoover Commission's criticisms of the General Accounting Office and the civil service—both of them agencies directly responsible to Congress and both, according to the Hoover Commission, wasteful in their methods and effects. One may express a certain gratitude for the Senator's happy phrase that the shocking level of federal spending results not from the welfare state but from the "warfare world."

WILLARD SHELTON

Some Recent Fiction

THE SECOND FACE. By Marcel Aymé. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

PARENTS DAY. By Paul Goodman. The 5x8 Press, Saugatuck, Conn. $3.

FORTY-FOUR GRAVEL STREET. By Ben Maddow. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

MISSING. By Egon Hostovsky. The Viking Press. $3.

PORIUS. By John Cowper Powys. Philosophical Library. $5.75.

COLONEL JULIAN AND OTHER STORIES. By H. E. Bates. An Atlantic Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

SUCH an assortment of novels is reminiscent of one of those old-fashioned herbalist's shops which contained a nostrum for every ill. Each bottle has its own label—Marcel Aymé "Wit," Paul Goodman "Discontent," Ben Maddow "Whimsy," Egon Hostovsky "Investigation," J. C. Powys "King Arthur," and H. E. Bates "Characterization." Still, with the possible exception of Bates and the author of "The Second Face," all these writers have one thing in common. Their worlds are not the sort that can be pinned down and carefully examined by the literary entomologist, who can in some such manner examine the microcosms of a Trollope or a Tolstoy. Somehow (it may be a contemporary symptom) the worlds do not jell or hold together; they are splinter worlds which are not even consistent within their own boundaries. Even the historical novel, executed on mural scale, is somehow incomplete within itself. Historical personages clank around, but do not seem to live completely. They tend to call to mind Fuseli's description of Pope's "Heloise and Abelard" as "hot ice."

The small world of Marcel Aymé's fantasy is, however, complete within itself, and its picture of the middle-aged business man who suddenly finds himself with the face of an Adonis in place of his own rather undistinguished visage is completely believable, despite the preposterous situation. His M. Cerusier, whose only ambition, under the altered circumstances, is to seduce his own wife, is a completely realized character, down to his indignation with his wife, when he accomplishes his victory, for having been such an easy victim and for saying such things about his former self.

Paul Goodman's section of the globe is seen through the eyes of a neurotic homosexual schoolmaster at cross-purposes with the staff of the progressive school where he is teaching. The staff members, as is common in both British and American books about progressive schools, appear infinitely more neurotic and obsessed than the children whom they are supposed to guide. The protagonist in "Parents Day" suffers with all the violence of a character in "The Naked and the Dead," and the battlefield of school is just as bloody. Having the other day picked up, for a nickel, the Reverend Dean Frederick Farrar's "St. Winifred's or the World of School," first published in 1862, I tried the experiment of reading it at the same time as "Parents Day," with the odd result that Goodman's school appears to be little more than a post-Freud, Gidean St. Winifred's. The turbulence of the narrator is the glass through which everything is seen darkly.

"Forty-four Gravel Street" has been drenched with rather too much Saroyan syrup for the taste of the present reviewer, who can't stand children who make remarks which are obscure enough to pass as wisdom. Still, Ben Maddow seems to have achieved his odd aim of drawing tight the strings of "this cruel, feverish, sensitive net" (his own words), and showing us his world as an unrelated object, though the moves of his pawns are just a little too predictable. Andersen's search for his errant wife, who has gone off to follow a rather unbelievable revivalist, somehow seems as though it was intended to convey more meaning than meets the mind at first reading. Maybe I got too bogged down in the sensitivity to catch the sense.

Egon Hostovsky, who served in the Czech diplomatic corps under Jan Masaryk and who resigned from Communist control at Oslo in 1949, tells the story of the Communist coup in Prague and of the troubles of a journalist who wants to go to the United States. This world of investigations, both Communist and American, is almost outside the meaning of sense. A world where violence and intrigue have become the motives, where the atmosphere is that of one of Graham Greene's earlier "entertainments" or Eric Ambler crossed with Arthur Koestler, unfortunately exists, but somehow here its illogical reality does not quite have the impact of, say,

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that of Kafka's "Castle." It may well be that Hostovsky is still too close to the events which he depicts to give them that objective clarity which would make their inconsequence seem rational within an irrational framework.

Moving sideways into history, John Cowper Powys has noted that there is an absolute blank in the history of Britain from the middle of the fifth century until the middle of the sixth—"It seems, therefore, highly probable that this historic blank, as far as written documents go, was filled by Arthur's powerful and prosperous rule, this lack of documentary history being itself evidence that for one generation at least matters in this island were well under control." So he creates an imaginary world, peopled with such curious ghosts as Arthur, Merlin, and Taliessin. Of the poetry of the last-named he says, "His verse had, however, a weirdly original character unlike that of any known poet except, perhaps, Walt Whitman. Its entirely individual character makes it easy for a writer who is no poet to imitate it, as has been done in this book." I wonder if Mr. Robert Graves is listening? The names in the book are difficult and one occasionally runs into snatches such as "I wish Porius ab Einion ab Iddawc ab Edeyrn to hear it; and I wish Rhun ap Gwrnach ab Agenor y Gaethwas to hear it" which make the reader grateful for the innovation of providing a list of the characters on a bookmark.

H. E. Bates is gradually shucking off the impact of the war as direct material for his stories. Now when war appears it is only as a background to people, such as the aged Colonel Julian whose house has been taken over by the Air Force and who cannot understand the strange language of the strange young men; Miss Burke who, steeled to impersonality as a nurse, is still stirred by the thought of the young man wounded just as his time has expired and he was due to go home; and the tea-planter, Owen, due to quit India with the British, who is shot by a hunted murderer. The stories may deal with small matters and small people, but each one is fully rounded and each person is realized completely. Mr. Bates does not attempt to contrive happy endings, and his new stories are among the most impressive he has published. RUTHVEN TODD

Books in Brief

THE THURBER ALBUM. By James Thurber. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. Those who read Mr. Thurber's earliest tales about the misadventures of his family and friends probably thought them wholly fictitious. Now that he undertakes a sober account of the near great and the eccentric who surrounded his Ohio boyhood the whole thing sounds only slightly less fabulous. If there were not actually any seals in the bedroom there might just as well have been. The entertaining profiles include among their subjects a serving maid who shot a thirty-two at a supposed prowler, a neighbor who thought what she called "electric toilets" the last word in effete luxury, a self-confident practical nurse who administered blue mass freely to all, and a collection of newspapermen affectionately regarded by Mr. Thurber. His fellow-citizens seem to have been a lively lot.

HENRI CHRISTOPHE AND THOMAS CLARKSON. A Correspondence. Edited by Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator. California. $4. The first publication of a long and interesting correspondence between an English abolitionist and a Negro king of Haiti, together with letters from English residents at Christophe's court describing his dramatic downfall and suicide. Also included is a history of the slave revolts and wars that led up to Christophe's reign. Recommended for the new light it throws on a strange and tragic figure of history who, as one of the English observers wrote, "knew how to govern others but rarely made an effort to control himself."

CITY OF DISCONTENT. By Mark Harris. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50. A biography of Vachel Lindsay that recreates tenderly the Springfield, Illinois, background of his life and evokes sympathetically the atmosphere of the "confident years" before the First World War that shaped his attitudes. Mr. Harris does not commit himself to a direct evaluation of these attitudes, which he seems largely to share; yet the evocative, nostalgic mood of his book does not altogether gloss over their more than occasional thinness. Nor does Mr. Harris come to very close grips with Lindsay's poetry, but he at least stirs us to a reconsideration of a talent that at its best has not lost its freshness or individuality.

FAR CORNER: A PERSONAL VIEW OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan. $3.75. Frivolous and rather amusing sketches of odd characters, episodes, and places of the Northwest, including a settlement called Pluvius whose sole resident claimed that he had seen it rain there for 362 consecutive days with the other three days "goddam cloudy"; Erickson's bar in Portland which measured 684 feet in length; and the author of "The Story of Opal," that wildly imaginative autobiography which Ellery Sedgwick ran in his *Atlantic Monthly* thirty years ago to the horror of his more conservative readers.

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED. By B. Traven. Translated from the Spanish. Knopf. $3.50. The hanged are the Indian peasants of Mexico at the time of Madero and Diaz, forced to work out their indebtedness in the steaming jungles, chopping mahogany under almost incredible conditions of privation, misery, and torture. The early chapters, focused on the life of one Indian and his family, are chiseled and austere, but when Traven shifts his attention to a panoramic sweep of the lumber camps, his story, while still mordant and rugged, becomes at once more familiar and less compelling, and it ends in the midst of the workers' bloody revolt as abruptly as if the author had thrown down his pen and walked away from his desk.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE new Marine Stadium at Jones Beach is very handsome, and so is Michael Todd's production of Johann Strauss's "A Night in Venice," as translated and adapted by Ruth and Thomas Martin. It lives up to, probably exceeds, the American standards of spectacle. The scale of the undertaking is indeed so huge—the dimensions of the stage, the number of performers, and the amount of money invested—that its very size invites amazement, which is hereby recorded. But the distance from the stage to the nearest spectator is also so huge that the voices must be magnified by a loud speaker, which mechanizes and hardens any voice and introduces at intervals weird and unintended sound effects; and since one can't see lips moving at such distance, identifying the singer became an unscheduled and highly sporting game of the evening.

To continue to sound a note of economy, a word which obviously has no place in Michael Todd's vocabulary, the music is minor Strauss and the humor of the piece is lumbering. The choreography in general is merely pretty; the prima ballerina, Gloria Gilbert, for contrast, is grotesque. She is more acrobat than dancer, and her movements are as unaesthetic as they are prodigious. Rosita Royce and her pigeons are astounding and quite charming. I particularly liked the fireworks at the end of the first act.

Venice as Raoul Pené du Bois reproduces it looks authentic if preternaturally clean. So do the gondolas and the gondoliers. The water tableau rose out of the bay, miraculously, but the aquatic show had to be deferred until another evening, a mishap which forced Mr. Todd to what must have been the painful ordeal of making an apology. He shouldn't take it too hard; even without the aquatic show "A Night in Venice" still rates as "colossal."

IT IS all right to kid the new musical comedy, "Wish You Were Here" (Imperial), for its extravagant scenic effects and noise and highlighted glamour, as most of the critics have done; and perhaps it is fair to compare it sorrowfully with the sentimental and amusing comedy of fifteen years back on which it is based. But for the multitude who never saw "Having Wonderful Time"—recalled by this writer with special affection because of its reference to a "resort ad" in *The Nation*—the Kober-Logan show provides an evening of above-average slapstick humor, an attractactive score by Harold Rome, some excellent dancing, and an unusually handsome, spirited company. Leave your nostalgia—and any highbrow yearnings for subtlety—at home and you will have a wonderful time. F. K.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WRITING last September about Columbia's LP reissues of the early recorded performances of Louis Armstrong, I expressed the hope that Columbia would similarly reissue Bessie Smith's vocal performances with their obbligatos by Armstrong and Joe Smith. And I am happy to be able to report that four LP's are now available with a number of Bessie's performances, beginning with the first one she recorded in 1923, which immediately won her an enormous audience in the Negro public everywhere in the country, and ending with the four she recorded at her last session only ten years later, after this public had acquired other musical tastes and lost interest in her.

The records document the change in the material she sang—from the authentic blues with which she began as a Negro folk singer, to the popular songs and novelty numbers of her later years as a vaudeville entertainer. They also document the succession of jazz musicians who recorded with her—Clarence Williams, the pianist of her first recording of "Down Hearted Blues," Louis Armstrong, Joe Smith, Charlie Green, and others of Fletcher Henderson's band, James P. Johnson, and the group including Jack Teagarden, Chu Berry, and Buck Washington that played at her last session. But they document no change in the magnificent voice and style: the long phrases with their powerful momentums and tensions and wonderful inflections of rhythm and pitch that one hears at the beginning are heard all the way to the end, and exercise their effect in her every performance, no matter of what or with whom. Which doesn't keep one from preferring the performances of the best music with the best instrumentalists; and for me these are the "Cold in Hand Blues," "You've Been a Good Ole Wagon," "Reckless Blues," and "St. Louis Blues" that Bessie recorded with Armstrong in 1925, and the "Baby Doll" and "Lost Your Head Blues" that she recorded with Joe Smith in 1926 (they are merely the outstanding performances among other excellent ones on GL-503 and 505). Smith does some beautifully sensitive trumpet-playing around her singing; and Armstrong produces on muted cornet a progression of delicate, florid, and derisive comment that gets to be hilariously funny.

Columbia also has issued two more recordings of the songs of outstanding musical shows of the past—the George and Ira Gershwin "Girl Crazy" and the Rodgers and Hart "Babes in Arms." The songs are delightful; but Mary Martin's affected singing of some of the ones in "Girl Crazy" reaches the point of grotesque parody of itself in "I'm Bidin' My Time" (the Judy Garland performances of this and a few other songs from "Girl Crazy" issued by Decca a few years ago are excellent). Miss Martin is less affected in her songs from "Babes in Arms"; and the other singers on both records are good.

London, which gave us the superb Vienna State Opera performance of Johann Strauss's "Die Fledermaus," has followed this up with a Vienna State Opera performance of his "Gypsy Baron." The work, though not another "Fledermaus," has some characteristically charming and lovely music; with a couple of exceptions the singers are excellent; and Krauss's conducting is again first-rate. There are some cuts which make the synopsis of the action worse than useless at some points.

Strauss's "One Night in Venice," issued by Columbia, impresses me as being of even lesser stature, though it too has some engaging music. With one exception the Vienna State Opera soloists are good; but in place of the State Opera Orchestra (Philharmonic) there is the

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Inferior Vienna Symphony; and Anton Paulik imparts less grace to the performance than Krauss. The text that is provided makes it possible to understand all the words of the songs; but one has almost no idea of where they fit into the complicated plot, and no adequate idea of the plot itself.

One is grateful to Columbia for its records of outstanding hot jazz performances and musical shows of the past; and one is similarly grateful to Simon and Schuster for its "Rodgers and Hart Song Book" ($7.50) with forty-seven examples of one of the great styles of the genre. It is a very special style; and one of its special characteristics, it seems to me, is its appearance of simplicity and innocence. It is the music usually that creates this appearance as one begins to hear it; then, as the phrase rounds itself out with the line of the lyric, one hears the music underscore the witty point of the words and one gets the impact of the unsuspected wicked force behind the dead-pan innocent simplicity. Which amounts to saying that one remarkable thing about the songs is the way the music works with the words. And in at least one superb instance that work has been undone by either the original or present publisher: *"Couldn't sleep . . . and wouldn't sleep . . . Until I could sleep where I shouldn't sleep,"* in "Bewitched" from "Pal Joey," is changed to *"Couldn't sleep . . . and wouldn't sleep . . . When love came and told me I shouldn't sleep."* And the expurgating process extends to omission of the later stanzas.

CONTRIBUTORS

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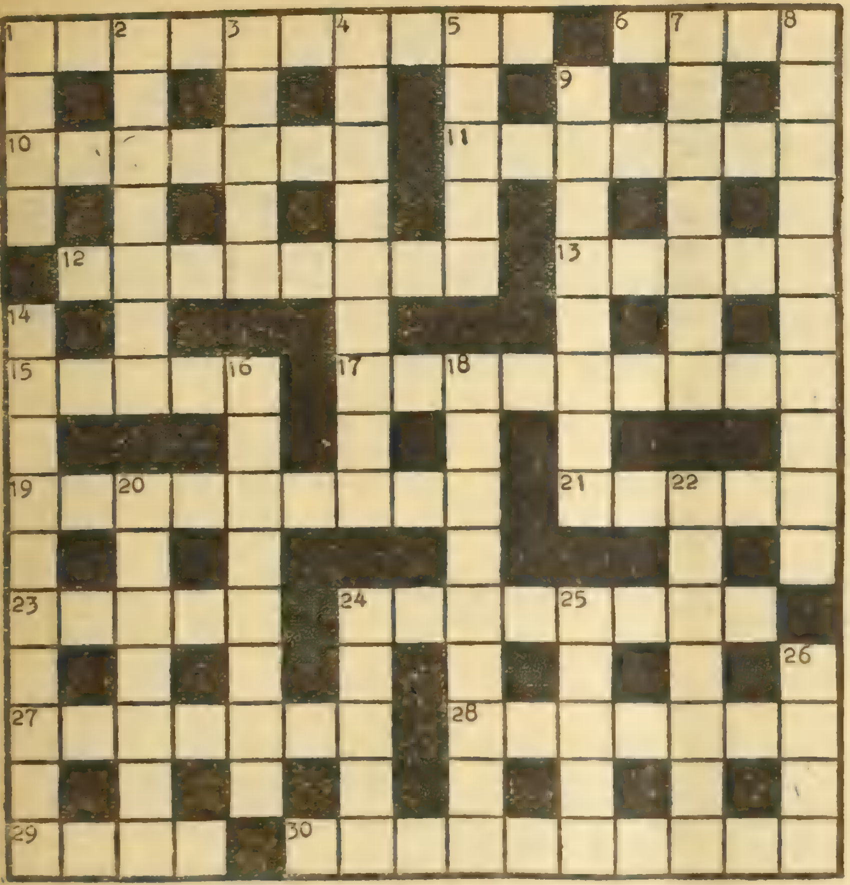
Crossword Puzzle No. 472

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Ida and Pat, with Gilbert and Herbert. (10)
6 and 2 down. A few words to obstructionists, or what the duck presents to the world. (4, 2, 5)
10 Difficult to use? The head and tail of it is spread out. (7)
11 Does he practice, and upon completion remark "well done"? (7)
12 Certainly not a Peeler's badge of office. (5, 3)
13 There's just one little thing wrong, and nothing figures in it. (5)
15 A stroke is cut and cut. (5)
17 One of those times when someone close starts to count. (9)
19 A combination of passages by Daedalus might prove confusing. (9)
21 Not so fast, but almost! (5)
23 Sweet sound of the city of temples. (5)
24 Nothing in the middle of Desire, for example? (Her calling is supposedly music.) (8)
27 The near, near eastern capital. (7)
28 Take aim, stop, and lay it on thick. (7)
29 Acts like shy animals. (4)
30 Preceding [illegible] stake with a sort of decent end. (10)

DOWN

1 See 26 down.
2 See 6 across.
3 Time to come back with a drink in it, for [illegible] little bit. (5)
4 Any of the genus Ovis might be, and it's gained by degrees. (9)
5 Lift me up to study the seaport. (5)
7 Was he [illegible] mat-man? No, a lord. (7)
8 Certainly not a wide cape! (10)
9 Experience is the name everyone gives to his, according to Wilde. (8)
14 Acted solid, but out of place. (10)
16 Invocation in the boat (and useful in the orchard, too). (8)
18 A sort of white rose under different circumstances. (9)
20 Just a has-been in Ireland and Scotland! (7)
22 You might find an under-water propeller being an example of discrimination. (7)
24 Like a round churchman. (5)
25 A slight error of some Finns, by the sound of it. (5)
26 and 1 down. Robbers might be good for the corn! (8)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 471

ACROSS:—1 POWER OF ATTORNEY; 9 VIEWS; 10 CATHEDRAL; 11 RALLIES; 12 NIAGARA; 13 YEARNED; 14 ALLEGRO; 19 and 16 ORDER OF THE BATH; 21 IMPLIED; 23 SLUMBER; 24 KITCHENER; 25 ELLEN; 26 NUTCRACKER SUITE.

DOWN:—1 POVERTY-STRICKEN; 2 WHEELBASE; 3 RUSSIAN; [illegible] FOCUSED; 5 TITANIA; 6 OVERALL; 7 NORMA; 8 YALTA CONFERENCE; 15 GARIBALDI; 17 ADITHEH; 18 HEDONIC; 19 OBSERVE; 20 DAUBERS; 22 PETIT.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Progressives' Convention

Almost a total news blackout hid the operations in Chicago last week-end of the Progressive Party's national convention, which nominated Vincent Hallinan for President and Charlotta Bass for Vice President. Shorn of its 1948 Presidential nominee, Henry A. Wallace, and otherwise decimated by the events of the cold war it was only through the insistence of the Federal Communications Commission that the party was able to get any of its proceedings on the national networks. The behavior of the press and the networks is of course based on their guess that this year, unlike 1948, when they took three states away from Mr. Truman, the Progressives will be unable to garner enough votes to swing any states into the Republican column.

From several points of view, however, this is unfortunate. We have no illusions as to the possibility that the Progressives can become the long-awaited third party which will, in Vito Marcantonio's words, signalize the beginning of the "crackup" of the Democrats, or even bring about a useful realignment of forces in the two old parties. But it remains a fact that, because of its threat in several key areas, Wallace's candidacy four years ago had a useful effect in needling the President on issues touching the interests of independent liberals. This year, with all liberal programs in mortal danger, the lack of an effective challenge from the left is only regrettable.

Strachey Speaks for British Labor

Britain's sharp reaction to the American decision—made without consultation—to bomb the power installations near the Manchurian border produced as a first result the appointment of a British officer as a deputy to General Mark W. Clark. This has been followed by a proposal from London that a civilian advisor also be attached to General Clark to give him diplomatic guidance on military matters weighted with political implications.

If our European allies find the courage to demand an end of unilateral war- and policy-making in Washington, other things may also change. John Strachey, Minister of War in the Labor government, in a major political speech in London last Saturday not only denounced the North Korean bombings as "dangerous folly, which the whole world has interpreted as having the character of widening the war." He also said British opinion solidly opposes the idea that the Chinese Nationalists can be put back into power. Speaking not only for himself but for Mr. Attlee and other Labor Party leaders, he called for "A clear declaration on the part of all governments of the United Nations, including America, that as soon as an armistice is concluded in Korea, China [*i. e.,* the Peking government] will be admitted to the Security Council, the government of Chiang Kai-shek will no longer be recognized, and negotiations for a settlement of Formosa, . . . will be begun." This plan, he admitted, was not practical politics today in the United States but eventually it would "have to prevail." Apart from its immediate applicability, however, such a proposal coming at this time from one of the leaders of the Labor Opposition, which is daily gaining adherents at the expense of the Tories, is political pressure of a most potent sort—on Whitehall and in Washington too. It adds one further item to the elements of hope in the Far Eastern situation.

Congress and Controls

President Truman signed a watered-down price-and-wage-control bill on the theory that half a loaf is better than none. No one knows whether the law as passed will prove sufficient to ward off disastrous inflation; the Congress which passed it did not even attempt to find out. The New York *Times* reported as follows on the manner in which our representatives in Washington decided on the price we must pay for the things we eat, the things we wear, the roof over our heads:

> All last week the corridor across the back of the House chamber was jammed with representatives of industrialists, retailers, real-estate men, and other anti-controls groups. During the hectic House debates . . . the lobbyists buttonholed their Congressmen friends and handed them anti-controls amendments which in some cases were submitted on the House floor without even a prior reading by the sponsoring Representative.

This is parliamentary democracy at its worst. The Republican reactionaries and Dixiecrats, who were primarily responsible for the fiasco, were apparently motivated equally by their friendship for the lobbyists and their grudge against Truman and his wage and price stabilizers. Well, the ultimate responsibility for what happens as the result of the law will be theirs. November may prove again—as Novembers have proved in the past—that a $5 rent raise or a 3-cent boost in the price of canned vegetables impresses the voters more than a million words of oratory.

The Plague of UNESCO

In protest against the recent United Nations decision favoring the admission of Franco Spain into UNESCO, Albert Camus, distinguished French novelist and playwright, has broken off all relations with this U. N. agency. Known in the United States chiefly as author of the best-selling novel "The Plague," Camus has often been attacked by the Communists, and his action cannot be ascribed to Muscovite influence. In his letter to Jaime Torres Bodet, director of UNESCO, the French writer merely said that it would be impossible for him to give his "personal and professional collaboration" to an organization in which a representative of Franco would sit.

Camus's motive is perfectly clear. He considers it intolerable for the United States, Great Britain, and France, through their votes, to decide that Spanish culture should be represented by a second-rate artist in the service of a dictator. No decision made by the United Nations in regard to Spain has been so outrageous as this attempt to wed UNESCO, devoted to the promotion of culture, to Francisco Franco, the murderer of Federico García Lorca.

But Budenz Goes Free

In 1950 Senator McCarthy charged Owen Lattimore with being a "Soviet agent." After an elaborate investigation by the Tydings committee Lattimore was formally exonerated. But essentially the same charge was later repeated before the McCarran committee, which refused to hear Mr. Lattimore until the poison of the headlines had spread far and wide. The committee then subjected its victim to the longest Congressional cross-examination on record, a twelve-day ordeal, constantly interrupting him when he attempted to get his refutation on the record. During this second "trial"—only the man's job and honor and reputation were at stake—without benefit of judge, jury, or due process, the committee was presented with a clear-cut challenge to find the truth: Budenz, the committee's star witness, had called Lattimore a Communist; Lattimore called this a lie; and both men were under oath. But instead of sending their testimony to the Department of Justice to determine the truth, the committee has recommended grand-jury proceedings against Lattimore for perjury while entirely ignoring the conflicts in the testimony of Budenz.

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The public will hardly overlook the fact that only a few days ago the State Department issued a formal apology to Mr. Lattimore on the passport incident. For a second it seemed as though the Baltimore professor might be permitted to win a round, but, no, the effect of the apology was promptly nullified by the issuance of this latest report, which reeks of personal malice and partisan passion. Just how free, indeed, is free? And what ever happened to "double jeopardy"? And is there a candidate for the Presidency, Democratic or Republican, with the courage and sense of political responsibility to denounce this Nazi-like procedure?

Encampment for Citizenship

Two weeks ago, 110 young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three settled in on the campus of the Fieldston School in Riverdale on the outskirts of New York City for a six-week "Encampment for Citizenship." They came from farms, mines, high-school and college classrooms; among them are law students, grocery clerks, waiters, teachers. Thirty-three states are represented and a number of foreign countries as well. There are no distinctions of race, creed, or color. These young adults will live together for six weeks—an experience in itself enlightening; and they will take part in intensive discussions of the basic elements of good citizenship. They will also have a lot of fun.

The Encampment is sponsored by the American Ethical Union, and since 1946 some 700 young people have attended its sessions. The letters they write afterward—we have seen samples—provide ample and touching evidence of the profit and pleasure they derive from this association with their peers and the teachers who direct the discussions. What cannot be gauged, but will be even more important in the long run, is the influence these young people will carry to the widely scattered communities from which they hail.

General Taft and Mr. Eisenhower

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE early stages of the Republican convention the Taft steam-roller flattened out the opposition with an arrogant show of power, nominating the keynoter and chairman, commanding a spot on the program for Senator McCarthy, winning the first tests of strength in the committees. While Eisenhower was demonstrating his technique as a dry-fly fisherman in Colorado, Taft's men were hooking delegates in Chicago.

Behind Taft's powerful bid for the nomination has been the power of a political coalition that, in the making for many years, reached maturity in Chicago. Taft went to the convention as the favorite of two equally aggressive and reactionary forces within the Republican Party. On the one hand, he has been embraced with enthusiasm by "the angry right," in whose eyes McCarthy and MacArthur are demi-gods. This angry right is made up of many elements—pre-Pearl Harbor America Firsters, remnants of the Coughlinite movement, Christian Fronters, and other bizarre elements that were once readily identifiable as "native fascists." Taft has repudiated the support of the more vicious of these elements, but the repudiation is entirely *pro forma*; witness his alliance with McCarthy. Then there are "the widow-makers," the elements whose presence one always senses but never quite manages to see behind the figure of John Foster Dulles. These elements move on levels at which power is highly concentrated; they manipulate McCarthy and other puppets. Always dangerous, alone or in combination, the strength of these elements has been greatly enhanced by the rise of neo-fascism as a world-wide aspect of the crusade against communism. Whatever the Senator from Ohio may have been in the past, he is today the leader of an aggressive neo-fascist coalition. By comparison, Eisenhower seems like a starry-eyed Kansas youngster trying for first prize in a high-school speech competition; his supporters, too, seem paragons of civic virtue in comparison with the "old hands" who have been steering the Taft machine. Both camps are perhaps equally conservative, but the Eisenhower supporters have not yet abandoned the traditional air of a genteel business conservatism, whereas the Taftites are not at all embarrassed by the support of political gangsters.

Yet seldom if ever have two rivals so signally failed to define their basic differences as is the case in the bitter feud between Taft and Eisenhower. To help baffled voters we assigned Barrow Lyons the task of cataloguing in last week's issue some of the apparent differences in method and approach, if not in substance. But the basic paradox of a bitter feud over scarcely defined issues remains, and it can only be explained, in the last analysis, by the strange reversal of roles that has been forced on both men by the exigencies, real or imagined, of practical politics.

The Republican Party is a party of the right: that is, it is more obviously a party of property and power than is the Democratic Party. From the outset Taft's strategy has been to preempt the extreme right-wing position in a manner that would make it impossible for any rival to turn his right flank. The feeling for such a strategy has been, of course, as much a matter of temperamental preference as of cold calculation. But once committed to it, Taft found himself forced into sounding more and more like a puppet being manipulated by John Foster Dulles and Douglas MacArthur. Both Dulles and MacArthur deny that they advocate a preventive war, but the policies they urge today—and there has been a noticeable shift in Dulles's position—point down a path that leads to war. Of late Dulles has attacked the "almost entirely defensive policies of so-called containment" as marking "a serious retrogression" and has called for a more "dynamic" policy. That Taft has swung around to this point of view is shown by his willingness to let Dulles draft the foreign-policy plank, his unqualified support of General MacArthur's military policies, his active alliance with McCarthy, and the confident assertion in his Hershey, Pennsylvania, speech that we can risk even greater provocations, since Old Joe Stalin has simply "bamboozled" Harry Truman.

Eisenhower has not called the Taft-Dulles position by its right name, but he has definite reservations about it. At a recent press conference a reporter said: "I have great difficulty defining the differences between your policy and Dulles's and Taft's. Can you do that in a concise way?" But about the most "concise" the General dared be was to say: "I don't know that Dulles and I are very far apart. I merely thought that lately he was sure that all we had to do was sit at home and have an air force to suddenly dispatch off into the wild blue yonder and that would have all the influence we needed."

AS THE pre-convention campaign unfolded, Taft was forced to take an increasingly aggressive position on foreign policy, while Eisenhower, who began with a me-too strategy, has moved steadily to a more conciliatory position since his Denver speech. Thus Taft, the civilian fighting to remove a pre-war "isolationist" tag, has sounded more and more like the military chauvinist; whereas Eisenhower, the general fighting the "military" tag, has actually sounded much more pacific than Taft, who voted against the Selective Service Act and today opposes universal military training!

What has really happened is not so much that each man has tried to reverse his position—the civilian to become a general, the general to become a civilian—as that the old tags are quite meaningless today. "Isolationists" are no longer pitted against "interventionists"; the division now is between two opposing schools of thought on how to win a war. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, there are virtually no isolationists nowadays, only "unilateralists" and "coalitionists." The former isolationists, like Senator Bricker, do not attack the United Nations today because they want the United States to stay at home and avoid entangling alliances; they are merely convinced that this country can, and should, boss the world.

This behind-the-scenes feud between the "primitives" and the "sophisticates" in the Republican Party is important not merely because the difference in emphasis might lead to modification in policy, but also because the Taft men now are the most aggressively pro-war elements in the party. Eisenhower's nomination would mean a setback if not a defeat for these elements. It would mean, too, that the good sense of our allies might still be listened to, occasionally, in Washington. On two important occasions—when MacArthur sent South Korean forces across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and just recently when the installations on the Yalu River were bombed—it has been pressure from our allies, not domestic political pressure, that imposed a mild brake on the forward movement of our impulsive policy. If the Taft "isolationists" came to power, they would be wholly indifferent to if not openly contemptuous of any foreign restraint.

BUT it must be admitted that the differences between the Republican "unilateralists" and "coalitionists" can fade into nothingness if they are not emphasized. Mr. Eisenhower has failed to sharpen the public's awareness of the differences. These differences can be made pretty meaningless, too, by the course of the war in Korea. The Washington *Post*, the New York *Post*, and a few other papers have argued the case that the Yalu bombings do not represent a surrender by the Administration to the MacArthur thesis; but the argument has not impressed our European allies, and the glee with which the Hearst press announced the raids as a striking confirmation of the soundness of MacArthur's strategy would also indicate that the distinction is too fine for practical politics.

Even if Eisenhower should win the nomination, he is likely to end as the captive of the forces that have been trying to steam-roller Taft into the White House. It is quite apparent that, as the convention opened, these forces controlled the machinery of the Republican Party and held the balance of Republican power in Congress. And unfortunately there has been a suggestion of capitulation, not resistance, in the attitude of the Eisenhower backers. There was, for example, the warning of Dewey's public-relations expert to Senator Lodge to be careful about speaking out against McCarthyism after McCarthy had been invited to address the convention.

The irony of the 1952 political situation lies in the ability of the most reactionary elements in each party to maintain an apparent veto power over the most liberal elements in each. If the liberals were united in one party they might be able to fashion an effective majority. As it is, it is debatable whether Eisenhower would be any more the captive of the "primitives" in the Republican Party than, say, Governor Stevenson would be of the Dixiecrat Malanites in the Democratic. In both instances, the "primitives" continue to amass power by forcing the opposition to appease them. Just as Mr. Acheson's most loyal defenders now sadly concede that he knuckles under to McCarran, so General Eisenhower dismays his friends by refusing to repudiate McCarthy. Are the people to be offered a Hobson's choice between the appeasers of McCarran and the appeasers of McCarthy?

Edouard Herriot at Eighty

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

ON JULY 5 one of the few outstanding European statesmen reached an age at which, according to prevailing American ideas, he should have retired from politics. The French, however, know that a man like Edouard Herriot, long-time leader of the Radical Socialist Party, is too valuable to be spared; they congratulate themselves on having a president of the National Assembly who at eighty is willing as well as able to continue in his post, and who through his innate authority and invincible good humor can impose order on the most tumultuous session.

After enjoying a dinner which would make any dietician shudder, each course a threat to one with his multiple infirmities, M. Herriot goes to the Assembly leaning on his stick or on the arm of a friend. His appearance may give the impression of a helpless old man, but it is his adversaries on the floor who find themselves helpless when he moves into action.

In the best French tradition Herriot has always been a combination of artist and statesman, occupied with his writing—on such varied themes as "Beethoven" and "Mme Récamier" and "The Forests of Normandy"—and with governing his city of Lyons, of which he once wrote, "I cherish Lyons as one loves a woman." He has been mayor of the city since 1905 and has not only built up its trade and industry and sponsored its famous "fair" but added greatly to its beauty with parks and gardens. Flowers are one of his chief interests: on May 18, 1940, the day the German armies broke through the French line at Sedan, he found a moment to talk with the gardener in the grounds of the Chamber of Deputies, who was calmly watering his begonias, indifferent to the rumor that Paris was to be evacuated immediately.

He is a connoisseur in many fields. When he visited Madrid in the first years of the Spanish republic, he astonished the curators of the Prado museum by his detailed knowledge of the great masters, their techniques, their lives, and the development of their art. His friendship for the Spanish Republicans never wavered.

Edouard Herriot had a good start. He began the studies which he has continued throughout his long life at the Ecole Normale, an institution so exacting that it would reject a boy for failure to recall some minor incident in history. On leaving, Herriot received from Poincaré an appointment as teacher at the Lycée of Nantes. His lectures on Voltaire and Vigny revealed his exceptional qualities, but he first became known as a brilliant speaker in the chair of rhetoric at Lyons. In the decades between the wars he served many French governments. In power or out, he remained a dominating figure on the French political scene.

THE fall of France affected him more profoundly than one might have thought from his attitude. Revolted by the conventional patriotic pronunciamientos under which the defeatists concealed their cowardice, he refused to take part in the farce. On the night of the capitulation, when Chautemps' intrigues brought Pétain to power, Herriot placed himself at the side of Georges Mandel, the conservative Minister of the Interior who had been his political adversary, both opposing the surrender and demanding that the government should go to Africa to continue the fight. Mandel, a Jew, gave a lesson in patriotism to the anti-Semitic *canaille* which sought another Hitler for France—and was murdered for his courage.

Edouard Herriot

After the Pétain government was installed at Vichy, Herriot continued to attend the sessions of the captive Chamber and to defend the rights of those members who had gone to North Africa. He remained in occupied France himself and was arrested by the Germans in 1942. When Darlan pretended to share his opposition to the capitulators, Pétain and Weygand, Herriot remarked: "This admiral knows how to swim."

In the post-war years he observed with growing anxiety that the forces of reaction were returning to power as a result of the international crisis, which was uniting the most incompatible groups in a common front against Russia. He was too experienced a politician to share the illusion of some members of his own party and of the Socialists that it would be possible to form an alliance with the right against communism and afterward—tearing up the mortgage—reestablish the balance with a firm center-left platform. He knew that once the right was in power, it would not easily be driven out, and that the aggressiveness required for a successful attempt could not be expected from a left split and demoralized by its retreats and its deals. As the architect of the old *cartel des gauches*, he hoped at the beginning that the Radicals would have the courage and the Communists the tolerance to bring to the task of rebuilding France the unity and fervor of the Resistance.

When he saw that internal divisions and the exigencies of foreign policy made this impossible, he limited his activities to presiding over the National Assembly and directing the annual conventions of his party. He did not want the Radicals to fall completely under the reactionary influence of Edouard Daladier, his long-time rival for the leadership. Then at the beginning of this year his apathy suddenly disappeared in the face of a new challenge. He was aroused by NATO's plan to base European defense on the projected German divisions, and he decided to oppose publicly a policy which he thought disastrous for France and likely to bring on a third world war.

He first expressed himself on the subject in an address at the Sorbonne—scarcely noticed in the American press—congratulating Léon Jouhaux on having been awarded the Nobel peace prize. Other notables spoke that night, but Herriot was the wittiest and most effective, and also seemed the youngest; he was clearly in the full vigor of his intellectual powers. A few weeks ago, at the Radical Socialist Party congress, he gave political form to his remarks at the Sorbonne, and demanded that France refuse to support a German policy which might lead to war with Russia. In this the president of the Assembly is in full accord with the president of the republic, Vincent Auriol, who in recent months has constantly urged a Big Four conference on Germany.

At eighty, Edouard Herriot has inaugurated a new phase of his memorable career: he has become the spokesman of the universal demand for peace.

Negro Rights and the Supreme Court

BY EARL B. DICKERSON

THE astute Mr. Dooley's often quoted remark that "the Supreme Court follows the iliction returns" is peculiarly applicable to the court's civil-rights decisions, as Professor John Frank has recently pointed out. In one of his annual summaries of the court's work Professor Frank said:

> In the past, it has been political action rather than Supreme Court majority decisions which has brought the country out of its repressions. The victory of Jefferson and not the accession of John Marshall [as Chief Justice] ended the Alien and Sedition laws. . . . The Supreme Court has seldom been in the civil-rights vanguard when the tensions were strong; indeed, it was Supreme Court decisions that sent the Negro part-way back to bondage after the Civil War.

The present witch-hunting period provides additional proof that the court has often not merely refused to check the movement toward repression but contributed to its force.

The tide of New Deal liberalism reached its crest in Congress and the White House in the late 1930's. In the Supreme Court the crest came in the first year or two of the next decade. The court in which Justices Black, Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge joined forces was the one that most widely extended the constitutional safeguards of the right to picket, to distribute leaflets, to hold public meetings, and to express unpopular views. Certainly between the years 1937 and 1943 the court gave the Bill of Rights new breadth and depth and came close to restoring to the freedoms of the First Amendment the spirit and meaning the Founding Fathers intended it to have.

The decline of the New Deal ended the era of liberalism. The cold war and the rapid development of a war psychology sent the Bill of Rights into a tailspin. The first manifestation of the change in the political climate appeared, as usual, in Congress. In 1940 the Smith act was passed, in 1943 the Smith-Connally anti-labor act, in 1947 the Taft-Hartley act, in 1950 the McCarran "concentration-camp" act. Now Congress has just passed another McCarran law against aliens and is debating new Smith legislation directed against labor.

In the meantime the Supreme Court has also steadily whittled away at the Bill of Rights. Decision after decision has imposed limitations on the very civil rights which before 1945 the court had protected and extended. Loyalty oaths have been given the stamp of judicial approval. Men have been imprisoned for the crime of conspiring to "teach" and "advocate." Lawfully resident aliens have been held deportable for their espousal of unorthodox political views even if they had re-

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nounced those views before passage of the laws under which their deportation was ordered. Dissemination of opinions by the use of sound trucks—an important medium of communication to minority groups now that most mass-communication media are in the hands of the wealthy—is frowned upon where once it was protected. When the police have considered a speech potentially provocative of violence, they have been upheld by the court in their attempt to preserve order by silencing the speaker instead of by controlling the violence. The court's decision sustaining the Taft-Hartley requirement of a non-Communist affidavit from union officials represented, as Professor Frank has said, "the first case in American history in which belief as such, completely unrelated to individual action of any kind, has been made the basis of limitations on the rights of a citizen."

ALL these developments in Supreme Court doctrine restrict the right of protest against the status quo, effectively deterring the unpopular, the oppressed, the minority from speaking up in favor of change. For Negro citizens, who as the major victims of discrimination have the most vital interest in preserving the broadest freedom to protest, they carry a special threat. In an atmosphere of restraint of free speech only individuals of great courage will speak out vigorously against Jim Crow laws, poll-tax restrictions, and failure to prosecute those who take part in mob violence against Negroes. In short, the attitude of the court casts a shadow of fear even over areas which its decisions do not literally cover.

Paradoxically, however, the same court which has thus emasculated the Bill of Rights has also denied injunctive enforcement of the restrictive covenant. And it has refused• to allow the states totally to exclude Negroes from the benefits of higher education made available to other races. Unfortunately, the undeniable progress reflected by these decisions creates the danger that Negroes may look to the court to save them from the evils of an era of repression. That they would find its decisions a slender reed to lean on is apparent from the record.

After the "emancipation" which Negroes thought they had gained from the Civil War, the court soon found formulas for keeping them "in their place." In 1875 the Cruikshank decision construed the civil-rights legislation of the Reconstruction era so restrictively that it was rendered almost meaningless. In 1883 the decision that the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to action by the state and not to action by individuals made the Negro fair prey to a host of discriminations which plague him to this day. And soon the court evolved a mechanism for permitting state governments to discriminate. In 1896, in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* it enunciated the "separate but equal doctrine," allowing segregation so long as the separated races were given "equal" treatment. The struggle against discrimination which Negroes have carried on in the courts for the past fifty-six years has been largely a struggle to erase Plessy from the statute books.

It is in the light of that struggle that such recent "advances" as the restrictive-covenant decision and those opening up graduate schools and eliminating "curtained-off" tables in trains must be evaluated. The Sweatt decision in 1950 required admission of Negroes to a white law school in a community where the hastily created Negro school was in fact not equal; the McLaurin decision in the same year compelled equal treatment of the Negro student once he was admitted to the white graduate school. In both cases the court, although strenuously urged to do so, refused to meet the Plessy doctrine head-on and once for all strike it from the law books. Having been allowed to survive for fifty-six years this doctrine has spawned a multitude of laws in the Southern states compelling segregation in schools, libraries, railroad facilities, hospitals, theaters, playgrounds, beaches, restaurants, penal institutions, welfare institutions, voting places, and even telephone booths and lavatories.

AT THE basis of the court's failure to protect Negro rights is its refusal or inability to recognize that due process of law and equal justice are impossible in a climate of opinion which accepts and even exalts segregation. Illustrations of its apparent blindness to this fact are found in the Martinsville Seven and McGee decisions. In both these cases the court was presented with substantive historical evidence that while many Negroes had been put to death following convictions for rape in the prosecuting states, no white person so convicted had ever been executed. It refused, however, to review the sentences, and the Negro defendants were executed.

Clearly the court must be made to see what is becoming increasingly evident to the American people—that the promise of equal justice for all will remain a fiction as long as segregation is tolerated. And as long as Negroes can obtain only unequal justice, the Fourteenth Amendment is deprived of a large part of its intended substance as a guarantor of the rights of national citizenship.

Another challenge to the court to strike Plessy down is presented by two cases awaiting argument in the fall —one from Clarendon County, South Carolina, and one from Kansas. The issue in both is elementary-school segregation, and it will be interesting to see whether a majority of the justices will be able to devise a new technique for perpetuating the segregation pattern.

Any action the court has ever taken to protect Negro rights has been slow and grudging. It barred the restrictive covenant only after it had rejected a long series of attempts to have it review the question. Last year it again showed its reluctance to act in timely fashion on issues of long-range importance for the Negro by its refusal to review the Stuyvesant Town decision of the New York Court of Appeals. The lower court had permitted racial discrimination by the private owner of a housing development which had been subsidized with public funds and aided by the state's power of eminent domain. The significance of the refusal to review looms large in the light of the fact that housing developments of this kind are being constructed throughout the country and will constitute an important part of the national housing supply in the next decade. If in some similar situation in the future the court rules against the owner, the decision will represent an empty victory for a Negro population which has been effectively excluded from completed housing.

Many Negro leaders—following Mr. Dooley—believe that the position of the Supreme Court will be determined by the growing political significance of the Negro, both nationally and internationally. On the domestic scene the Negro vote may be decisive in Northern urban centers and is potentially a factor to be considered in some areas of the South. On the international scene American injustice to the Negro has propaganda value for the Kremlin and must therefore be condemned. The Negro is compelled to recognize that he can place less reliance on the good-will of a few appointed justices than on his strength in the political arena. For the development of that strength he must have freedom to organize and freedom to voice his discontents.

The Negro cannot afford, therefore, to isolate his fight for his people's rights from the broader struggle to preserve the protections of the Bill of Rights. He cannot afford to limit his demands to F. E. P. C. legislation, anti-poll-tax measures, anti-lynch laws, and the abolition of segregation, but must join, for his own interest, in the fight for repeal of the Smith act, the McCarran act, and the Taft-Hartley act. Only when there has been created an atmosphere of political liberalism in which men cannot be imprisoned for their political views will the overturn of the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision become inevitable.

Japan—Danger Ahead

BY HIROO MUKAI

THOUGH the peace treaty has become effective and Japan has regained its sovereignty, many Japanese hope that the United States will remain alert to the threat not only of communism but of ultra-nationalism in Japan. Japanese who truly believe in democracy are alarmed at the speed with which the country is returning to its pre-war form and at the influence the ultra-nationalists have already regained. And they are perplexed by the seeming indifference of most Americans, for they know that the revival of ultra-nationalism will be disastrous to Japanese-American relations.

Nearly two thousand rightist organizations are registered today with the Attorney General's Office in Tokyo. This figure proves the right's remarkable comeback, for most of its organizations were dissolved after the nation's defeat in accordance with the government's decision to "exterminate ultra-nationalistic forces," and others dwindled away under the unfavorable conditions then prevailing.

Rightist groups are still careful not to display ultra-nationalism in their platforms; some even use the word "democracy" to camouflage their true objectives. Most of them explicitly support the Emperor system without attempting to revive the mythology of the Emperor's divinity. Many advocate the establishment of a third force in Asia and the development of the Greater Asian doctrine, call for full independence and self-defense, and stress the need for absolute neutrality. Their propaganda is directed especially to the younger generation, emphasizing the important role youth can play in recovering the nation's glory. The current nationalist movement as a whole is said to be more anti-American than anti-Communist; indeed, some organizations have economic platforms which are definitely Marxist. And like the Communists, the nationalists are eager to oust the American troops from Japan. This common aim worries pro-American Japanese, who foresee the possibility of a coalition between the two forces.

The ultra-nationalist elements have benefited by the so-called "depurge," which toward the end of the Occupation restored full freedom of action to more than 90 per cent of the 206,000 former army and navy officers, government officials, politicians, industrialists, jour-

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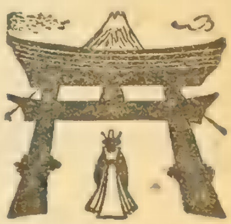
nalists, and other leaders who had been forbidden to hold public office or participate in political activities. Furthermore, since Japan became independent, the remaining victims of the purge have also been freed from all restrictions. This wholesale reversal of policy was foolish, say many Japanese who believe in democracy. They feel that the confirmed militarists and nationalists should have been differentiated from the men who merely happened to hold key positions during the war and that the latter only should have been cleared.

Their contention is borne out by the arrogance of former military and political leaders, who have not changed their ideas and do not seem to feel any responsibility for their past actions. For instance, Shinsuke Kishi, Tojo's Minister of Commerce and Industry, said recently in an interview with the press: "I feel that I settled all my past accounts during my imprisonment in Sugamo [for three years and three months as a war criminal]. I believe that I am qualified openly to advocate the rebuilding of Japan. I am not going to trouble about [my past record]." Sometimes it seems that the purge has merely served to add the glamour of martyrdom to its objects.

THE post-war world situation proved a boon to the revival of ultra-nationalism in Japan. As a result of the tension between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union, the Occupation placed increasing weight on anti-Communist measures, especially after the outbreak of fighting in Korea. Its policy of fighting Communist propaganda by stressing the spirit of national unity and appealing to the traditional patriotism of the people made things easy for the rightists. The precise point at which a healthy spirit of national unity becomes extreme nationalism is hard to determine, and the line of demarcation between patriotism and jingoism or chauvinism is obscure.

The problem of Japan's self-defense is giving former military leaders the opportunity to get together and develop group strength. Their professional knowledge and experience are speedily gaining importance, for military strategy and tactics are considered beyond the scope of a layman. The National Police Reserve, soon to be reorganized under a Bureau of Security, has become a good rallying point for the nationalists, although General MacArthur could not have intended it to be such when he authorized its creation in the summer of 1950. Defined at the time as an "auxiliary to the National Rural Police and the Municipal Police within the limits necessary for maintaining peace and order and guaranteeing the welfare of the public," it has steadily acquired the features of an army.

Whether or not Japan embarks upon a program of full rearmament, the controversy has already brought about active cooperation between naval and military leaders and the more important political parties. Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, ambassador to the United States at the outbreak of war, is said to be advising the Liberal Party on reorganizing the National Police Reserve into a security force. Lieutenant General Eiichi Tatsumi and Rear Admiral Yoshio Yamamoto are also linked to this attempt to bypass the issue of revising the Constitution, as would be necessary for a program of full rearmament. The Progressive Party, led by the wartime Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, advocates full reconstruction of military forces and is advised by Lieutenant Colonel Hattori, former secretary of Tojo, with the support of Generals Arisue, Inada, and Kamata. These cordial relations between the military leaders and the political parties seem ominous to many Japanese. There is always the danger, it is felt, that the former army and navy leaders will become more interested in reestablishing a fascist regime than in building up national self-defense.



The issue of rearmament is of course a delicate one. In the face of current realities and needs it is hard to oppose the arguments in favor. As a sovereign nation Japan cannot depend indefinitely upon the United States for its security, and the moral and spiritual effect of having even a nominal means of self-protection cannot be overlooked. Furthermore, public sentiment in the United States may call for a rearmed Japan to perform its duties in securing peace in the Pacific area. Yet Japanese democrats cannot overcome their fear that full rearmament will permit the revival of ultra-nationalism. It will be argued, they believe, that for the sake of a uniform and consistent policy the armed forces should not be controlled by the Prime Minister; and that in view of the need to keep the army and navy free from political influences, the Diet should not have any direct power over them. Next, the nationalists are expected to assert that unity and high morale can be attained only with the Emperor as supreme commander, and then of course they will point out that if the Emperor is to exercise his powers as supreme commander he must have some control over the government. In this way the old Emperor system will eventually be reestablished and the present sovereignty of the people be lost.

The ultra-nationalist elements, the believers in democracy know, will make full use of any means available. They will urge anti-communism, praise the idea of a family nation centering in the Emperor, emphasize the inefficiency of democratic procedures in government, denounce any excessive use of freedom, and constantly appeal to the masses' nostalgic memories of the nation's pre-war power. Their aims will be disguised as Japanese democracy, and it will be hard for their opponents to point out the deception. Many liberal-minded college professors, writers, and commentators are anticipating the day when the ultra-nationalists will accuse them of being Communists, radicals, or fellow-travelers. They realize that the task of keeping Japan truly democratic will be made more difficult by the people's inherent sympathy with nationalism. But they are determined to protect the new democracy and keep the country a true friend of the United States and the other Western nations. The only thing they ask of the United States is moral and spiritual support. They hope that the American people will keep a watchful eye upon Japan and criticize reactionary tendencies as they appear.

Freedom in Book and Classroom

The Right to Read

BY DAVID K. BERNINGHAUSEN

LOUD voices in America are demanding that American libraries copy the methods of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and ban certain expressions of opinion. The American Library Association, an organization of 21,000 professional librarians, has officially taken the opposite position. On June 28 and 29 its Committee on Intellectual Freedom sponsored a conference on censorship problems at the New York Bar Association in New York.

William Dix, committee chairman, opened the meetings by saying that the librarian's professional function is to disseminate information on all sides of every issue. At the same time, he declared, he would not want his library used as a tool by Communists or by any other group which denied the fundamental thesis of a free society—that truth must have complete freedom to combat error in the market-place of ideas. Mr. Dix cited the Library Bill of Rights, adopted in 1939 and reaffirmed in 1948, which may be summarized as follows: Books and other reading matter should be chosen on the basis of interest, information, and enlightenment of all the people of the community. In no case should a book be excluded because of the race, nationality, or political or religious views of the author. All points of view—international, national, and local—concerning the problems of our times, should be presented as fully as possible, and no books or other reading matter of sound factual authority should be proscribed or removed from library shelves for partisan or doctrinal reasons. Censorship of books, as urged or practiced by volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion or by organizations that would establish a coercive concept of Americanism, must be challenged by libraries in discharge of their responsibility to provide information through the printed word.

Dr. Julian Boyd, librarian of Princeton University and an authority on Thomas Jefferson, asserted that the censors of today are the real un-Americans, the true subversives. Alan Barth, editorial writer on the Washington *Post,* said caustically, "We used to be derisive and poke fun at the Soviet's iron curtain, but that was before we perceived the virtues of their course of action and paid them the flattering compliment of copying them." The McCarran curtain, he added, imposes much the same restrictions as the iron curtain. The thesis of John E. Smith, of the library of the University of California in Los Angeles, was that there is no such thing as good or wise censorship. Mr. Smith put it this way: "I have little fear that lurid comics or trashy fiction or '*Washington Confidential*' will corrupt us as long as the channels of communication are kept free. I have great fear, on the other hand, that censorship, official or unofficial, would quickly corrupt us all." Donald Klopfer of Random House stressed the common stake of all publishers, writers, and librarians in maintaining freedom of inquiry. "Freedom is indeed dangerous," he said; "free circulation of everyone's ideas means risks. But I am utterly convinced that far greater dangers to our whole way of life, to everything that we hold dear, arise from suppression of ideas."

American librarians are thoroughly awake to their responsibility to preserve our traditional freedom to read and judge for ourselves. During the past five difficult years they have worked hard to encourage all Americans to examine their heritage of freedom. This year they have promoted reading and discussion groups under the American Heritage Project, financed by the Ford Foundation. Librarians hope that the basic policies of the profession will help American libraries to remain free. It was stressed throughout the conference that these policies are designed not to protect librarians but to protect the right of every citizen to read anything he wishes.

On the question of labeling books, the A. L. A.'s position has been formulated as follows:

> Librarians should not use the technique of labeling as a means of predisposing readers against library materials. Although totalitarian states find it easy and even proper, according to their ethics, to establish criteria for judging publications as "subversive," injustice and ignorance rather than justice and enlightenment result from such practices, and the American Library Association has a responsibility to take a stand against the establishment of such criteria in a democratic state. Libraries do not

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> advocate the ideas found in their collections. The presence of a magazine or book in a library does not indicate an indorsement of its content by the library. . . . Although we are all agreed that communism is a threat to the free world, if materials are labeled to pacify one group, there is no excuse for refusing to label any item in the library's collection. Because communism, fascism, or other authoritarianisms tend to suppress ideas and attempt to coerce individuals to conform to a specific ideology, American librarians must be opposed to any other group which aims at closing any path to knowledge.

Mr. Barth summarized the problem in these words:

> I agree that the danger is very great, and I think that you as members of a profession need to close ranks, need to come together in the large area in which you have agreement, to resist what Professor Chafee calls "a barbarian invasion," to resist the ground swell of know-nothingism which is attacking all ideas and which is attacking the central idea of American life—that men have a right to hold and to express ideas no matter how unorthodox they may be. . . . It seems to me that it is to the preservation of this freedom that you owe your first obligation, that the real and the essential loyalty of free men everywhere is a loyalty to the illimitable freedom of the human mind.

The Right to Teach

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Detroit

AT THE ninetieth annual convention of the National Education Association, held here last week, the N. E. A.'s Commission for Defense of Democracy Through Education issued a blast against the "numerous misstatements of fact and the usual shopworn clichés" which appeared in Your Child Is Their Target, an article attacking modern education and the N. E. A. in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine.* Similar charges were passed as resolutions by two local Legion posts.

Taking stock of the war against the public schools, Dr. Robert A. Skaife, the commission's field secretary, reported on the "ignominious" defeats recently inflicted on the self-styled critics of public education by alert citizenries in Scarsdale, New York, and Ferndale, Michigan. Dr. Skaife thought it necessary, however, to add the warning that "when teachers have to work in an atmosphere [of smears and suspicion], sometimes they get cold feet."

This theme was enlarged on in coffee-shop sessions. Delegates told of the hollow "victory" won in Montgomery County, Maryland, where despite the continuance in office of the school administration under fire, "the curriculum has been set back ten years." In Scarsdale many of the "victorious" teachers are at present looking elsewhere for employment. In Sunnyside, Washington, the Superintendent of Schools and—according to reports—85 of the total school personnel of 135 voluntarily resigned. In Denver the school administration, after being vindicated, yielded to continuing pressure and removed "subversive" Public Affairs Pamphlets from general-circulation library shelves. One educator said, "We've been beating them since Pasadena, but they just won't be licked. They've got important friends."

Apparently the school teachers of America will not be licked either. During the past year of attacks, N. E. A. membership has been steadily zooming toward the million mark.

Music to Remember

BY ARNOLD SILVER

Prades, France

ALL over Paris today one finds chalked on the walls of houses, of the Sorbonne, of ministry offices, the shrill scrawl "Go Home Americans" or variations thereof. In the past few weeks, of course, this has been accompanied by the angrier phrase "Libérez Duclos." Yet here in Prades, a small town in southern France, the first sign that greets the visitor's eye reads "Bienvenue—Welcome." There is substantial Communist sentiment here, despite considerable wealth, but the people have been occupied with an event that transcends politics—even though it has its political moral. Prades has been having its third Festival of Music and celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the great cellist in exile, Pablo Casals.

Held in the tenth-century Abbey of St. Michel de Cuxa, part of which has been transported to the Cloisters Museum in New York, the two-week festival—it ended June 29—attracted about twenty-five hundred visitors from twenty-eight countries, the largest foreign contingent coming from the United States. We shared, too, first rank in the number of musicians sent over—Stern, Istomin, and Katims among others. Perhaps the most moving aspect of the occasion was its combination of fraternalism and internationalism. Musicians and listeners joined in a true brotherhood that expressed the root ideal of religion.

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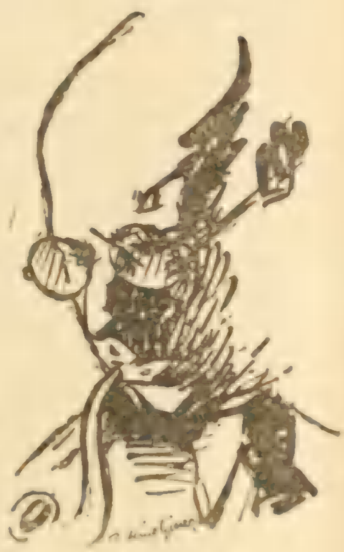
Of the concerts themselves, which were devoted to the chamber music of Bach, Schumann, Schubert, and Brahms, one can say little without recourse to superlatives. The division of the program among the four composers was perhaps too even; one wished for more Schubert and less Brahms. But never was Brahms played so magnificently. Most of the artists were distinguished soloists—Szigeti, Myra Hess, Horszowski, Tortelier, Tourel—and the ensemble rapport was singularly distinguished. There were no virtuosi here; the musicians served as instruments of the music. As has often been said, when one plays with Casals it is the music that is supreme. Yet these performances have an ineffable quality that almost transcends the music. One forgets that it is the Schumann piano quintet which is being played; one is conscious of hardly more than a sort of mystic tranquility. Returning slowly from other universes, the audience has difficulty in rousing itself to applaud. More eloquent than any applause are the eerie sighs heard in the inter-movement pauses and the soft radiance on people's faces.



Pablo Casals

. If anything, there is too much music at each concert; the evening moves through a series of exhausting climaxes. Afterward the musicians, too, seem languid—with the exception of the remarkably recharged Alexander Schneider, the violinist who is the true father of these festivals, since it was he who persuaded Casals to come out of semi-retirement. Casals himself is playing with superb vigor and control. At the Bach festival of two years ago the pressures on him were almost unbearable, and an occasional tautness could be heard in his playing. Last season's responsibilities as conductor were wearying in another way. Now he is more quietly relaxed, and those who heard him before the Spanish war agree that his playing and interpretative taste have never been so great.

Nor, one believes, could it be otherwise. For over the past fifteen years Pablo Casals has achieved greatness as a man. In our forgetful present he is one of the few noble reminders of the continuing resistance against the continuing menace of fascism. His aid to the Spanish refugees, of course, has been incalculable—materially and symbolically. And his warmth and love weave a web around all who approach him. His disciples respond to him in a way that can only be observed in their musical development. Eugene Istomin, for example, who stays for long periods in Prades, has developed an impressive maturity in interpretation in the past three years under Casals' tutelage.

THE people of the region also respond to Casals' humanity, generosity, and sweetness. The celebration of his birthday was their tribute to the man whom they revere. After the Mayor's speech, Catalonian dancers, some from towns fifty miles away, fêted the master with a colorful and vigorous display of native dancing. This is a proud people—they insist they are Catalonians first and Frenchmen or Spaniards second—possessing an ancient and distinctive culture. Regional flags of red and gold are everywhere in evidence, against the imposing background of the Pyrenees. Casals has a passionate devotion to the place and the people, and he insists that a true internationalism can be born only of deep local attachments. There is a real affinity between the rugged countryside and his own robust musicianship.

In his moving birthday address Casals declared that he was "a child of seventy-five," that humility and reverence for life are the touchstones for mankind, and that only love and kindness can save our tortured world. He brings us this message most clearly when he is at the cello, not only by his playing but by the subtle beauty of his face. Then his benign but unprepossessing presence achieves a rare attractiveness. His expression is truly child-like—alert, attentive. It has much wonder in it; he seems to be listening for something, to be waiting with an endless patience.

At rehearsals one has the privilege of seeing the effect of his humaneness. Joy and humor pervade the players and make the time pass unremarked. The musicians offer their interpretations of a particular passage with genial artistry. Usually Casals agrees; occasionally he will take up his bow and play a violin or viola part, giving his own consummate interpretation. "This" he suggests with shy insistence, "is the design, the meaning." And the next night one hears the passage played as if that were the only way it could be played. On that next night the musicians are no longer in sport shirts, Casals leaves his pipe in the dressing-room, the joking and exclamations of approval are muted; but unity and camaraderie flow out from the strings, and the seemingly effortless artistry overwhelms the audience.

At this festival even the weary and the cynical gain a renewed hope for humanity. The compassionate vigor of Casals' and the others' creativity is one of the few remaining evidences of the unsullied benefits of civilization. One wonders wistfully whether our present truculent paralysis might not be mitigated if the tired diplomats of the Big Four could hold a conference immediately after attending these concerts. Certainly the most rough-skinned diplomat would be affected by the wisdom and beauty of Casals' spirit.

Wanted: Grass-Roots Leadership

BY WOODRUFF RANDOLPH

This article by the president of the powerful International Typographical Union, A. F. of L., is one of a series in The Nation *(Labor Views the Campaigns, May 10, and What Labor Wants, June 14) presenting the views of organized labor on the major issues of the Presidential campaign.*

THE progress in education and science made during the past hundred years provides an opportunity to the working people of our democratic country to attain a better life and safeguard the political rights through which progress may be continued. But that very progress could conceivably be used to establish a police state. The outcome will be determined by the amount of sound thinking done by our people.

The industrial history of this country and of the world reveals the selfish role played by the owning and controlling fraction of the population. Another "depression" is inevitable when present government expenditures for defense are drastically curtailed or discontinued. It is inevitable because the vast numbers employed in producing and distributing war supplies cannot be immediately shifted to the production of consumer goods. Even if they could be so shifted, the market could not absorb such a large increase in consumers' goods.

Is anyone so naive as to suppose that business would on its own initiative reduce hours of work so as to absorb the unemployed, and at the same time keep the earning power of labor high enough to enable it to buy what is produced? Is anyone so demagogic as to claim that the surplus could be exported to the millions in want all over the world, when, under our capitalist system, it is obvious that there can be no foreign trade unless imports—in money or goods—equal exports? The debts which foreign countries owed us after World War I were canceled precisely because we refused to wreck our economy by accepting the only form of payment available—that is, goods.

All this points to the plain fact that the politicians who are now vilifying the New Deal and the Fair Deal are willing to allow the unrestricted exploitation of the people by corporations grown so powerful that they exercise more control over our destinies than does the government itself. It points to the need for ward and precinct meetings of people of both political parties to study ways and means to solve our economic problems through the proper over-all regulation of corporate activity.

The overriding issue now is whether the American people can avoid a backward step into the pre-New Deal era of economic feudalism. The New Deal gave the workers protection from company spies, private police, and hired thugs and established their right to organize and bargain through representatives of their own choosing. But these gains are now endangered by the return of the labor injunction, the use of legal procedures which compel unions to engage lawyers to answer fantastic charges brought by employers, lawsuits for damages claimed to be due to the workers' exercise of their right to strike, and the increase of bureaucratic control over economic matters.

Will the American people finally realize that capitalism—private ownership of property and production for profit—cannot be regulated in the public interest so long as those who control most media of publicity smear any attempt at government regulation of corporations as "creeping socialism"? Can the American people be brought to realize that our war economy enriches big business, lowers the average standard of living, and subjects everyone to the witch-hunting tactics of loud-mouthed demagogues who themselves enjoy legislative immunity? Will the American people realize quickly enough that economics and politics are inseparable?

The great issue of the 1952 political campaign is not the personalities of the candidates but the direction in which they will move. The Taft group has its eyes on the past. The Eisenhower group looks for something different and believes that somehow it can be attained. The Democrats were unable to make good on the promises of their 1950 platform but hope to do so if given another chance.

There is not enough grass-roots strength to win the election against the power of big money. The Taft-Hartley law and the tidelands oil grab are proof enough. The progress made by the big-money people in their effort to obtain the approval of state legislatures for a constitutional amendment to limit the income tax to 25 per cent shows the astounding extent of their influence. The Dixiecrats and Republicans have evidently the same source of funds; so have the million-dollar lobbies.

There is no doubt about the direction that these sinister influences intend to force our economy to take. With few competent leaders lined up on an equally clear opposing course of action, matters are bound to get worse before another economic catastrophe forces a change for the better.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Our Religious Conflict

BY WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

A CATHOLIC SPEAKS HIS MIND ON AMERICA'S RELIGIOUS CONFLICT. By Thomas Sugrue. Harper and Brothers. $1.

CATHOLICISM AND AMERICAN FREEDOM. By James M. O'Neill. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THESE two books deal with the same problem, "America's religious conflict," and each is written by an American-born "Irish Catholic." But their answers differ almost completely. Mr. Sugrue regrets that the conflict exists. Moreover, he criticizes the American leaders of his church for their share in creating the conflict, and he believes that the solution lies in a more Christian approach by both sides. Mr. O'Neill writes more as the partisan defender, saying explicitly that he is answering "current attacks on American Catholics as enemies of American freedom." He names Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power" as "the most elaborate current attack." His purpose is "not that everyone should believe in the Catholic Church, but that no one should believe in Mr. Blanshard."

Mr. Sugrue begins by saying that for a Catholic to criticize publicly anything Catholic is not only to break a four-hundred-year-old taboo but also to provoke denunciation of himself as "anti-Catholic," especially "among those Catholics who dominate the American Church." "The damage" of this taboo, "within the Church," he counts to be "incalculable."

He further states that "the Irish clergy" dominate the American church, "its organization, its hierarchy, its point of view," and that as a result the church is used to foster certain "social, economic, and political ambitions," specifically to raise the status of the Irish and other immigrant groups to power and influence. This concern of the Irish clergy with secular affairs dates, he asserts, from the Kinsale defeat (1601), after which Catholicism in Ireland was "transformed into a national religion." Transferred to America, this conception of the church led to "competition with Protestants" for power and influence.

The "competition" was of course increased by the too frequent tendency—not yet dead—in old-stock American Protestants to look down on Irish and other immigrants as inferior. The result, Mr. Sugrue says, is that "the old feeling" among immigrant Catholics of "not belonging and not being wanted" has developed in increasing degree into "a separatist tendency" toward organizations whose names "begin with the word 'Catholic.'" The corollary result is that Protestants see "behind the scarlet curtain of elaborate rituals, communion breakfast," and the like an efficient "pressure group . . . driving toward social and political power." Moreover, these organizations give "religious allegiance" to a foreign spiritual leader who with his predecessors claims a mission "assigned to them by God" to "convert the world to their faith and their rule." This, Mr. Sugrue adds, is what "worries the Protestants and it should."

MR. O'NEILL is the devoted advocate. To consider in detail his vigorous attack on Mr. Blanshard would require a book. This discussion must be limited, therefore, to certain of his more general positions.

The "historical record" given here will not commend itself to all. That America was discovered by Catholics has little pertinence, nor that Catholic settlements in Florida and New Mexico preceded Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. That Catholic leaders in Maryland supported the liberal provisions of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights calls attention rather to the previous denial to them of such rights than to any liberal attitude on their part. The Enlightenment might well have been mentioned as influencing Franklin and Washington in their liberal attitude toward Catholics and others; certainly it influenced Jefferson and Madison in their stand for an effective separation of church and state.

Mr. O'Neill strongly rejects the Supreme Court decision in the McCollum case, claiming that no one has ever interpreted the First Amendment as this decision did or ever so acted upon it; but his attack on the majority justices, especially Justice Black and Justice Rutledge, is not convincing. To say that the First Amendment did "create a complete and permanent separation of the spheres of religious activity and civil authority" may be open to criticism, but Mr. O'Neill's answer overlooks crucial elements. In fact, the background essential to an understanding of the present status of the Constitution is practically ignored by Mr. O'Neill: how Madison, who steered the wording and the adoption of the First Amendment, had, with Jefferson, Mason, and others, thought through the matter to a fully sensitive democratic conclusion (and the same as that stated by Rutledge); how the several states, prior to the Fourteenth Amendment, had gone farther in separating church and state than the provision of the original First Amendment; how after the Fourteenth Amendment the Supreme Court extended its influence to the First Amendment. These things Mr. O'Neill disregards.

IN THIS connection it may not be out of place to say a word on democracy and moral obligation. Were there no explicit constitutional provision requiring the separation of church and state, the moral demands of a sensitive democracy facing the religious diversity of America would seem to demand such separation. The principles of respect for personality and the equality of rights require it. It seems incredible that many people of various faiths can fail to see the selfishness of demanding that public schools teach their particular religion.

Mr. O'Neill's discussion of Catholic education also leaves out important considerations. It is quite true that American freedom allows any who wish to support their own chosen schools. It is also true that certain non-public schools have rendered invaluable service to the cause of education. But freedom is not absolute. I may if I wish stop and chat with a friend on Fifth Avenue; it is my right. But if a thousand free citizens should chose the same busy hour and place to stop and confer, the police would, justifiably, force them to move on. Freedom is limited both morally and legally.

The existence of separatist groups, not understanding each other and not co-operating, is very hurtful to democracy. Europe abounds in such groups. America has hitherto been powerfully assimilative, the public school aiding materially. But suppose that a significant proportion of citizens, feeling themselves different and wishing to strengthen and perpetuate their difference, should decide to exercise their freedom and build separate schools for their children. Many of the well-to-do in the Northeast have done just that. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a true liberal, attended such private schools; and in the judgment of many, when he faced the CCC and the NYA he disclosed a lack of faith in the public high school. President Conant probably had these considerations in mind in his recent startling stand against divisive blocs in America.

Still other discussions by Mr. O'Neill seem inadequate—for example, those on Catholic censorship and Catholic social policies. That Catholic authorities are as free as anybody else to "criticize, condemn, or indorse" any book or play or movie goes without saying. But here again a group as an efficient bloc can transcend the individual moral freedom of democratic society. If any bloc has, and uses, political power to enforce its judgment on those who are not members of its group; or if the bloc is able, and is willing, to use the threat of boycott to prevent a newspaper from advertising a book which the bloc does not like—then, under such conditions, the moral infringement upon the rights of others becomes a serious question.

Mr. Sugrue thinks that the only solution to this problem of religious conflict is that a sufficient number of both Catholics and Protestants, acting as individuals, "*live* the Sermon on the Mount." Existing organizations, he thinks, cannot cooperate, but individuals can. Possibly this is the answer.

Tito's Rebellion

TITOISM AND THE COMINFORM. By Adam B. Ulam. Harvard University Press. $4.

THE year that followed Moscow's break with Tito found me traveling in Yugoslavia and the neighboring Cominform countries. As I now look through my old notebooks, I find in them a record of total confusion. Most of the people still could not believe that there had been a genuine break. Many others were utterly confused, as millions of Russians must have been in the mid-twenties on learning of Stalin's open clash with Trotsky.

What the people—up to the highest level—knew was only what they had read in the published correspondence between Moscow and Belgrade. Seven months after the break a leading Bulgarian party philosopher still kept trying, in an interview, to magnify the petty Soviet grievances, detailed in the published letters, into a major conflict of faith. Conversely, a year after the break, a member of the Yugoslav Central Committee still talked to me as if reconciliation with Russia were near; and I recall how shocked a Macedonian party leader was when an emotional orator at a mass-meeting made unkind references to Stalin's moustache. In a sentence, many months after the break, the Cominform parties still did not know precisely why the lightning had struck, and the Yugoslav Communists still believed the damage was not permanent.

There was something else. Wherever one searched for it—in interviews, oratory, or published documents—there was no sign of any genuine dispute over belief and policy. Efforts were made to show that Tito had committed grave ideological errors and refused to recant. But these efforts were belated and clumsy. Sofia's charges were often the exact opposite of those made in Budapest. And if any charge held true against Tito, it also held true against many of his critics. As one sifted the accusations, one could not help feeling that they had nothing to do with Communist dogma. What they obviously sought to do was to give some sort of ideological underpinnings to a conflict that had none.

These personal impressions are cited here because they add eyewitness testi-

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mony to the evidence marshaled in Professor Adam B. Ulam's new work. The only major Communist tenet at issue in the Tito affair, Professor Ulam argues, was the principle of Moscow's dominance over foreign Communist parties. This principle was not challenged in the other Balkan countries, where the party leaders arrived with the Red Army and were able to operate under a benevolent Russian eye. But in Yugoslavia, Tito was very much on the scene when the Soviet forces arrived, and he had a powerful army of his own. Tito did not deny Moscow's leadership. He himself had been a professional Comintern agent, sent to Yugoslavia in 1937 to purge the party of Trotskyites. But after the war new factors had emerged. One, Professor Ulam shows, was that, in the process of fighting a war, the Yugoslav party had created a political and military apparatus as tight and efficient as its Soviet prototype. Another factor was that this network—the party, the army, the secret police—was loyal to Tito, and led by his own men. Finally, Tito and his aides could see no ideological excuse for Moscow's almost mechanical effort to take over control of this apparatus. They were devoted Communists. But they wanted a good doctrinal explanation of why Yugoslavia's interests had to be automatically subordinated to those of Moscow.

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"Had the Russians employed diplomacy," Professor Ulam suggests, "Tito's Yugoslavia would still be the most faithful ally of the Soviet Union." But the Russians did not employ diplomacy. They could not organically, for this was not the way the Bolshevik Party had been functioning since 1928. Thus came compulsion and subversion—both of which failed. Tito and his aides began by blocking Soviet moves; by 1948 they were fighting for their political—and probably physical—survival. And while they long, and naively, hoped that Moscow might compromise, they found themselves pushed by Soviet pressure ever closer to the West, which they did not understand and whose motives they suspected.

Moscow blundered in Yugoslavia. (As late as 1950, it was still convinced that the Yugoslav Communists would unseat Tito.) But having made the original blunder, the author says, it could not alter its prime political tenet. Wherever Communist leaders wavered, or merely seemed to waver, in their obedience to the Bolshevik Party, the "Titoist infection" was burned out. Kostov was executed because he kept from the Russians the price offered by the West for Bulgarian tobacco. Gomulka was destroyed because he saw Poland as a partner in a Communist bloc rather than as a satellite—and the grim account of his fall forms one of the most significant and best-documented chapters in this admirable study.

Professor Ulam's book is not for the amateur in the history of communism. It is too rich in minor detail, too involved in its analysis. But for the political scientist, or even for a careful newspaper reader, it offers treasures. For though one may disagree with some of the author's conclusions, one cannot but be impressed by the weight of evidence he presents, or be fascinated following him through the labyrinth of Communist politics—Soviet, Yugoslav, and Polish—through charges and countercharges, through Machiavellian intrigue, plot, purge, and fantastic trial. Until Moscow and Belgrade throw open their archives, this book is likely to be the best account available of one of the greatest crises ever experienced by the Communist movement. MARK GAYN

Verse Chronicle

SIMPLY and quietly entitled "In the House and Out," Samuel Yellen's first book of poems (Indiana University Press, $2.75) shapes up, on second or third reading, as far from simple and rather disquieting. Many of these poems we have noticed as they appeared in the *New Yorker*, the quarterlies, and elsewhere; they had engaging qualities—craftsmanship, variety, information, ironic wit as well as a blander humor, an awareness of the self which did not estimate that self too precious, gentleness, wisdom. What we did not sense, reading the poems as separate items, was the force with which they convey the impression that neither in the house nor out is there much comfort or security. These poems apprehend, in both senses of the word, and their impact is the more forceful because the sense of peril is presented entirely without hysteria. Nor is the language the fashionable patter of penthouse anxiety. You must not, however, get the idea that this is a gloomy book; Mr. Yellen does not break up his lines to weep. Two delightful lyrics, Song Without Black Notes and Lullaby, show what Mr. Yellen can do in the untroubled vein; among the others I have particularly enjoyed First Grade, Room I, South Case School; The Convex Mirror; The Emmet ("I felt I was becoming scientifically interesting"); As I was walking down Fifth Avenue; the two horoscope poems; Personal. And others.

Per contra, "Rendezvous in a Landscape," by August Derleth (Fine Editions Press, $2.50), seems rather facile. This young man (b. 1909) appears, in twenty-five years, to have written more books than any man in America with the possible exception of Robert P. Tristram Coffin. The verse in this collection is pleasant enough, considerably influenced, as the author's homage acknowledges, by Robert Frost:

He spoke of what was in the quiet wood
and what lingered at the brook
as much as telling a man
to stop and take a longer look

Yes; but the longer look seems less worth pausing for than in the case of Mr. Yellen.

Number 66 in the Second Series of the University of Maine Studies is devoted to the life and works of Frederick Goddard Tuckerman, an American sonneteer. The author is Samuel A. Golden, the price $1. Mr. Golden does not intend the word sonneteer invidiously; he seems to feel, as did Witter Bynner some years ago, that Tuckerman has been unfairly neglected, but it would look, from the passages quoted, as if Fame's incorruptible silence had been about the right judgment. On the other hand, the life of Tuckerman as it comes through these pages has considerable interest: there could be a good quiet novel in it about this assiduous, unhappy, mildly talented little man energetically cultivating the indorsement of Tennyson, Emerson, Hawthorne, bearing his sorrows and solitude bravely, doing the best he could with his endowment. It is nasty of me, I suppose, to make an association between this study and Number 50 in the series, the one about Gymnosporangium Rusts and Their Host Relationships.

"Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries," edited by Rossell Hope Robbins (Oxford University Press, $3.50), "adds another volume to the series of Middle English lyric collections begun by Professor Carleton Brown." Ye auntient spellynges and the use of letters now disappeared from our alphabet make this scholarly volume a little formidable to read through at one session; but take your time with it and you will find some delightful numbers, and a refreshing sense of the gaiety of the world in a time that may have been, really, a good deal less secure than our own. Skip blithely, as these folks did, and you should get quite a bit of fun out of this collection.

Two other items might be called to your attention if you are planning more serious summer reading: "Contemporary French Poetry," by Joseph Chiari, with a Foreword by T. S. Eliot (Philosophical Library, $3.75); and "Firebird, a Study of D. H. Lawrence," by Dallas Kenmare (also Philosophical Library, $2.75). The latter is concerned with Lawrence as poet primarily. I hope to have further comment on these two items later. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

SPQR. By Paul Hyde Bonner. Scribner's. $3. A contrived, unconvincing novel set in today's Rome, where a U. S. Embassy first secretary, Lovat Fraser, tries to cope with high intrigue, political and romantic. He is supposed, God help us, to have a tie-in with Central Intelligence too. A three-dimensional politico-priest, Irish as Mayor Curley, an American-born countess and a handful of sketchy characters from Vatican society, *l'aristocrazia nera,* complete the cast. Oh yes, there is a ubiquitous American bum, a guy on the make, who is reputed to spend his time—for a fee—in ladies' boudoirs and who did not go to the right schools but who manages, most of the time, to imitate the right accent. The clash between communism and democracy is at the bottom of it all, but in Mr. Bonner's forest of the night it all seems pretty small game, when it is not merely pretentious. Rome was never like this, even for the Americans. And as for Author Bonner's Italian politicians, let's spell out the title to read *Sono Profanati Questi Romani!*

THE TROUBLE-MAKERS. An Anti-Defamation League Report. By Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. Doubleday. $3.50. A Who's Who and What They Do of the purveyors of prejudice and the sowers of confusion at work in this country. They range from benighted crackpots to respectables in high places, and one of the most interesting things in the book is its demonstration of how these disparate elements are mobilized and used by cynical middle men whose ultimate aim is pelf or power. Unfortunately these middle men often win their objectives by default—because people who should and do know better lack the will or courage to fight back. Two who fought back are Anna M. Rosenberg and Loretta Chappell and the accounts of their counter-attacks make excellent reading. The book as a whole is effective because the drama is in the material and the writing is calm. It contains chapters on the use of bigotry in elections in various states, on "restricted" housing and hotels, on the activities of the Arab League in this country, on the Communist brand of trouble-making. A penultimate chapter deals with the ordeal of the Clarks in Cicero, the anti-Semitic outbursts in Boston and the attacks on synagogues in various cities, the murder of the Moores in Florida. The book ends, nevertheless, with a

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measured note of hope. The authors point out that the perpetrators of violence have gained no mass of adherents and they maintain that "never in all the history of our land has there been such widespread recognition of the peril of uncontrolled prejudice, bigotry, and group tension." What is even more essential is widespread and vigorous resistance.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Haydn Society has issued the Schneider Quartet's performances of Haydn's Quartets Opus 1 Nos. "0," 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6—No. "0" being Haydn's actual first quartet, and the omitted No. 5 being, in Tovey's opinion, Haydn's first symphony. For all their small scale and early style they are engaging pieces, with the playfulness and little surprises characteristic of Haydn, and with minuet movements that often astonish one with trio sections that provide the outstanding moments of the work. The playing is very fine and well reproduced except for the wiry violin sound and recurrent scrape in the first couple of movements of No. 4.

Two of the finest of Haydn's mature works, the Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 104, are on a London record, played by the London Philharmonic—the first under Van Beinum's direction, the second under Krips's. Van Beinum's tempos for the introduction, the second movement, and the finale of No. 100 are unusually—but not unacceptably or ineffectively—fast; bass must be reduced, violins in loud passages are veiled, and there is a loss of brightness in the second half of the work. Krips's tempo for the second movement of No. 104 is too fast for the proper effect of the music (achieved so wonderfully by the old Fischer performance), but otherwise the performance is good; bass must be reduced, the sound becomes dim in the second half of the first movement, and it is veiled in the third movement.

Urania offers four of Handel's Sonatas for two violins and figured bass—Opus 2, Nos. 4, 8, and 9, and Opus 5 No. 3—played by Willy and Margarete Schweyda with Jan Behr, pianist. The first three works are very fine; the last I don't find interesting. The performances are good except for the lusterless tone of one of the violinists; they are reproduced with sharpness that requires drastic reduction of treble.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 6 is elaborately contrived for portentous utterance which I find unconvincing. Ansermet's performance with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande on the London record is superb and magnificently reproduced—with, among other things, the fuller and more lustrous violin sound that London has begun to achieve.

"Orchestral Music" (Oxford, $9) is a compilation of Lawrence Gilman's program notes for the concerts of the New York Philharmonic and Philadelphia Orchestras, supplemented by some of his articles and reviews in the New York *Herald Tribune*. Those who agree with the compiler, Edward Cushing, about the distinction of Gilman's writing (I do not agree), and who may be interested in the book, should know one thing about it. Mr. Cushing informs us that he has interpolated some material of his own, between identifying signs, but "only where material appropriate to the scheme of this book was not available in Gilman's writings." His idea seems to be that where the scheme of the book is that comments on a composer's works are preceded by a general estimate of his stature, achievement, and place, and where Gilman's writings don't provide such an estimate, it is necessary and legitimate to supply one. But it seems to me that the basic scheme of the book is that it offers Gilman's writing, and that it should offer this writing when it is available, or none. The necessity in this book is not of a general estimate of Mahler but of Gilman's general estimate; if he didn't happen to write one there is no necessity requiring the interpolation of someone else's, and no legitimacy in an interpolated estimate containing the statement "the belief grows that he was one of the giants" in the face of the disbelief expressed in Gilman's comments on Mahler's symphonies.

Moreover, encountering Mr. Cushing's interpolated estimates of Beethoven, of Brahms, of Wagner, I wondered whether it could be true that in all the years of Gilman's writing there had been no occasion which had led him to write about these composers in general terms. What, for example, about the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death? The notes for the New York Philharmonic's Wagner program of February 12, 1933, celebrating the anniversary included no general introduction; but in a folder at the Music Library I found Gilman's Sunday article in the *Herald Tribune* that day: Wagner After Fifty Years. And in the same folder I found, among other things, the notes for a Philharmonic Wagner program of November 6, 1927, which began with a long general estimate. Presumably I would have found similar material on Beethoven and Brahms.

Even when Mr. Cushing allows Gilman his general say—for example, on Debussy, on Schubert—he nevertheless adds material of his own. It looks as though what the scheme of Gilman's book requires is the corrective ideas of Edward Cushing.

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Letters to the Editors

"The Nation": A Significant Contribution

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your receiving the Lincoln University award for Significant Contributions to Better Human Relations. Hope you remain steadfast to your principles for many years to come.

Los Angeles ETTIE B. ISAACS

Collazo: Criminal or Patriot?

Dear Sirs: The silence of the American press about the Collazo case is in striking contrast to the enormous attention that it has received throughout South and Central America. Latin America looks upon the case as a struggle between a powerful imperialist country and a patriot fighting for the independence of his native land.

Oscar Collazo is the Puerto Rican who on November 1, 1950, was shot and arrested in a demonstration at Blair House in Washington, D. C. His compatriot, Griselio Torresola, was killed. Collazo was tried for killing one of the Blair House guards, convicted, and sentenced to death by Judge Goldsborough in the District of Columbia Federal Court. This sentence was upheld by the Court of Appeals; the United States Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal. The date for Collazo's execution will be fixed in a few days.

Many people have forgotten the context in which the shooting occurred. On the day of the demonstration the papers were full of the news of demonstrations in Puerto Rico in which women and children were killed by soldiers. As might be expected, the news had an electrifying effect upon the many Puerto Ricans in this country. Some looked upon the outbreaks as the prelude to a great political upheaval on the island. Among them were Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola.

It should not be forgotten that the Puerto Rican looks upon his country as a colony of the United States. Practically every political party in Puerto Rico stands for independence. Independence takes priority over all other issues. The incumbent governor, Munoz Marin, together with his Popular Party has been accused of being an American tool who wishes to perpetuate rather than end Puerto Rico's colonial status. One of the most outspoken opponents of the Marin regime is the Nationalist Party. It was against it that the government directed its fire in the last days of October, 1950.

Both Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola were members of the Nationalist Party and believed in its program of unqualified independence. Disturbed by the events in Puerto Rico, they decided to return to the island and do what they could for their compatriots. But instead of going to Puerto Rico they went to Washington.

At his trial in February, 1951, where he was ably defended by Leo Rover, former United States attorney, and his associates, Sidney Sachs and Kenneth Wood, Oscar Collazo gave this reason for deciding to go to Washington:

> I was sure at that time, and I am sure even now, that the American people don't know where Puerto Rico is, they don't know what is Puerto Rico, they don't know that Puerto Rico is a possession of the United States. . . . As long as the American people didn't know what Puerto Rico was or which was the real Puerto Rico government they would never care what was happening in Puerto Rico. By coming to Washington and making some kind of demonstration . . . we would be in a better situation to make the American people understand the real situation of Puerto Rico. . . .
>
> Our intentions were to make a demonstration on the steps of the Blair House. In the Blair House was the residence of the President of the United States, and we wanted the American people and the people of the world to know that Puerto Rico was the possession of the United States, and at that time particularly the Puerto Rican people were being murdered by the American authorities in Puerto Rico. . . . I think it would draw the attention of the whole world to Washington, especially if two Puerto Ricans were killed in front of his residence. . . .

At one point in his trial Collazo said to the United States Attorney: "I am not here to deny any part" in the shooting; his entire testimony proves that here was a man who had dedicated his life to freeing his country. There is nothing spectacular or sensational about this man. He has devoted his life to two things: his family and the independence of his country. He is a skilled metal worker, employed up to the very day he decided to go on his fateful mission. He is a devout man, a good union member, respected and admired by his neighbors and fellow-workers.

We forget that there are people now who look upon us, as we once looked upon England, as imperialists and oppressors. Few North Americans realize the extent to which Puerto Rico

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Dear Sirs: I suggest not only that every reader of *The Nation* sell five copies of your comprehensive and excellent civil-liberties issue but that a fund be collected to send a copy to every member of the British Parliament—*now*. I wish to start the fund with a $50 contribution to be paid when the rest is forthcoming. But obviously, in the America of today, I can't give you my real name.

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Dear Yank: Thanks for your letter. On its receipt we immediately raised enough money—including your contribution—to send copies of the June 28 *Nation* to the 670 members of the British Parliament. But where, where, is that $50? And how can we reach you?

EDITORS THE NATION

CORRECTION: An editorial comment in our issue of May 31 referred to a pamphlet of Freedom Clubs, Inc., as denouncing the investigation of Senator Benton's charges against Joseph R. McCarthy by the Senate Elections Subcommittee as "one of the most vicious smear campaigns in American history." Our attention has been called to the fact that the characterization in the pamphlet refers to the general "smear campaign" against Senator McCarthy rather than to the investigation *per se*.

—EDITORS THE NATION

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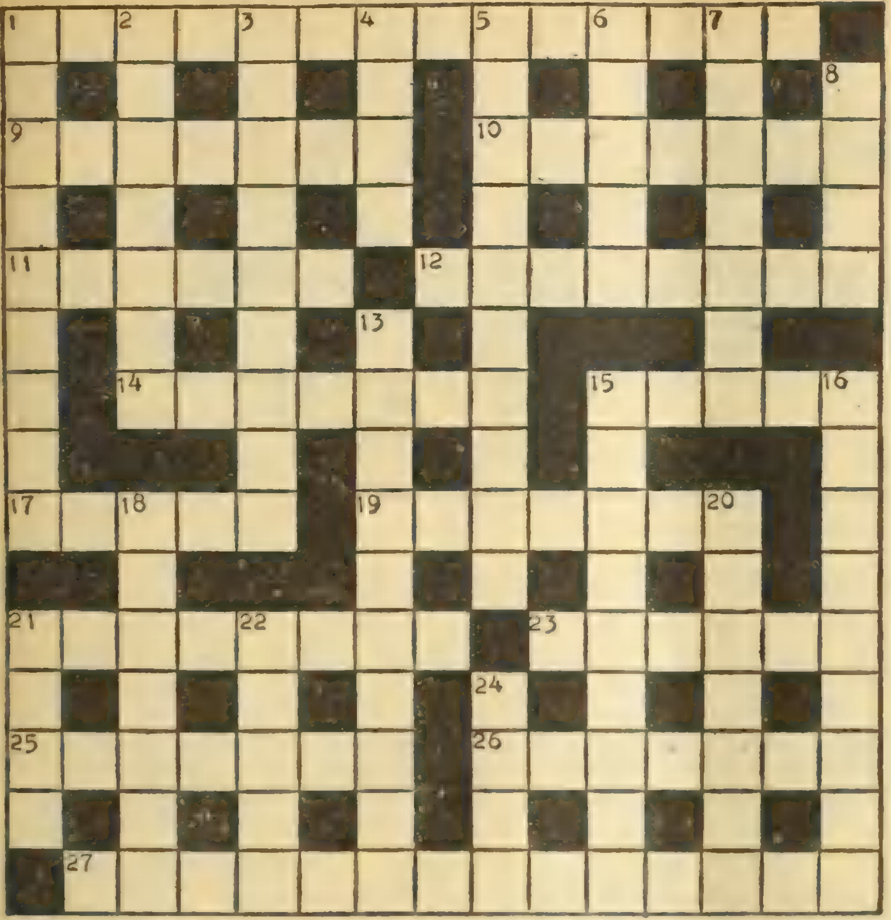
Crossword Puzzle No. 473

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Breaking the story that it wasn't the real Hitler? (The mistake might have been in shooting but twice!) (6, 8)

9 Said to be [illegible] involved deal if it has the member from 3 down in it. (7)

10 and 11. Our delegates sometimes attempt to call Russia's in the city. (7, 6)

12 and 21 across. Jail break? (8, 8)

14 Not necessarily one of the Indians or the Braves who might enable you to watch them play. (7)

15 How to put up an argument in the saying of "an apple a day," etc. (5)

17 Does his B. A. give one this title? (5)

19 Is Pa tired of the flies and mosquitoes? (7)

21 See 12.

23 This bird sounds like quite a driving force in England. (6)

25 A broken toe in the game? Quite the opposite, with this defense mechanism. (7)

26 A highly skilled person with the sound of volatile liquid. (7)

27 One probably isn't thinking of oneself when walking out on it. (8, 6)

DOWN

1 Rural assignments used [illegible] policemen's punishment? (They don't pay off so well!) (4, 5)

[illegible] Superior marks are sometimes made by Hans. (7)

3 One of Elia's supporters? (3, 2, 4)

4 Winds up stories with the head of 8. (4)

5 The race is nothing to diagram, if you want [illegible] symbolic story. (10)

6 Candidates might nonplus one! (5)

7 One who shuts himself up without being told. (7)

8 Every one feels a stir of might, according to Lowell. (4)

13 Tradescantia is a weird sport! (10)

15 Sometimes serves as an authoritative pattern. (9)

16 Certainly not dressed in high style! (9)

18 Listen first, and talk later! (It's only rumor, anyway!) (7)

20 How the city, in short, looks in the beginning of April, (1, 6)

21 Is appropriate for certain kinds of attack. (4)

22 Bambi's friend did to make a name for himself. (5)

24 Army girl who [illegible] followed by the end of 3. (4)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 472

ACROSS:—1 PRINCESSES; 6 and 2 down DOWN IN FRONT; 10 DIFFUSE; 11 DRILLER; 12 BOBBY PIN; 13 TANGO; 15 ICTUS; 17 KNOCKDOWN; 19 LABYRINTH; 21 SOFAS; 23 CANDY; 24 CAROLINE; 27 TEHERAN; 28 IMPASTO; [illegible] DOES; [illegible] ANTECEDENT.

DOWN:—3 CRUMB; [illegible] SHEEPSKIN; 5 EMDEN; 7 ORLANDO; [illegible] NARROWNESS; [illegible] MISTAKES; 14 DISLOCATED; 16 SPRAYERS; 18 OTHERWISE; 20 BANSHEE; 22 FINESSE; 24 CANON; 25 LAPSE; 26 and 1 down FOOTPADS.

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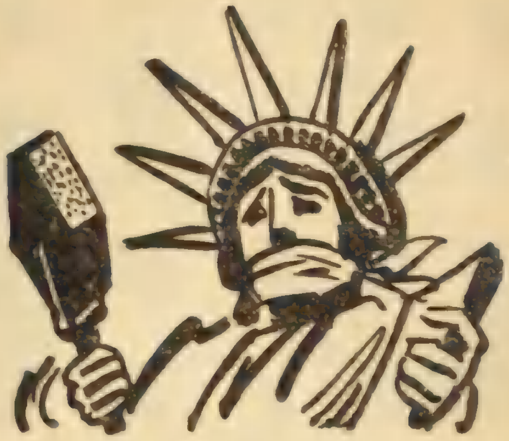

Whether you agree with their political views or not, the 16 Communists on trial at Foley Square Federal Court are fighting *your* battle!

If they are convicted, the howls of the McCarthyites will grow louder and bolder!

U. S. brand fascism has not completely arrived. But it creeps up slowly, day after day. Deportations here, contempt convictions there, lynchings — illegal or otherwise — North and South, jobs lost and fear spreading everywhere.

Concentration camps in Arizona, Florida and four other states. And Smith Act trials in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Hawaii, Puerto Rico. Where next?

Wasn't it a million "fellow travelers" that J. Edgar Hoover said that the net was spread for? *A million?*

But wait, Mr. Hoover! Not so quick! Powerful voices have begun to speak up from every corner of the land. Have Begun to Unite! To Fight Back!

This can be seen in the strong resolutions adopted by many C. I. O. and A. F. L. unions, statements by the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, ministers, educators and thousands of other freedom-loving Americans.

The Smith *Thought-Control* Act and the Smith Act *trials* are the key instrument used to spread terror and repression. And it is the Smith Act that must be fought . . . and *nullified!*

It is the 16 defendants in the Smith Act trial who must be supported with all the vigor and self-sacrifice that liberty-loving Americans can command. *By defending them we defend the Constitutional rights of ALL Americans!*

The Foley Square defendants are doing their share. They are fighting vigorously, courageously, and are determined to fight on—*to win!*

They desperately, urgently, need *your* help—your dollars, your voice. Send $1, Send $10, Send $100, Send $1000—But send *something*—now, today!

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The Platform Was the Payoff—*An Editorial*

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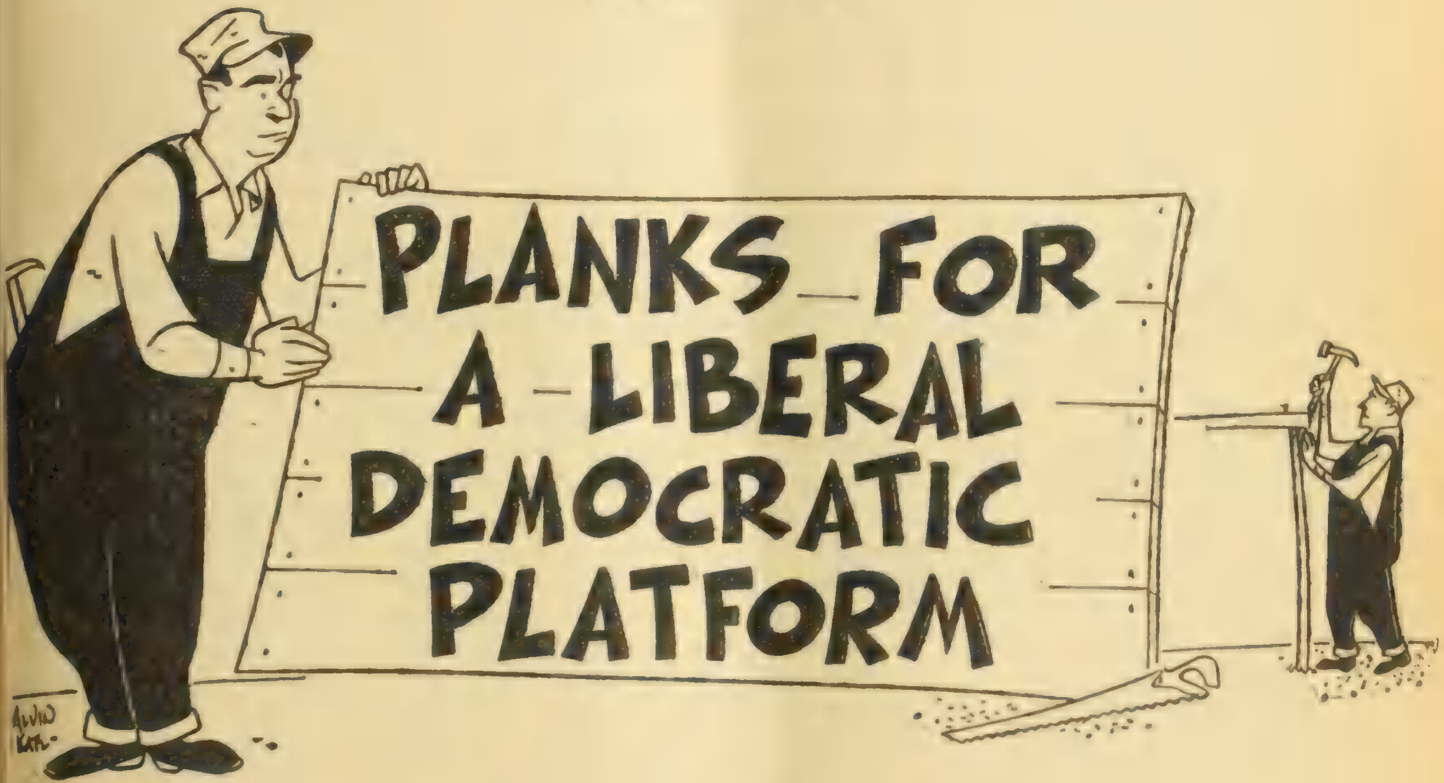
THE *Nation*

July 19, 1952


PLANKS FOR A LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

A Cross-Section of Liberal Opinion

*

Pitfalls Ahead for Eisenhower

BY WILLARD SHELTON

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

MacArthur Patriots

Chicago

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S supporters at the Republican National Convention included an embarrassingly active group of elderly seditionists and other extreme rightists who had "faded away" after World War II but emerged in Chicago to prove themselves far from dead. While the General was telling the Republicans that the Democratic Party was "captive to the schemers and planners who have infiltrated its ranks of leadership to set the national course unerringly toward the socialistic regimentation of a totalitarian state," schemers and planners among his backers were trying to infiltrate the Republican Party. Virtually every "nationalist" and professional anti-Semite at Chicago was found in the MacArthur camp, some being former Taft men who had deserted the Senator after he repudiated "smear material" aimed at General Eisenhower. Within minutes after MacArthur spoke of the "coming crusade," members of Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian Nationalist Crusade" appeared in the Conrad Hilton lobby and distributed anti-Jewish literature urging support of the old soldier as a candidate.

Campaigning for MacArthur of this kind began even before the convention opened. A day before the keynote speech Don Lohbeck, chief lieutenant of the Smith organization and editor of the *Cross and Flag,* took over the principal MacArthur rally. More than 500 persons heard Lohbeck denounce the "Christhaters" in the Truman Administration.

Some 200 delegates from various "patriotic" groups who had gathered in Chicago to plan their strategy soon split into two groups over the question of how much overt anti-Semitism should be used. The larger group, consisting of about 150 persons, held a meeting at the Atlantic Hotel under the chairmanship of Mrs. Lyrl Van Hyning, head of We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc. In an impassioned speech Mrs. Van Hyning said she felt it impossible to expose the "secret government" without mentioning such personalities as Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Anna Rosenberg, and others who she said happened to be Jewish. At a meeting of the smaller group Joseph Beauharnais, head of the White Circle League which figured in last year's anti-Negro riot at Cicero, presided. The most important issue, he said, was not the "Jewish problem" but white supremacy. The two groups agreed that only MacArthur could "save Christianity, defend the Constitution, and prevent the mongrelization of the races." Tracts and other material supporting MacArthur were distributed at these meetings and later appeared at the Conrad Hilton and in the convention hall.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was criticized at the Van Hyning meeting for "associating" with representatives of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League whom he had met at the home of George Sokolsky, the columnist, a friend of McCarthy's. Nationalists were urged to see their state delegations in behalf of MacArthur because Taft was said to have indicated a "soft attitude toward communism" through his condemnation of anti-Semitic propaganda against Eisenhower. This smear stuff had been widely disseminated in many bitter primary campaigns. After the last primary Taft repudiated it in a forthright statement.

Senator Herbert R. O'Conor, Maryland Democrat, sent a letter of greeting to the Beauharnais group, praising it for seeking "to preserve white neighborhoods" and "to oust the Reds from America." Active at this gathering were Conde McGinley, editor of the New Jersey periodical *Common Cause,* which attacks "Yiddish Marxists"; Peter Xavier, author of "Rise, America"; and John W. Hamilton, who left the Gerald L. K. Smith organization to form the Citizens' Protective Association. Bill Hendrix, leader of the Florida Ku Klux Klan, wired that urgent Klan business kept him away.

George T. Foster, director of Constitutional Americans, reported to the Van Hyning assembly that Eisenhower was "Baruch-picked." Others present were two World War II sedition defendants, Colonel E. N. Sanctuary and Elizabeth Dilling; F. C. Sammons, head of the racist West Virginia Anti-Communist League; a member of the pro-Nazi Yugoslav Ustachi, who spoke against American support of Tito; an American with crossed daggers tattooed on his arms who complained that Korea was a "Jewish war"; and women who said they were D. A. R.'s.

Nationalist sound trucks on Michigan Avenue bore posters of the Christian cross and lauded MacArthur as its defender. An "official" MacArthur rally at the Congress Hotel under the chairmanship of Dan Madrano, a Republican state committeeman of Oklahoma, was attended by Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett newspaper chain; a man who wore a Christian Front pin in his lapel and introduced himself as C. Daniel Kurtz, "head of the New York Anti-Communist League"; and Allen Zoll. Zoll has been identified by the Anti-Defamation League as "inextricably bound together" with Smith, Kamp, Upton Close, and Merwin K. Hart in "parallel drives for a way of life grounded in narrow bigotry and bounded by a malevolent nationalism." Frederick G. Cartwright, of Englewood, New Jersey, who has been associated with Zoll's efforts to protect youth from the wrong sort of education, was applauded as the author of the official MacArthur campaign song.

Not all the pro-MacArthur material distributed was anti-Semitic. Mimeographed sheets urged MacArthur supporters never to "refer disparagingly to any race, creed, or color" when trying to promote the General among delegates. A few persons wearing MacArthur buttons accused others of accepting the cooperation of "the fanatics." MacArthur himself has been asked by reputable Jewish spokesmen to repudiate hate propaganda in his favor but has not yet done so. MILTON FRIEDMAN

[*Milton Friedman is Washington correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.*]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 19, 1952 NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

The Steel Strike

The six-week-old steel strike may be quietly on its way to a settlement. Contributing factors include the absence of a Congressional forum for impassioned oratory trying to make political capital of the strike, failure of the "back-to-work" movement inspired by United States Steel and Jones and Laughlin, and the fact that the strike has reached the point where its continuance would eat into the profits of the steel companies. Shutdowns by steel users due to lack of steel have been reported in many areas. Although some of these shutdowns are seasonal, it is estimated that more than a million workers are now idle as a result of the strike of 650,000 steel workers. The main hope for settlement, however, is seen in the resumption of meetings between union and industry spokesmen last Thursday. Ostensibly the conferences are to discuss the movement of iron ore from the Mesabi Range to the steel plants; the iron-mine workers called a sympathy strike shortly after the steelworkers walked out. The companies contend that unless shipments are resumed, shortage of ore may cause shutdowns next winter. With the pressures for settlement mounting, a new agreement seems likely—especially now that "excessive" inventories have been sufficiently reduced to insure a high level of profits for the rest of the year.

Rome-McCarran Axis

In striking a prohibition against the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the Vatican from a House-approved appropriations bill, Senator McCarran demonstrated that he is the virtually unchallenged boss of the Senate. Explaining his action, Senator McCarran announced that he saw "no occasion to raise a religious issue in an appropriations bill." Yet he approved with enthusiasm a limitation that the State Department shall use no portion of its funds for any international organization that directly or indirectly promotes world government or world citizenship—a prohibition clearly aimed at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which has been severely attacked recently by Catholics for its "secular" and "materialistic" approach to various problems.

A story from Rome by David Lawrence ties in with the removal of the ban on sending an envoy to the Vatican and indicates the strategy of a new campaign to achieve this end. It seems that the Vatican would now be satisfied with the establishment of an American legation instead of an embassy. And it would not expect Washington to receive a papal nuncio or Vatican minister to the State Department. According to Mr. Lawrence, the Vatican recognizes today that a mistake was made in stressing the "listening-post" argument for the appointment of an ambassador. It now contends that it is not what the Vatican listens to that is important but what the Vatican could do if it had a chance to listen officially to some "of the many men who are directing economic aid throughout Europe, particularly in such countries as France, Germany, and Italy, where there are millions of Catholics actively welded together in political parties with Catholic influence predominating."

Now that Senator McCarran has removed the major roadblock, the drive to send a "minister" to the Vatican—once established, the legation can always be raised to the level of an embassy—will be renewed.

Safety in the Mines

The United Mine Workers have finally won their long fight for reasonably adequate federal mine-safety legislation. Congress has adopted, and the President will doubtless approve, the measure sponsored by Representative Samuel McConnell of Pennsylvania. Now, for the first time, federal inspectors will be authorized to close down a mine and order the workers out if they find imminent danger of disaster. They should therefore be able to prevent such disasters as the explosion which last year took the lives of 119 miners at West Frankfort, Illinois (see Murder in the Mines by Willard Shelton, *The Nation*, February 9, 1952).

The new mine-safety act is about the only pro-labor legislation that Congress has enacted in the last three or four years. And it is instructive to note that its passage was made possible by the temporary disruption of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, which has been the dominant force in Congress since the late 1930's. The bill was opposed chiefly by the Southern coal operators, who could hold the Dixiecrats in line but not influence many Northern Republicans.

It should be noted, too, that there are many miners in Pennsylvania and Illinois, and also in the border states

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of West Virginia and Kentucky, and that their votes are of special importance to the Republicans this year. It was perhaps for this reason that Representative McConnell, a Republican, was asked to sponsor the legislation in the House instead of Representative Melvin Price, of Illinois, a Democrat, who had introduced similar legislation in other years. Fortunately the bill was regarded as "non-controversial," that is, not strictly labor legislation, so that even Taft could afford to support it in the Senate.

The Platform Was the Payoff

NOW that the Republicans have adopted a platform and nominated General Eisenhower, how far, and in what direction, has the 1952 political drama been advanced?

From Abilene to Detroit, General Eisenhower sounded as though he were trying to reassure and appease the extreme right wing of the Republican Party. From Detroit to Denver, and from Denver to Chicago, he appeared to be drawing back from this extreme position, emphasizing the need for a peace policy and saying some pretty harsh things about the "theft" of Southern delegations. But once in Chicago, the cynical and efficient Tom Dewey took over and the General ceased to "roar," as he had promised, and was content to smile and watch the television set in his hotel suite. The take-over by Dewey, so graphically revealed by the TV camera, was the high point in the pre-balloting phase at Chicago.

In the meantime John Foster Dulles and Senator Millikin had been drafting a platform. As adopted, the platform represents virtually total capitulation to the extreme right wing of the party. Nine-tenths introductory, the foreign-policy statement is almost pure Dulles. The only concession that Eisenhower obtained and apparently insisted upon was the removal from the defense plank of the ominous phrase "retaliatory striking power." According to C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the New York *Times*, the General became "unusually disturbed" when he saw this phrase and insisted upon its removal. While it is true that wrapped up in the word "retaliation" may be found what Mr. Sulzberger calls the "unbridgeable differences" between the coalitionists and the unilateralists—the latter being really advocates of a preventive war—the removal of this one phrase hardly changed the character of the foreign-policy plank.

As a whole, the plank clearly reflects the anti-European, Asia-first, allies-be-damned views of General Douglas MacArthur. For example, NATO is never mentioned. The United Nations is given only perfunctory support. There is no reference to Point Four. The existence of revolutionary currents of unrest in many areas of the world is wholly ignored. The Republicans "repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings such as those of Yalta and which aid Communist enslavement," but not a word is said about how the United States is to effect this repudiation and regain in 1953 what it gave up in 1944. Even in the minor matter of phraseology, about the only concession made to Eisenhower was the inclusion of two of his favorite phrases—"enlightened self-interest" and "spiritual faith."

Turning to domestic issues, we find the same capitulation to the right wing in every section. Not only is the civil-rights plank evasive and meaningless, but it was adopted without significant debate in committee or on the floor. It contains nothing of which Jimmy Byrnes or Senator Byrd would not approve; yet such pro-Eisenhower delegates as Senator Morse, Senator Ives, and Governor Dewey accepted it in silence. Why did these men, who have consistently supported civil-rights legislation, permit the General to accept an even less progressive plank than the one the party adopted in 1944? It can be inferred that they did so, first, because they had determined to let the dinosaurs have the platform without a fight provided they could themselves name the candidate; and, second, because they count on the General's personal popularity—his "charism" or political glamour—to win despite the platform and the men behind it.

But now that he has won the nomination by adopting the platform of his principal opponent, General Eisenhower may be tempted to campaign in the Taft idiom. Even should he try to give the platform his personal "interpretation," there will be nothing ambiguous about the emphasis or interpretation of the right-wingers who will be campaigning in his behalf. In selecting one of the authors of the Mundt-Nixon bill as his running-mate, the General seems to have underscored his desire to appease the reactionaries of the party. If he remains the captive of these forces, he will find it difficult to attract the independent votes which he must have to win.

A GREAT chasm now yawns before the Democrats. When Eisenhower failed to touch off an enthusiastic response on his return from Europe, the spirits of the Democratic hopefuls began to pick up. Governor Stevenson, the odds-on favorite, began to talk as though he would yield to a draft and even implied that he was not afraid to take on the General. But there was no reason why the American people should have given the General a feverishly enthusiastic reception. Their attitude was friendly but cautious; they were listening, but they wanted to hear more. Now the campaign itself will generate the interest that was lacking in the primaries, in none of which Eisenhower figured personally as a candidate. There can be no doubt that the General is a popular figure; that he can attract independent votes; that he has a sizable Democratic following, particularly in the South. The Republicans may repeat their mistakes of 1948, but as the *Wall Street Journal* points out, there is this year "an awareness of the difficulties" that did not exist then. This year, too, some highly important new factors may be decisive: the corruption issue, the political revolution that has started in the South, the impact of Korea, and other issues. The fact that so many independent voters have already switched their registration from the Democratic to the Republican Party in such states as California and Minnesota indicates the importance of these new factors. There can be little doubt that the Republicans have selected a candidate who can win despite a bad platform; whether he does win, however, largely depends on what the Democrats do.

To defeat him the Democrats must adopt a platform that the people—not the interests—want. By way of suggesting that plenty of good planks exist, we have put together a rough-draft people's platform in this issue. It is in the direction in which this platform points that the Democrats must turn if they are to overcome the handicap they now face.

BUT a model platform will not alone save the Democrats. The same behind-the-scenes forces that supported General Eisenhower would also like to name the Democratic candidate, thereby minimizing the risks if not the expense of the campaign. Just as these forces are so powerful that they could cynically regard the Republican platform as a scrap of paper once their candidate was chosen, so they can afford to acquiesce in a letter-perfect liberal platform, on domestic issues at least, if the Democrats will select one of their nominees. Thus the Democrats need more than a good platform: they need a candidate of the people, for the people.

Unfortunately the nomination of General Eisenhower has considerably narrowed the range of choice. It is now unlikely that either Governor Stevenson or President Truman would accept a draft. By selecting Senator Nixon as their candidate for Vice-President, the Eisenhower forces have obviously sought to remove Governor Stevenson as a possible Democratic nominee. This is their way of saying to him: the General is a nice man and probably would not mention the Hiss case, but Nixon is neither nice nor reticent. The effect of Eisenhower's nomination, therefore, is to improve the chances of Averell Harriman. But a campaign between Harriman, running on a model liberal platform on domestic issues, against Eisenhower, running on a Dulles-Taft-MacArthur platform, would still be a campaign in name only, since both men are identified with much the same set of financial and industrial interests and see eye to eye on foreign policy. For Democratic delegates, therefore, the test should be, not how eloquent a candidate can afford to be on civil rights, but rather: whose candidate is he? who stands behind him? who pulls the strings? The Democrats must nominate a man devoted to the people, not to the interests.

A Liberal Platform for the Democrats

AMERICAN liberals hoped for little from the Republican convention and got less. The question now is whether the Democrats will do significantly better.

Since the days of Woodrow Wilson—and more particularly since the advent of the New Deal—American liberals have found the Democrats the more congenial of the two major parties. But this alliance could turn into a *mésalliance* at the drop, so to speak, of an F. E. P. C. It is up to the Democrats. At stake for them are the votes which have kept them in power since 1932—the votes of the millions of independents, including labor and minority groups and liberals of all sorts, who habitually look at issues before they go to the polls.

We believe the only way the Democrats can hold these voters is with a militant platform which makes plain the basic issues now confronting the country and which continues the New Deal tradition. Such a platform we now present in the form of a collection of planks, most of them condensations or summaries of statements originally prepared by organizations with interests in a special field. No organization can be held responsible for anything in the platform except the specific planks ascribed to it.

From the mass of material made available to us, we chose those planks which in our judgment made their point most forcefully and succinctly and which helped to build the kind of militantly liberal, comprehensive platform for which we were aiming. This does not mean that we consider the result perfect or complete. Because we wanted the platform to be as representative as possible, we have written into it only one proposal of our own, dealing with foreign policy. To those organizations and individuals who submitted material to us, and who are here represented by only a small fraction of their work, or by none at all, we herewith extend our thanks—and, where necessary, our apologies.

We believe this platform is of real significance precisely because the great bulk of it represents the collective thinking of representative organizations, many of them with a mass following. Here is no compilation of ivory-tower commentaries; here, in large measure, is what is wanted by the people who have the power to make or break the Democratic Party in November.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Basic Foreign Policy

In the United States we have accepted the principle that men can resolve their differences by means of free discussion, understanding, honorable compromise. We believe that the same principles could apply in relations among nations.

Only in a world in which every human being can live in peace, and can think and act with the dignity which befits a man, is it possible for any of us in our individual lives to have security from the threat of domination by the state, from the compulsion of military service, or from the destruction of atomic bombardment. Cooperation with all men everywhere in the achievement of such a world constitutes our highest ultimate objective in international affairs.—AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

Our present foreign policy consists 90 per cent of rearmament and 10 per cent of creative effort toward building the peace. The purpose of rearmament is to create sufficient military strength to make Soviet aggression unattractive and thus to build "situations of strength." From this it follows that we must be willing to negotiate when these "situations of strength" have been created. Our present policy tends to become one of seeking preponderance of strength in order to negotiate by ultimatum. This is the road to war.—ADAPTED FROM A STATEMENT BY JAMES P. WARBURG, FINANCIER AND POLITICAL WRITER.

United Nations

We pledge continuing support of the United Nations. We believe that our obligations under the Charter should be the heart of our foreign policy.

While military strength may act as a temporary deterrent to aggression, it cannot provide the bedrock of lasting peace. Only a strong and effective security system rooted in the United Nations can free all peoples of the crushing burden of national armaments. We advocate the unremitting pursuit of a universal system of limitation of all armaments, with enforceable methods of inspection and control.

To strengthen peace, we advocate the creation of United Nations armed forces, the fullest implementation of those measures which place increasing power in the hands of the General Assembly, a strong United Nations human-rights program, and an expansion of the technical-assistance program channeled primarily through the United Nations.

This statement is indorsed by the following organizations: AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS; AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMVETS; CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; JEWISH WAR VETERANS; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN; UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS; AND THIRTEEN OTHERS.

Atomic-Energy Control

Most scientists and a large segment of the population are concerned that all possible steps may not have been taken to avert the threat of atomic destruction. For this purpose there is needed a high-level national commission to formulate possible control schemes, considering atomic weapons in relation to others and, where necessary, to the problems of diplomacy. Needed also is careful attention to the question of constructive utilization of atomic energy, particularly the possibilities for power development.—ADAPTED FROM A PROPOSAL BY THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS.

Far East

Our policy in Asia has failed to lead us to the real objectives of the American people because its preoccupation with strategy and ideology has prevented our giving weight to the economic, social, and political realities of Asia.—AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

One of these realities is Communist China. In common with many of the responsible political leaders of Britain, India, and other countries, we believe that Communist China should be granted membership in the United Nations and that diplomatic and commercial relations with it should be normalized as soon as a Korean truce is established. We believe that mere publication of such intent would promote an early and successful outcome of the Korean truce talks and lay the groundwork for permanent peace not only in Korea but throughout the Far East.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Colonialism

We have allowed expediency to take precedence over human rights and freedoms in conflicts between subject peoples and strong or colonial powers. We urge the granting of economic aid free of political implications and full support to subject peoples striving for their independence and for freedom from the exploitation of their natural resources by intrenched or colonial powers.—WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, U. S. SECTION.

Germany

We consider the proposed rearmament of Germany as provided in the West German contractual agreement a threat to world peace.

We believe that the principle of compromise may be the means of finding the solution to the German problem and lessening the tensions between East and West. We therefore urge that a four-power conference be convened to explore all possible ways in which a united, free, and demilitarized Germany can be made a reality as a first step to world disarmament.—WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, U. S. SECTION.

Israel and the Middle East

We pledge continued support to the state of Israel to enable it to carry out its historic and humanitarian undertaking to provide sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution and to strengthen its economy and improve its means of defense as part of the defense of the free world against aggression.

We urge Israel and the Arab states to enter into direct negotiations for the achievement of permanent peace in the Middle East. We express our deep sympathy with the unhappy plight of the Palestine-Arab refugees and pledge continued support of measures to facilitate their permanent resettlement in the Arab countries.

We sympathize with the aspirations of the Arab peoples of the Middle East for political and economic independence, consistent with international responsibility and the policy of good neighbors, and we will support measures for the promotion of peace and economic stability and development in the whole region.—AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL.

Civil Liberties

The preservation and enlargement of civil liberties, the core of the "rule of law" which is the heart of democracy, require the faithful observance of the fundamental constitutional principle that our government is one of delegated, enumerated, and limited powers. This involves clear repudiation of the doctrine that the executive branch has even for emergency purposes any "inherent" or "residual" powers beyond those expressly granted or reasonably implied in the Constitution.

The growing complexity of society and government implies the necessity of legislative and administrative hearings. But if American citizens are to have due process in this new and rapidly expanding area of government by hearing, then Congress and the executive departments must adopt fair rules of procedure equivalent to judicial due process.

We believe that the Federal Communications Act should be amended to make clear the Congressional intent that wiretapping, except in the interest of national security, should not be practiced by federal or state officers.

There is a dire need for legislative specification of standards, as well as provision for hearing and review, in the issuance and denial of passports.

The present all-inclusive loyalty program should be eliminated because the slight gains which it achieves for an admirable purpose could be achieved by regular administrative provision without the present cost in money, the time of FBI agents, and certain vital intangibles—the impairment of federal employees' morale by making them fearful of exercising their citizens' rights of free speech and association, and the discouragement of outstanding personnel from taking government posts by making them fearful of unjust secret accusations.

We call attention to the Congressional investigation of radio and television now going on. We believe that "previous restraint is a form of infringement upon freedom of expression to be especially condemned."

We urge that the rights now accorded to religious conscientious objectors be accorded also to those who in good faith refuse to fight on philosophical grounds.

We urge the immediate appointment of an impartial, eminent, and qualified commission to investigate and report on all aspects of the momentous problem of maintaining both national security and individual civil liberties.

Constitutionality apart, we urge that Sections 2 and 3 of the Smith act of 1940, which make it unlawful to teach or advocate or to conspire to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of government, should be repealed on the grounds of unwisdom cited by Justices Jackson, Frankfurter, Douglas, and Black in the Supreme Court decision of June, 1951.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 as a whole should be repealed; then there should be opportunity for thorough discussion looking toward specific and separate reenactment of its valuable provisions.—AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

Civil Rights

We pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the Eighty-third Congress in January, 1953, to induce the Senate to adopt rules that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin, and establishing a federal agency to enforce that prohibition.

We pledge our efforts to obtain prohibition by law of segregation in interstate transportation and the elimination of segregation by legislative or executive action in all activities of the federal government and in all areas to which federal authority extends.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation making lynching and other mob assaults on persons or property because of race, color, religion, or national origin a federal crime.

We favor the enactment of federal legislation abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote in elections of federal officials and providing punishment for interference with the right to register and vote in primary or general federal elections. We favor also the outlawing of interference, for reasons of race or color, with the right to register for or vote in primary or general state and local elections.

We pledge appropriate Congressional action to elevate the status of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to that of a full division of the department, headed by an assistant attorney general.

We pledge the establishment of a permanent United States Commission on Civil Rights to make a continuous appraisal of civil rights and to recommend action.

We pledge that immediate statehood shall be granted to Alaska and Hawaii.

We pledge immediate action by Congress granting home rule to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

The foregoing planks have been indorsed by the following organizations:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, A. F. OF L.; CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; AND SOME TWENTY OTHERS.

Immigration

We pledge ourselves to pass legislation which will bring our immigration, naturalization, and nationality policies into consonance with our democratic ideals and the American tradition of humanitarianism. Specifically (1) we condemn the national-origins quota system as at present constituted and demand its abolition as the basis for the admission of immigrants into this country, instead, individual needs, character, and capacity should be qualifications for entry. (2) We pledge ourselves to effect changes in our immigration, naturalization, and nationality laws which will insure to all immigrants, naturalized citizens, and law-abiding resident aliens the right to treatment as favorable as that received by native-born citizens, also the right to fair play, due process of law, civil liberties, and political freedom.—AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND OTHERS.

Church and State

We oppose the appointment of an ambassador to the papal head of the Roman Catholic church.

We urge the repeal of all state laws which sanction aid to church schools from the public treasury. We urge reconsideration, by appropriate constitutional means, of decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the use of tax funds for (1) providing the pupils of parochial schools with free textbooks, and (2) the transportation of pupils to parochial schools.

We oppose the passage by Congress of any law which allots to church schools any portion of a federal appropriation for education or which explicitly or implicitly permits the states to make such allotment of federal funds.

We pledge all possible aid to citizens who are seeking to resist any assault upon the principle of separation of church and state.—ADAPTED FROM A STATEMENT BY PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED.

Education and Academic Freedom

We support federal aid to public educational institutions which do not practice segregation or discrimination.

We affirm the right of teachers to full freedom of research and publication. We affirm the right of teachers and students alike to organize freely in their own interests and to speak freely on any subject both on and off the campus. We condemn the requirement of loyalty oaths from teachers or students.

We pledge our efforts to expose and oppose those forces at present attempting to undermine public confidence in our public schools by their attacks on textbooks, curricula, personnel, and school finances, and also their attempts to introduce a political and religious orthodoxy into the school system.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Veterans

We favor home loans and educational and rehabilitation legislation as opposed to the bonus or to any general pension plan.—AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE.

Indian Affairs

By every relevant test American Indians have won the right to spend their own money, use their own lands, hire their own lawyers, set up their own organizations, choose their own representatives, and run their own businesses. All discriminatory laws and regulations interfering with these rights should be repealed without delay, in accordance with the wishes of the Indians concerned.—ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, INC.

Labor

Experience has demonstrated that the Taft-Hartley act has impeded union organization and aggravated labor-management relations and now jeopardizes our national economy and defense effort. We therefore urge the immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley act and the enactment of a law embodying the fair and equitable principles of the Wagner act.

We condemn oppressive state anti-labor laws and increased use of injunction processes to break unions.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

We must continue to improve programs for providing an adequate supply of labor for agricultural production. Among the essential parts of such a program are a minimum wage, regulation of labor contractors, and removal of exclusions under the Social Security Act, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and the National Labor-Management Relations Act.

The Wage-Hour and Public Contracts Acts have proved their value in providing minimum fair-employment standards. The minimum wage of 75 cents an hour should be increased to $1.25 an hour; the wage-hour act's provisions should be extended to cover hired farm labor. The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act should be continued without emasculating amendments such as were attempted this year.—CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

We support the efforts of federal-government employees, whose wage scales have lagged far behind the standards of private industry, to obtain long overdue pay adjustments. Legislation assuring statutory recognition of the right of federal employees to organize should be enacted. The United States Civil Service Retirement Act should be revised to assure retired government employees annuities sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living.—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Agriculture

We seek an agriculture based on family farms, with prosperous, efficient owners, masters of themselves and of the soil they till. We seek equal opportunities in life for all our fellow-men, in this country and in other lands. Specifically, we propose to enact legislation to achieve the following: (1) 100 per cent of parity price or income support of total production of not more than the equivalent of the net income obtained from production of 5,000 bushels of wheat to any one farm; production payments direct to farmers to make up the difference between the market price and 100 per cent of parity; (2) safety reserves and other programs to make abundant agricultural production more widely and continuously available to all consumers; (3) establishment of a nation-wide system of loans and technical assistance to farmers' cooperatives; expansion of the loan and technical-assistance programs of the Farmers' Home Administration, including rural housing loans, and immediate inauguration of other programs to improve the productivity and family income of the more than two million farm families suffering from rural poverty and unemployment; immediate establishment of national fiscal and farm-credit policies and programs that will increase the availability of credit for farm production on terms adapted to family-farm operation.—JAMES G. PATTON, NATIONAL FARMERS UNION.

Cooperatives

We whole-heartedly support the continued expansion of the cooperative movement. Rural power and telephone cooperatives should be encouraged. Cooperatives should be given every possible opportunity in this mobilization period to build some of the government-financed plants; a significant share of leases on oil lands, mineral deposits, and other resources made available to the public should be reserved for bona fide cooperative groups.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Natural Resources

We favor TVA-type valley authorities. We urge favorable action on the proposals of the Hoover Commission to transfer the civil functions of the Army Engineers to a single national-resources agency. The St. Lawrence seaway and power projects should be undertaken as quickly as possible. Publicly produced power should be publicly distributed. We oppose turning off-shore oil resources over to state governments. —AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Welfare and Social Security

A program of national health insurance with local administration and full recognition of voluntary non-profit health plans which provide adequate services. This pre-payment plan should allow free choice of physicians and guarantee continued freedom of doctors and hospitals to conduct their professional affairs as they do now.

Federal aid to insure an adequate trained force of nurses and physicians, sufficient public health units, hospitals, research into preventive medicine, etc.

Affirmation of the purposes and provisions of the Housing Act of 1949; additional legislation to provide middle-income groups access to financing of homes on a sound and reasonable basis; special legislation to meet the housing needs of defense and migratory farm workers; continuance and strengthening of rent controls wherever the need exists.

Adequate support for the "starved" Children's Bureau; prompt attention to the school-lunch program, which is now well on the way to destruction through failure of Congress to provide even the minimum funds required; federal aid to states and localities to insure at least minimum standards in preventing delinquency and caring for juvenile delinquents; federal aid to localities in providing day-care facilities for working mothers; special programs for the care and education of the children of migratory farm families; special and emergency programs providing assistance, as a matter of right and not of charity, to wives and families dependent on soldiers in active service.—PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE, BASED ON A CONFERENCE OF TWENTY-TWO EXPERTS REPRESENTING FIFTEEN NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIELDS OF CHILD WELFARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND SOCIAL SECURITY.

Unemployment-Insurance payments should be placed on a national basis, allowing national standards to prevent unfairness and assure sufficient income for the unemployed worker and his family to live decently.—PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE (AS ABOVE).

Full and complete coverage of all Americans under the Federal Social Security Act; old-age pensions of not less than $100 per month geared to the cost of living, with free health services for men aged sixty-five and women aged sixty. Automatic provision for lowering the age of recipients when employment drops below sixty million.—CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL WELFARE.

Monopoly and Small Business

We urge vigorous enforcement of existing anti-trust statutes. We call upon Congress to determine whether new legislation is needed to curb current tendencies toward economic concentration in many new industries. We condemn all forms of vertical integration among equipment manufacturers, broadcasters, film companies, editorial services, publishers, news distributors, and so on, as restrictions of competition and deterrents to the free expression of all points of view on public issues.

The government must adopt a more aggressive program to aid small and independent businesses. A larger share of defense prime contracts and subcontracts must be channeled to small firms. The Small Defense Plants Administration should be strengthened through enforcement of a strong basic law and larger appropriations.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Taxation and Economic Stabilization

Provisions for split incomes and family partnerships in the income-tax law have enabled upper-bracket taxpayers to escape their just share of taxes. Continuation and in some cases extension of such inequities and loopholes as capital-gains and depletion allowances, tax-exempt state and local securities, and unreported corporate interest and dividends have further favored well-to-do taxpayers. These loopholes and inequities must be eliminated.

We are unequivocally opposed to a general sales tax, whether it be collected at the retail or manufacturing level. —AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Labor is shocked by the wrecking-crew operations of the Eighty-second Congress on the Defense Production Act. We join with consumers throughout the nation in demanding an effective and comprehensive program to curb inflation, including (1) indorsement of an effective system of price controls for at least another year; (2) support for a tripartite Wage Stabilization Board with full power to deal with all types of disputes; (3) continued programs for allocation of scarce materials, fiscal policies which will check abnormal increases in bank credit, and an intensified savings-bond campaign.—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Pitfalls Ahead for Eisenhower

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago

THE Republican Party enters the Presidential campaign with a popular candidate and a platform that is scarcely halfway along the road from the dinosaur age to something akin to the spirit of modern America.

Much was gained as the party struggled with its soul all last week and at last thwarted the immediate designs of the men responsible for the truly shocking number of McCarthyites put forward to state Republican doctrine in the convention speeches. More treason screamers and poison-tongued character assassins were surely never before inflicted on a convention of one of our great parties. The theme was hate, hate, hate, from the vengeful keynote address of General MacArthur through the ugly spectacle of General Hurley distorting the facts of his own career in China and McCarthy himself shouting shrill imprecations against the "traitors" in Washington.

In the end, the Eastern–West Coast alliance once again proved stronger and more durable than the combination of Midwestern and rotten-borough Southern delegates controlled by Taft. Four times straight the anti-isolationists and anti-primitives have won in Republican conventions, and this time they copper-riveted the victory by adopting new rules to weaken the relative power of the Southerners in the Republican National Committee. The job was ruthlessly planned and executed, but it had to be done.

For Eisenhower, triumphant at last in an undertaking in which he had sometimes seemed weary and half-regretful, the real battles lie ahead. He and his embittered rival, Senator Taft, have formally pledged each other their loyalty and support. This was the routine and graceful thing to do, and Taft stood up manfully in the moment of his shattering disappointment. But Taft in the last two years has been turning ever more eagerly to embrace McCarthyism, the dry rot of Republicanism, and Ike, to deserve to win in November, is going to have to repudiate McCarthy once and forever.

Ike, the "man of the hour," can give shape and vitality to a new Republicanism. But he is still painfully amateurish at the extraordinarily difficult task of manipulating the vast political instrument placed in his hands. From the time two weeks ago that he finally decided to become the creature of his managers he made wonderful progress. Free at last from pestering questions on specific issues, he turned on his considerable charm for the delegates. His managers did the rest—and superlatively brave and shrewed they proved to be. Never once did they fumble. They stuffed the Texas "steal" issue down Taft's throat.

BUT while tough, experienced managers can whip a convention into line, the candidate himself must make the appeal to the people. The pitfalls ahead are indicated in Ike's gauche and gratuitous disparagement of the French as "atheistic" and lacking the will power and morale which make a people deserving of respect. And this comment pertained to foreign policy, to NATO policy itself—the one field in which Ike might be deemed to have some expertness and some sensitivity to nuances.

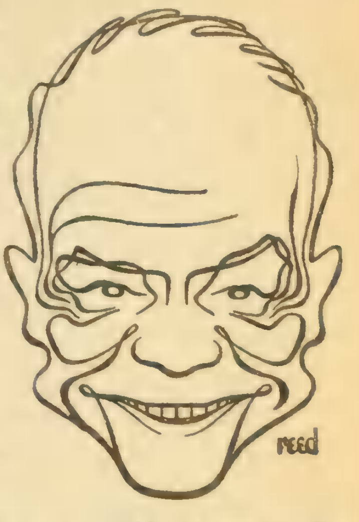
There is peril for Ike in his running-mate, Senator Nixon of California. For if it is true that Nixon was selected partly because he helped "break" the Alger Hiss case—and this was reported boldly in advance by John S. Knight, publisher of the Chicago *Daily News*—it could mean that Eisenhower is preparing to use McCarthyism under some other and more respectable name.

Knight based his prediction that Nixon would be chosen on the theory that the Republicans might consider it useful to have the "Hiss-destroyer" on the ticket in case Governor Stevenson of Illinois, who gave a good-character affidavit to Hiss, should be nominated by the Democrats. Yet it may be suggested that Eisenhower would be doing a disservice both to his party and to his country were he to countenance the smearing of Stevenson, or of any other decent Democratic nominee, on this or similar grounds. He would do well to remember that in 1884 an extremist slogan backfired disastrously when a bigoted preacher branded the Democrats the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion."

Lincoln on F. E. P. C.

What the Republican Party thinks about civil rights and F. E. P. C., the country knows. To the Democrats we commend a few lines by a man whose name was too often taken in vain at Chicago last week—the original "Mr. Republican." In an unfinished letter to Charles D. Robinson, dated August 17, 1864, from the White House, Abraham Lincoln wrote:

> Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming, administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest. The party which could elect a President on a War and Slavery Restoration platform would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and, that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing.



Ike's problem is how to conduct a rational, affirmative Republican campaign which looks forward and not backward. He will get little help from the platform. The foreign-policy plank, which indorses "collective security," he can presumably live with. But what will he do with the platform's evasions of the facts of life on dozens of domestic issues? Down, says the platform, with national health insurance. Down with federal aid to education, even though Senator Taft himself voted for it in the Eighty-first Congress. The rights of organized labor? Ike is stuck with Taft-Hartley, a law hated by the unions and so complicated that the platform itself misconstrues one section in citing the allegedly valuable "rights" guaranteed by the act to what the platform authors call the "working men."

The platform throws the consumer back to the wolves of the unrestricted competitive system. Rent controls? "We will oppose federal rent control except in those areas where the expansion of defense production has been accompanied by critical housing shortages." Price controls? "We believe in combating inflation by encouraging full production of goods and food and not through a program of restrictions." But the platform does not say what is to happen to prices as long as rearmament schedules make full civilian production impossible.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is still an "all-powerful federal socialistic" enterprise; the authors of the platform clearly prefer Missouri floods to Washington "socialism." And as for who shall get the profits from tidal oil, the people or private corporations, the platform is unequivocal: "We favor restoration to the states of their rights to all lands and resources beneath navigable inland and offshore waters within their historic boundaries."

The Republican civil-rights plank of 1948 declared that "equality of employment" was a "right" and promised "enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation" as might be needed "to maintain this right in every part of the Republic." (In 1944, of course, the Republicans had flatly advocated an

F. E. P. C.) But this year a fighting Southern minority forced further dilution of the weak 1948 language, despite the battle put up by a coalition of Northern and Western Republicans who wanted an F. E. P. C. with power to hold public hearings, subpoena witnesses and records, and secure fair hiring practices with "everything short of fines and jail." The Southerners claimed that public hearings would "destroy" employers who were hailed before the commission. They rejected a compromise which would have confined federal action to states without "adequate" local laws, confessing, in effect, that such a procedure would put the Southern states on the spot.

The plank as finally presented to the convention merely advocates federal laws to "further" fair treatment of minorities in the field of employment. The convention managers, even including Senator Ives of New York, who faces a reelection battle, wanted no trouble from the floor on the issue. They persuaded Harold E. Burton, a New York lawyer, to announce that he had discussed the plank with other Negro delegates and he and they were satisfied that it does "authorize" an F. E. P. C.

A word must be said about the frustration and rage of the Taftites. On the night of the nominating speeches, when it must already have been clear to them that they faced defeat, they issued a full-newspaper-size broadcast carrying in enormous letters the headline "Sink Dewey!" The broadcast charged that Dewey, symbol of the "same old gang of Eastern internationalists and Republican New Dealers," had "called the shots" and "pulled the strings" for Ike and was the candidate "in everything but name." The New York governor was described as the "most cold-blooded, ruthless, selfish political boss" in the country, and until he was crushed, Taft headquarters said, the G. O. P. could never win and "America can never be made safe from the insidious efforts of the New Dealers, whatever their party label, to take us down the road to socialism and dictatorship."

MISS.
IOWA
KANSAS

Eighteen hours later Taft and Eisenhower were engaging to work together for the election of the candidate the Taftites had charged was nothing more than a stupid stooge.

A Formula for Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN THEIR note to Russia of July 10 the Western powers accept, if with limitations and evasions, the principle of negotiation. To evaluate it correctly it must be placed in the sequence of exchanges which preceded it. The first Russian note, on March 10 last, proposed a Big Four conference to settle the German question on the basis of free elections, a central government for a united country, and an autonomous Germany army. The West's reply, sent on March 25, was inspired by Washington's conviction that it is a "waste of time to talk with the Russians"; it was in substance a rejection. On April 9 Moscow presented a second note, asking that a commission of the four occupying powers be created to look into the possibility of free elections in Germany. The Allies countered by demanding that the investigation be conducted by the United Nations, though this condition had been formally turned down by Russia in the last U. N. Assembly at Paris. The Soviet reply was received twelve days later when the Western ministers were occupied with the signing of the contractual agreement at Bonn. Its principal aim was to challenge the validity of the German contract. Naturally, the Allies took their time before answering.

The latest note was dispatched only after many days of consultation among the Western governments. The fear of war was growing in the capitals of Europe. The signing of the European-defense treaty and the German contract had created general uneasiness. This was reflected in the speeches of Winston Churchill and of his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler—which, without referring directly to the question of negotiations with Russia, depicted Britain's disastrous economic position—in the appeal of President Auriol of France and of the Belgian Prime Minister. Other signs of mounting anxiety were the changed stand of the British Labor leaders, with Mr. Attlee now joining the Bevanites in the demand for a four-power conference, the strong opposition to German rearmament voiced at the recent congress of the French Socialist Party, and the impetus given to the "neutralist" movement throughout Europe.

When Secretary Acheson went to Europe two weeks ago he was subjected to stronger pressure than had been brought to bear on American policy-makers for several years. From every side he was exhorted to accept four-power talks. Mr. Acheson rejected the French demand for a conference of the Foreign Ministers on the ground that the American elections made that impossible, but accepted a compromise proposal for a preliminary, "exploratory" meeting of officials of lower rank. This formed the basis of the new Allied note, which thus represents a formal concession on the part of the United States. It is to be hoped that the Russians will take advantage of the opportunity offered them by the delay in the ratification of the European-army and German-contract treaties and renew their proposals. Events of the last few days confirm my earlier prediction that the French may wait as much as six months before ratifying and that German ratification is meeting stiff opposition; on Wednesday of last week, for example, Carlo Schmid, the Socialist leader, delivered an extremely effective speech against it.

IF FUTURE developments reinforce the British-French stand and if the Kremlin proceeds intelligently in the new situation, it is very possible that a four-power conference on some level will be called either in September or just after the Presidential elections. The capital question will then arise: Is there really any solution of the German problem on which East and West can agree? Various interesting suggestions have been put forward privately. A high French official, for example, outlined to me the following plan, which will certainly come up for consideration in any serious discussion. Germany would be unified under a central authority with genuine sovereignty but not a real army; its neutrality would be assured by an agreement among the four powers and Germany, this agreement to be incorporated in the peace treaty. Occupation zones would be established on the frontiers, that on the east to be policed by the Russians and that on the west by the Allies. This arrangement, my informant believed, would provide security against both German military resurgence and the danger that all Germany might come under Russian control.

The author of the plan is convinced that the European members of NATO—the governments, not the military strategists—would be inclined to accept it, as well as Germany and Russia. France's reasons for welcoming a solution along these lines are too obvious to need emphasis here. As for Germany, the Chancellor's views must be distinguished from those of the people's elected representatives. For Dr. Adenauer, as for Louis XIV, *l'état c'est moi.* He not only shows no respect for the aims of the Socialist opposition but stifles or ignores every sign of independent thinking in his own party. But outside Dr. Adenauer's narrow circle there is a steadily growing neutralist group which, in the opinion of the French official I have quoted, would accept this plan or some modification of it. West Germany longs above all else to be freed of the fear that a death struggle between East and West will take place on its soil.

Within Germany the basic idea embodied in the French official's plan have long been supported by the Schumacher Social Democrats, the "neutralists" of the "Circle of Nauheim," and by Heinemann and the other dissidents of the old Adenauer team. And now a Liberal deputy, Herr Pfeiderer, has dropped a somewhat similar proposal into the Bonn Parliament. Before Germany can be unified, he says, Russian occupation forces must be withdrawn behind the Oder and Western troops to the left bank of the Rhine. This, he maintains, is the only way to reestablish the equilibrium of the two blocs. Once unified, Germany should be allowed a small army which in the event of aggression would fight on the side of the country's defenders. Powerful newspapers like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* have come out in favor of Herr Pfeiderer's important suggestion.

The French author of the German neutrality plan is also confident that Russia would consider such a solution. In fact, he thinks the Soviet proposal that Germany be permitted to have a national army subject to no political conditions, with officers of its own choosing, was a last-ditch effort to separate West Germany from the West and thus block the plans for its massive rearmament. It did not mean that Moscow felt easy about a rearmed German state.

There remains the United States. Once the emotions whipped up by the elections have subsided, my French informant believes, the new President, whoever he is, will have to consider Europe's state of mind, and Europe, he says, "is determined that all possibilities of agreement must be explored and exhausted before it accepts the necessity of preparing to fight."

Europeans in increasing numbers are urging the diplomats to stop quarreling and start negotiating. They especially condemn the aggressive attitude of John Foster Dulles, who counsels isolating and destroying the enemy. The advocates of negotiation are found in both the conservative and the liberal camp, while among Socialists and workers there is a perceptible tendency to feel that the chief danger of war comes from American rather than from Russian policy. If a diehard Washington rejects a viable formula for solving the German problem, it will meet the resentful opposition of this great mass of opinion.

Sometimes people complain that analyses of the German problem always produce negative conclusions; what is needed, they say, are constructive ideas. But surely nothing could be more constructive than the demand for a four-power conference. Only in such a conference can the various formulas suggested above be discussed, modified, and completed. The first thing to be done, if a solution other than by arms is the goal, is to defeat the effort to keep Germany divided indefinitely. Germany must either be united, with proper precautions against its making another attempt to dominate Europe, or remain the incubator of World War III, one part armed by the

West, the other by the East, aggressive Nazi elements put into uniform, the old Prussian military spirit revived.

It would be pedantic and foolish to insist that detailed plans for solving the German problem must be worked out in advance. The Russian note of March 10, which started the whole discussion, said that the Soviet government was willing to "examine any other plan" and to consider the views of the German government. The important thing is for the Big Four to meet and discuss concrete points. Russia must be prepared to make the further concessions required by the immense importance of the issue. The United States must adopt a different approach from that of its May 13 note, in which it asserted flatly that the rearmament of West Germany and its inclusion in the Atlantic system were "the only road really leading to peace." And Dr. Adenauer must not repeat the provocative statement he made to his party at Fribourg, that raising German divisions for the European army was the best way to recover the lost eastern provinces. Peace must be the subject of the conference, not war.

Who's Revolutionary in Mexico?

BY MERRILL RIPPY

Mexico, D. F.

FOR the first time since 1940 a Mexican Presidential election has taken place in the same year as a United States Presidential election. In 1940 Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Henry Wallace were nominated by a liberal Democratic Party, and Avila Camacho by the Party of the Mexican Revolution, which was led by Lázaro Cárdenas, a vigorous radical. When there was danger that Camacho would be deprived of his victory by a rightist coup, Mr. Wallace was sent here to represent the White House at the inaugural ceremonies. This year the Mexican election passed relatively unnoticed in the United States.

The voting, which took place on July 6, was generally acclaimed as the most orderly since 1910, though the campaign generated so much heat that all secondary schools in the Federal District, as well as the National University, were closed for the final two weeks. No one challenged the free exercise of the suffrage of some 5,000,000 Mexicans, but three of the four major candidates have challenged the announced result—the victory of Ruiz Cortines, the government-party candidate. Lombardo Toledano, candidate of the Popular Party, and Miguel Henriquez Guzmán, candidate of the Federation of the Parties of the Mexican People, dispute the count; Gonzalez Luna, choice of a Catholic Action party, has protested that the elections were conducted in "arbitrary" fashion by the government party.

Such challenges are not unusual and are generally handled in routine fashion by the Federal Electoral Commission in the period between the elections in July and the inauguration in December. Sometimes, however—as in 1940 and 1946—the point is pressed with violence. This year the followers of Guzmán have already engaged in one post-election outbreak. Whether or not further violence occurs, it is noteworthy that this year, for the first time in Mexican history, four well-organized parties actively participated in a Presidential race and anti-government campaigning was widespread and vigorous.

The "official" or government party has frequently changed its name since 1910 but has always retained the word "revolutionary." This year the Party of the Mexican Revolution became the Party of the Revolutionary Institution (P. R. I.)—a significant change. Indeed, the P. R. I. and its candidate, Ruiz Cortines, were attacked for representing *continuismo,* the perpetuation of a senescent group no longer revolutionary.

During the campaign the name of Ruiz Cortines was emblazoned all over Mexico—on mountain sides in giant letters marked out in white stones, on building tops in neon lights, and on placards attached to trees, lampposts, and walls. As the government party, the P. R. I. could even put up posters on public property. In campaigning, its speakers laid chief emphasis on the progress already achieved and promised for the future through a continuing program of highway building, railroad modernization, hydroelectric development, school building, and other capital investments. This emphasis lent some color to charges that the P. R. I. was the party of the two hundred new Mexican millionaires. Only in the last weeks of the campaign did it begin an active drive to win over the farm workers, as if it had just remembered that the vast majority of Mexicans were peasants.

Two groups which in 1940 and 1946 either supported the P. R. I. or were quiescent emerged this year as two new parties in active opposition. These were Lombardo's Popular Party and Henriquez Guzmán's federation group. Henriquez, incidentally, was the only general

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running for President in the election, another phenomenon worth marking.

The Popular Party was said to be a Communist front, although Lombardo has never been an avowed Communist. Anti-Communist groups used against him the kind of smear technique now familiar in the United States. His pictures were frequently pasted over with placards which asked in bold letters, "Russia or Mexico? Your vote will decide!" (Oddly enough, the same placards were used to cover Ruiz Cortines's face.) The fact is that the Communists' alliance with Lombardo was at best uneasy; at the final pre-election rally of the Popular Party no Communist was permitted to speak.

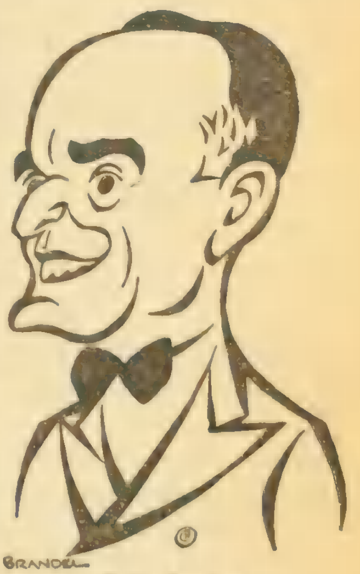
In addition to some workers' support, Lombardo had the backing of the left-wing artists Diego Rivera and Siqueiros, and of a high percentage of Mexican intellectuals. The Lombardistas also claimed the support of Cárdenas, elder statesman of the Mexican Revolution. They asserted that when Ruiz Cortines visited Michoacan, Cárdenas's home state, the ex-President was not at home; that when Henriquez Guzmán campaigned there, Cárdenas was also not at home; but that when Lombardo spoke in Uruapan, Cárdenas invited him to breakfast.

HENRIQUEZ GUZMAN, a general from Coahuila —which is somewhat analogous to being from Texas in the United States—was the opponent against whom the P. R. I. directed most of its fire in the last days of the campaign. His appeal was to the strongly nationalist, "authentic" revolutionaries, for whose benefit he stressed his agrarianism. His long friendship with Cárdenas certainly did not hurt his candidacy in certain quarters, even though a liking for old-style *caudillismo* was implied in his campaign. Three of his chief supporters were members of the former Cárdenas government. According to spokesmen for the Popular Party, the principal plank in the Henriquez platform was in fact Cárdenas, but Cárdenas made no open gesture of support.

Henriquez strongly attacked the P. R. I., accusing the party of banditry. According to Henriquez's spokesmen, President Alemán's wife and mother had acquired tremendous wealth through bean and rice monopolies, and his nineteen-year-old son had a fortune of more than a hundred million pesos. Half of the money lent to Mexico by the United States has gone into the pockets of corrupt officialdom, Henriquez's aides charged. They accused Ruiz Cortines of being a traitor, alleging that he had cooperated with the American forces in the occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914 and implying that he would betray Mexico to the Yankees again in 1952.

Oddly enough, part of Henriquez's support came from Los Dorados, the semi-fascist group that in 1938-40 helped foment rebellion against Cárdenas and the oil expropriation. His followers expected some Communist support from rural school teachers, because his agricultural program was stronger than Lombardo's. The rest of Henriquez's organized support, according to his headquarters, came from small business men, small industrialists, and the army below the rank of colonel.

Since the voting Henriquez's supporters have been talking tough, insisting that their man would be the next President no matter whom the government declared the official winner. They say and the implied threat has not been lost—that Alemán can be pressured into recognizing the election of Henriquez if for no other reason than to keep internal peace and so earn the Nobel peace prize, which he covets.



Ruiz Cortines

The seemingly best-financed candidate was Gonzalez Luna, put up by the Party of National Action (P. A. N.). That PAN also means bread in Spanish was a useful coincidence for Gonzalez Luna. Bread and social justice were his two slogans. The banner of social justice is raised by Catholic Action parties the world over, and Gonzalez Luna was strongly supported by the Union Nacional Sinarquista, a party which in 1940 was semi-secret, semi-fascist, and fanatically Catholic.

While there was never any doubt that Ruiz Cortines would be elected, the campaign indicated a deep division of political opinion in the country, even among the professional revolutionary groups which have controlled Mexico since 1920. Certainly the old agrarian revolutionary impulse is not dead. The constant use by the opposition of Cárdenas's name and the reference to him as the "greatest Mexican" indicate the wide appeal of Cardenismo even today. And Cardenismo means, according to both the Lombardistas and the Henriquistas, strict enforcement of the constitution of 1917, which is one of the most radical political documents in existence, providing for strong labor organizations, nationalization of land, and strictly controlled capitalism.

As a close and very important neighbor, Mexico and its politics are of vital importance to the United States in the present world crisis, and Americans should note carefully that three of the four major parties in the Presidential race were openly campaigning on anti-Yankee platforms. It has been a long time since anti-Americanism was politically expedient in Mexico, and the fact reveals something about the United States as well as about Mexico.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Our Asian Policy?

JOURNEY TO THE FAR PACIFIC. By Thomas E. Dewey. Doubleday and Company. $4.

IN THE summer of 1951 Governor Dewey made a two months' trip to the Far East. He traveled 41,000 miles, visited seventeen different countries, and talked to hundreds of individuals—American diplomats and reporters, E. C. A. officials, local officials, colonial administrators, and business men. He also made a great point of talking to peasants whenever he could, as one farmer to another.

His report is not fresh or profound but it is important, since it embodies our Far Eastern policy during the predictable future, no matter who wins in November. For our Asia policy is already being written by Republicans—largely by John Foster Dulles, who is very close to Dewey. The Dulles-Dewey Republicans would be able to check the adventurism of MacArthur's followers, much as the conservative Democrats have been able to thwart the kind of forward-looking Asia policy advocated by Justice Douglas.

There is much in East Asia that Dewey does not understand, much that is obscure on which he has brash, ready-made opinions, and much on which he is evasive. Yet the surprising thing about the views Dewey derives in part from a junket, in part from the political formalism that incrusts the mind of any active politician, and in part from a determination to subordinate American interests in Asia to the cold war—the surprising thing is how sound they are.

For Dewey says again and again that we must not seek to make Asia over in our own image. He knows colonialism and imperialism must end. He respects the old, polished, sophisticated, and often superior cultures of the Orient. He admits that democracy is only a word, and that we had better not tamper with the Asian's way of doing most things in business and in politics. He sees that a little squeeze and a little smuggling in business, a little witches' brew in medicine, and even a little night-soil in agriculture are necessary, and in fact are regulated by properties or by nature's own antibodies. He even notes "the ugly damage done to our diplomatic service by unfounded or ignorant criticism at home."

Good. But on many things he is superficial or misled. He does not know whether what he saw was normal or a Potemkin village put up for his benefit. He writes about Buddhism and Shintoism but misses the fact that they are almost completely non-dogmatic and not even mutually exclusive. He excuses the low wages of Japanese factory girls because they are housed in comfortable dormitories and taught flower arrangement. He sees no virtue in the contention of a Japanese business man that free competition squanders too much precious raw materials in a country desperately short of them. He complains of the absence of American culture, overlooking the great influence of American movies. He admires Yoshida unreservedly, and he brushes aside Japan's massive neutralism with the marvelous understatement that there is little sentiment for rearmament.

He thinks that masses of former Chinese Nationalists are fighting in Korea against their will but soon remarks that "the enemy rarely gives up." But then, the military mind, which Dewey here reflects, has never been notably acute in analyzing why men fight. He does report one opinion not often voiced here: that Russia supports a limited and inconclusive war in Korea partly to test our new arms. This would accord with past Soviet practice.

The Formosa chapter is fascinating. Dewey reports being told that "the Chinese Communists are leading the fight for Asia for the Asians . . . so they have the popular side"; that the people see us allied with their oppressors in Europe; and that the only effective American policy is to advocate "China for the Chinese, Indo-China for the Indo-Chinese, Japan for the Japanese." In commenting on the defeat of Chiang on the mainland he speaks of the Nationalists as "war-weary" and of the Reds as "fresh," thus brushing aside with two adjectives the difficult and obscure question of the role of each in opposing the Japanese. He considers the complex question of the disposal of Japanese arms in Manchuria and North China in 1945 a betrayal of Chiang by Stalin; yet we were frequently obliged to let the *maquis*, regardless of political affiliations, retain arms they had seized. Dewey honestly reports the unbelievable corruption and cruelty of the Chinese administration of Formosa after the war but gives it a clean bill of health now. He is much impressed by Chiang's loyalty to us in not making a separate peace with the Japanese, but does he know whether Chiang, had he made such a move, would have survived another and more wrathful Sian? If, as Renan said, "the truth lies in nuances," then this, like much in Dewey's book, is untrue.

Dewey quotes Chiang at great length and then says, "I couldn't refute the Generalissimo's argument because so much of it was true." How much is so much? The argument contained flagrant misstatements that Dewey thus manages to leave slickly unrefuted. For all of Dewey's lip service to the principle of Chinese solutions to Chinese problems, he never faces the crucial question of the Reds versus the Nationalists in Chinese terms. In the end he falls back on unprincipled arguments of military expediency, insisting with MacArthur that Formosa is vital to our defensive "line," even though Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines form the line, and Formosa is an exposed, westward-jutting salient. When will the military mind not seek to add an island or a continent to its defense requirements?

I have said that this book clearly foreshadows our Asia policy. When Dewey concludes that "even if Nationalist China were as bad as its enemies paint it, I would favor supporting it as one of the forces necessary to keep the Communists from overrunning the whole Pacific," he shows that that policy is to be exclusively one of military opportunism. It might work in the short run, but it will turn a billion Asians into permanent enemies.

Dewey continued his trip through the

Philippines, Hongkong, Indo-China, Malaya, and Indonesia, but the pattern of his observations and conclusions changes little. One is left to gloomy speculations regarding the value of the trip, and more, regarding the isolation of the political mind. The concept of One World, and attempts to honor one's responsibilities toward it, are all very well, but the world itself remains intractably diverse and varied. Experts find the truth about Asia complex, strenuous, and obscure, but no politician can trade in obscurities. He cannot, even by interviewing farmers and other humble people, break out of the prison of political formalism. He cannot know if the peasants tell him what they really believe. As the area with which he attempts to deal becomes larger and larger, he moves increasingly away from reality. This is a problem not for Dewey alone but for all political leaders; it will be a problem as long as vast power structures exist.

James Aldridge has dealt brilliantly with the isolation of the political leader on a foreign mission in his novel, "The Diplomat." I commend it to Governor Dewey; it will make him a wiser man even if a less certain politician.

HAROLD STRAUSS

Governor Stevenson

ADLAI E. STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS. By Noel F. Busch. Farrar, Strauss, and Young. $3.75.

GOVERNOR STEVENSON is fortunate in his biographer. Noel F. Busch has written a hasty but surprisingly detailed and fresh profile, both witty and low-keyed and far superior to the stodgy "official" biography with which most candidates are ignobly endowed. In the main it is the story of the "dazzling sprint" from January to April by which Stevenson emerged from "comparative obscurity to sure winner in the Democratic Party sweepstakes," after which he "obligingly jogged off the track" to let his competitors continue running. But even Busch does not believe that this is the real story. His book ends with the strong suggestion that if the Democratic convention has any sense Stevenson will be the nominee. The book presents texts of speeches, interviews, messages, and articles by the Governor that are of only secondary interest nationally unless Stevenson is a candidate.

Adlai Stevenson may be "comparatively obscure," and some of the politicians may consider him nationally "unknown," but he comes from a distinguished family of American politicians and public servants, and he is very clearly a man of stature. He may not be "easily the best all-around political orator to appear on the United States scene since F. D. R.," as Busch thinks, but he has Roosevelt's capacity to express genuine thoughts in simple words. He is not equipped to comment on every national issue—his understanding of the

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Taft-Hartley act seems incomplete—but many issues he obviously has pondered deeply, and his attitudes on them are in the best traditions of the Democratic Party.

His 1951 foreign-affairs speech at Northwestern University was a masterly analysis of the sudden rise to world power of the United States and the Soviet Union—he has sense enough to recognize geopolitical facts instead of trying to rewrite history to blame some American super-devil for Soviet imperialism—and at the same time an appeal to people to use their minds, to realize the struggle we face:

> In fatuous haste to be shut of war, worry, and expense, we obliterate our power and leave it to the United Nations to keep a peace that never existed. When things go right we gush paeans of praise for the United Nations; when they go wrong we damn it and even propose to forsake the good because it is not perfect . . . [the] self-hypnosis of loud and repeated talk about our righteousness and freedom will rally no allies nor blow the Kremlin walls down.
>
> Have we learned that hunting scapegoats is not a foreign policy?
>
> Have we learned that our mission is the prevention, not just the survival, of a major war? Have we discovered that there are no Gibraltars, no fortresses impregnable to death or ideas, any more?

Busch seems to give too much credit to the magazine *Time* as playing a substantial part in Stevenson's emergence from "relative obscurity." Stevenson has been a brilliant Governor of Illinois, knows how to get things done even through a hostile legislature, has shown talents for persuasion and compromise, is a subtle practitioner of the arts of democratic government, and has shown honor and courage in vetoing bills to lash "subversives" and curry favor with the real-estate lobby. These talents may have been unknown to the public but scarcely to the Democratic high command. If Harry S. Truman chose not to run himself, where would he originally look for a successor except to a really outstanding Democratic governor, with all the correct antecedents and proved skill as a campaigner? If Stevenson had not existed, he would have had to be invented.

One point Busch does not wholly illuminate. Why was Stevenson so reluctant to cooperate in a draft? Was it because, as rumored with some degree of authority, he privately felt that twenty years in power was long enough for a single party and that anyway, if Eisenhower was selected by the Republicans, our foreign policy was safe? If so, the myopia, one can hope, was transitory. There are answers to these questions that deserve to be debated in the campaign by someone who believes that domestic policy is very important, indeed by someone who feels deeply that the Congressional investigations turning up petty thieves, Communists or alleged Communists, homosexuals, and defenseless victims of witch hunts, and lumping them indiscriminately as evidence of "corruption" in Washington, is the most evil corruption of the past two years. It is an intellectual and political corruption so pervasive that it has tainted out national life, and no Democratic nominee or potential nominee can in decency fail to lash it hip and thigh.

If Governor Stevenson makes the grade next week, Mr. Busch's admirable volume will be required reading for a great many people, and new editions can eliminate the minor factual and typographical errors which, considering the circumstances, are few enough.

WILLARD SHELTON

Master of the Terrible

A BACHELOR'S ESTABLISHMENT. By Honoré de Balzac. Translated by Eithne Wilkins. Farrar, Strauss, and Young. $3.50.

THIS new translation of "La Rabouilleuse" (1842) abounds in those *splendeurs et misères* Balzac created so well. It also employs the same specious explanations of human behavior that mar even so fine a novel as "Cousin Bette."

Balzac's effects are contrived out of innumerable details scrupulously "worked up" and modified by no light and shade. Yet this careful record of daily life in Paris and in a provincial town during the reign of Louis XVIII convinces us, as Balzac almost always does convince, that things were exactly as he says they were and that events fell out exactly as he says they did. He had a feeling for externals, for surfaces glittering or dingy or merely commonplace, beneath which, if we cannot discern the lineaments of a human soul, we can see clearly the intricate workings of a whole society. The Paris in which the brothers Bridau lead their so different lives and the provincial town in which they attempt to outwit the vultures who are despoiling the family fortune do come into an exciting and excited life.

But the central characters are so monstrously evil and cruel in their pursuit of money and social position—Balzac's favorite "subject"—and their motives are so oversimplified that it is often impossible to think of them as real despite the reality encompassing them. They are superb grotesques. This disparity between background and foreground derives from Balzac's belief in the "ruling passion." Yet we expect, thus far on in the nineteenth century, and of a younger contemporary of Stendhal, some chiaroscuro. His formulations of the ways in which human beings are likely to behave, given various motives, are too easy. "When poverty ceases, avarice begins," he announces in "Lost Illusions," a conclusion of dubious validity intended to clarify one of the most important relationships in that novel. "That fellow is all you really care about," Joseph Bridau says to his mother in "A Bachelor's Establishment" when speaking of his elder brother; "each of us has some hopeless passion."

Such notions do not explain adequately the decisions and revisions of the moment. And Balzac's customary solution for dilemmas created by the human comedy is not satisfying. The society he portrays, he is forever insisting, is "based solely on the power of money." The chief cure for its ills is traditional Catholicism. But the wounds are really incurable, for Balzac's is not at all a religious sensibility. His pious characters, those noble and suffering females like Agathe Bridau in this novel, tend to be either theatrical confections or, worse, bores. Their piety is impotent before a ruling and triumphant passion which usually turns out to be one or another of the seven deadly sins.

We can overlook these defects. "A Bachelor's Establishment" also shows Balzac as a master of the terrible. It traces the rise and fall of three monsters: the beautiful, ruthless, and stupid Flore Brazier, who is undone by her one scrap of humanity; the luckless provincial bully for love of whom she is ruined; and the monumentally evil and inhuman Philippe Bridau. Philippe is a triumph. He has, so far as Balzac cares, no inner life save a determination to become rich and respected and "a savage contempt for all women." When this Bonapartist, whose occupation is gone at Waterloo, is banished to the provinces he puts aside his drunkenness, idleness, and lust and concentrates his talents on outwitting Flore and her lover. The cunning and the boldness by which he succeeds are so great that they confer on him a tawdry grandeur. Paradoxically, the outmoded psychology of the ruling passion does work after all to create magnificent extra-human figures, though Philippe and his enemies are more closely related to characters out of Corneille or Molière than to the greatest creations of nineteenth-century fiction.

ERNEST JONES

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"The Eagle and the Roots"
by Louis Adamic
Reviewed by Mark Gayn

Books in Brief

THOMAS JEFFERSON: SCIENTIST. By Edwin T. Martin. Schuman. $4. This volume is a pleasantly discursive and anecdotal account of Jefferson's scientific and quasi-scientific interests, ideas, and accomplishments. It brings together a good deal of scattered information, is appropriately illustrated and usefully documented, but makes no attempt to relate Jefferson's scientific activity to his other interests and aims. Two excellent chapters are devoted to his contemporary reputation as a man of science and to the ways in which his political and ecclesiastical enemies used that reputation in order to malign and traduce him.

MONSOON SEAS. By Alan Villiers. McGraw-Hill. $4.75. The story of the Indian Ocean and its fabulous islands, fascinating in content and effective in style. The author sketches their history from the Phoenicians down through the days of the spice trade and the coming of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, to the present day, and describes his own

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voyage on a coastal trading dhow. There are chapters on shipwrecks and adventures, on pearlers, whalers, and wars, and a particularly good one on pirates from which we learn that in the eighteenth century they made their headquarters in Madagascar, where they were regularly outfitted by a New York firm. An excellent addition to the Oceans of the World Series.

Drama Note

"THE MALE ANIMAL" (Music Box), starring Elliot Nugent, Martha Scott, and Robert Preston, has not suffered from the passing of time. In fact, the Thurber-Nugent drama about a professor who has to defend himself against both a trustee trying to dictate what he is to teach and an ex-suitor of his wife's with a reputation as an all-star halfback is even more pertinent and amusing than when it was first seen in 1940. Events since then have sharpened the contrast between what is funny in the play and what is not, and given this top-notch comedy added depth. A serious and a light theme are so expertly blended that they help put each other's message across. By all odds "The Male Animal" is the most delightful comedy that has come to Broadway in a long time; it is a type that has been sorely missed in recent years.

C. H.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO recent books are intended to make it possible for anyone to assemble the components of a good radio-phonograph. The first, "Make Music Live," by Irving Greene, James R. Radcliffe, and Robert Scharff (Medill McBride, $4.50), discusses the purpose and operation of each component and what is desirable and undesirable in its characteristics and performance, but makes no evaluations or recommendations of particular components now available—which in my opinion deprives the book of practical usefulness. The authors expect the reader to be able, with the information they provide, to examine the various components in the retail store, to ask the necessary questions and obtain the necessary answers, and to make the right selections—which I don't think he can do.

The other book is "The *Saturday Review* Home Book of Recorded Music and Sound Reproduction," by Edward T. Canby, C. G. Burke, and Irving Kolodin (Prentice Hall, $4.50); and in his section Home Reproduction and How to Improve It, Mr. Burke not only discusses the components but offers five combinations of particular components ranging from the best without regard for cost (something above $2000) to the least expensive ($225) that can give the minimum of good performance. The combinations represent decisions by experts "accustomed to listening as musicians or as electronic engineers, a few as both" in direct-comparison tests of unidentified components. As someone who hasn't heard the combinations or most of their components I would seem to be in no position to comment on them; but there is a basis for the statements I will make—the statements not only of dissent but, before that, of my belief that Mr. Burke's section is a respectable performance and his combinations will produce the superb or excellent or good sound he says they will.

I listen strictly as a musician; but in the past fifteen years I have had listening with me one or another engineer with the rare combination of technical competence, an accurate mind, and an ear for musical sound; and my experience with them has given me confidence in what they have said about equipment I haven't myself heard. It was such an engineer who heard and was able to demonstrate to me the defects of my speaker system a year ago, and who suggested, as a speaker worthy of my Brook amplifier, the RCA LC-1A, which, when he demonstrated it, took my breath away with the sweetness of the highs, the clarity and cleanness all the way down, the absence of strain in the most powerful sonorities. Having decided to acquire it I had next to decide what to put it in; and my engineer suggested building the enclosure with a bass-reflex vent that could be closed, permitting me to compare and decide between the bass-reflex and the completely closed infinite-baffle types of box. But Lincoln Walsh, designer of the Brook amplifier, was so emphatic in his opposition to bass-reflex and his insistence on the completely closed box that I deferred to his judgment and put the LC-1A into a closed, rigid, and lined box with an interior space of 10 cubic feet, in which it produces sound that is a delight to the ear.

It is a surprise, therefore, to find no mention of the LC-1A speaker by Mr. Burke; and a further surprise to find him opposing the closed box and recommending the bass-reflex. Lack of time has kept me from investigating the various Klipschorn-type speaker systems that he includes in his combinations; but my engineer, who has heard them, tells me they give remarkable reproduction of bass but not as fine reproduction of highs as the LC-1A. One improvement in Mr. Burke's speaker arrangements, in his opinion, would be to use an LC-1A for the range above 150 cycles with a Klipschorn for the range below. And noting that $1400 of the cost of Mr. Burke's regardless-of-cost combination pays for two Klipschorn-type Electro-Voice "Patrician" speaker systems, my engineer remarks that considerably less money would provide three or four LC-1As whose power-handling capacities at very low frequencies would, he thinks, be hardly distinguishable from the Klipsch's in a living room, and whose middle and high range he considers the best he has heard. Also, noting that Mr. Burke's $500-to-$700 combination includes a Klipsch corner enclosure with an Altec-Lansing 604-B speaker, my engineer says he considers the Bozak superior in quality not only to this speaker but to all others in its price category (about $55), adding that the low power-handling capacity of one Bozak can be remedied by using two, with an amplifier of sufficient power to compensate for the speaker's low efficiency.

My engineer testifies to the outstanding excellence of the Fairchild pickup, one of the two Mr. Burke recommends for his best combination; and having recently tried the Pickering again with my new speaker I can myself testify to its excellence and its superiority over the G. E.—its more clearly and cleanly defined reproduction throughout its range. But I should mention someone's complaint that her Pickering arm didn't hold the cartridge tightly enough.

For his best combination Mr. Burke chooses the H. H. Scott 214-A and the Bell 2145-A in preference to other fine amplifiers because of their systems of equalization circuits which alter the frequency response of the amplifier to fit the different frequency characteristics used in recording by the different companies. The sounds from my machine support the opinion of my engineer, among others, that the single equalization with turn-over point at 500 cycles provided by the Brook amplifier is adequate for recording characteristics with turn-over points a few hundred cycles either way, and the Brook's treble and bass controls provide the necessary adjustment not only for differences in recorded treble boost and bass attenuation but for the equally important differences caused by variations in microphone placement and acoustic conditions. However, one can, if he wishes, supplement the Brook's equalization with a Pickering equalizer.

My own recommendations are, then, a Brook amplifier, possibly with a Pickering equalizer; two Fairchild or Pickering cartridges with diamond styli in the Fairchild or Pickering arm; a Rek-O-Kut motor and turntable; and either an RCA LC-1A speaker combined with a Klipschorn, or one or more LC-1As in completely closed boxes. A person living in his own home can mount the LC-1As in a wall between two rooms, which my engineer, disagreeing with Mr. Burke, considers the best arrangement of all.

CONTRIBUTORS

HAROLD STRAUSS, editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

"My Sister and I": Definitely Fiction

Dear Sirs: It is surprising that Samuel Roth, publisher of "My Sister and I," which he claims to be Friedrich Nietzsche's autobiography, continues to insist (*The Nation,* June 21) that the work is genuine after it has been attacked as a fake by such authorities as Thomas Mann, Walther A. Kaufmann, and Ludwig Marcuse, and by myself.

Mrs. Maud Rosenthal, née Levy, daughter of the "translator" of the book, did not tell me that she "knew nothing about her father having translated 'My Sister and I' and written an introduction to it." She and her husband assured me that in the late Dr. Levy's files there was "nowhere . . . a mention of anything that might even with the most abstruse imagination be connected with the matter, or rather fiction, of 'My Sister and I.'"

There are dozens of reasons why this "autobiography" cannot be authentic. It is true that "madmen have periods of lucidity," but it is also common knowledge that from 1889 onward Nietzsche's memory was completely gone and his mental level that of a small child.

New York ALFRED WERNER

"Democrats" for Douglas

Dear Sirs: On Saturday, May 10, some 600 students from twenty-seven colleges and universities gathered under the sponsorship of the Southern California Political Science Association to participate in two mock nominating conventions, held at Pepperdine College. Since you have recently conducted a Presidential preference poll among your readers, I thought you might be interested in the results.

The "Republicans" nominated Eisenhower on the fourth ballot. The tallies on the final ballot were Eisenhower 619, Warren 519, and Taft 32. Senator Kefauver received the "Democratic" nomination, also on the fourth ballot. On the third, however, the leader was Justice Wiliam O. Douglas.

Starting with an uninspiring 46 votes on the first ballot, the Douglas "boom" gained momentum until at the close of the third ballot he led with 510 votes; had the Douglas supporters been able to garner 94 additional votes, he would have been nominated on the third ballot. In the next roll call the Russell forces joined Kefauver and assured the latter the nomination.

JAMES ARMSTRONG
Manhattan Beach, Cal.

An M. V. A. Advocate

Dear Sirs: The article by Richard G. Baumhoff and the editorial comments on the Missouri flood in the April 26 issue of *The Nation* were excellent. . . . There is strong sentiment throughout Montana for the establishment of an M. V. A. . . . The Regional Committee for an M. V. A., of which I am a member, has reorganized and intends to participate actively in the hearings before the Missouri Basin Commission. We feel that events since 1944, when the present program was initiated, have demonstrated conclusively that the floods cannot be controlled or the basin developed without a completely integrated program, which can be attained only through the pattern established by T. V. A.

Helena, Mont. LEIF ERICKSON

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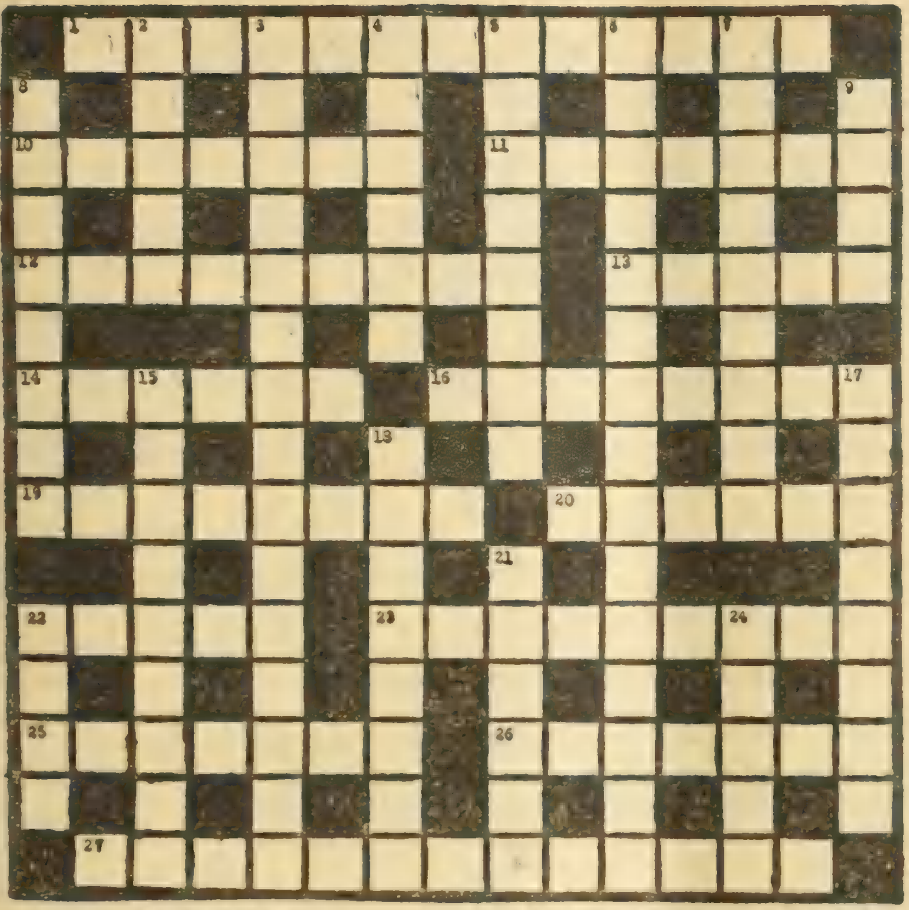

ACROSS

1 Some are annoyed to find it on the furniture, but welcome it the morning after. (1, 4, 2, 3, 3)

10 Where ones waits for a kiss on the brow? (3, 4)

11 ". . . with eagle eyes
He stared at the — and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."
(Keats) (7)

12 A dead spore might not be safe to trifle with. (9)

13 Your own self-esteem brings them back finally. (5)

14 To impose as a burden. (6)

16 You might find us in a little company seizure hearing. (8)

19 Change the design of Easter eggs, perhaps. (8)

20 You'll recognize fruit of the wild corn around it. (6)

22 Implies the pitch is an up-shoot. (That's the way to soak!) (5)

[illegible] Sounds like one might listen for Martin Kane! (It might win a prize, too!) (9)

25 It's rare, but it would be even rarer to find it at a smoker! (4, 3)

26 Fancy for a low sound. (7)

27 In a Rossini opera I slowly break down, not unreasonably. (13)

DOWN

2 A great number of entertainers might be found in some churches. (5)

3 Primarily, it's pointless to look here for just a second. (2, 3, 5, 5)

4 General Stanley told a terrible story when he claimed to be one. (6)

5 The highest mark of the six-gun killer? (3-5)

6 The putting out of a letter of "love and kisses"? (15)

7 Nothing very loud with the position of a player out-of-balance. (3-6)

8 Submissive to constraint with a broken toe in bed. (8)

9 Dies with one on them? (Implies the service can't be touched, as well!) (4)

15 He doesn't act very happy, usually! (9)

17 Study Jacques, for example, as a colleague. (8)

18 It's about time! (8)

21 Not really the hair wave, but it might convey a message. (6)

22 Stuff from the East, perhaps (4)

24 Pronounce 6? (5)

—★—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 473

ACROSS:—1 DOUBLE EXPOSURE; 9 ALLEGED; 10 and 11 COUNCIL BLUFFS; 12 and 21 COMPOUND FRACTURE; 14 SCALPER; 15 PLEAD; 17 SAHIB; 19 DIPTERA; 23 PETREL; [illegible] TESTUDO; 26 ACETONE; 27 SYMPATHY STRIKE.

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THE *Nation*

July 26, 1952

New Threat to the Democrats

Eisenhower Challenges the Solid South

BY ALEXANDER HEARD

*

High-Frequency Palpitations

A Diagnosis of the TV Industry

BY GILBERT MILLSTEIN

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Oklahoma Odyssey

Oklahoma City

EVER since the agricultural depression which gripped the Southwest twenty years ago and the end of the oil boom in the early thirties Oklahoma has been trying desperately to entice Eastern industry into the state as a solution for its economic ills. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Sylvania Electric Products, manufacturers of radio and TV equipment, announced two years ago that it planned to build a million-dollar plant in the Southwest, competition among communities where it might locate became intense. After months of semi-secret negotiations with business leaders in the region, the company picked Shawnee, forty miles from Oklahoma City. The 25,000 inhabitants of Shawnee had managed to scrape together $206,000 to help finance the enterprise, and although the money was returned, a company spokesman said the offer had convinced the owners of the town's genuine desire to have the plant.

But if Sylvania was whole-heartedly welcomed by Shawnee when it started operations in January, 1951, the picture had radically altered six months later. Business interests were still rooting for Sylvania, but organized labor felt differently.

Sylvania paid its employees 80 cents an hour, 48 cents less than the minimum paid for similar work in Eastern plants. The low rate was shrouded in a complicated wage system under which employees were given one per cent more for work done over a set amount. This practically amounted to a speed-up. Women workers protested that the pace was impossible to maintain and that their efforts left them nervously exhausted.

This was the situation when in August, 1951, the Shawnee Sylvania workers by a three-to-one vote chose the International Union of Electrical Workers, C. I. O., as their bargaining agent. Negotiations with management began almost immediately. The wage issue was settled quickly—management agreed to an increase of 22 cents an hour—but demands for a union shop, check-off, seniority rights, eight holidays a year, and adequate machinery to handle job grievances were refused. The union pointed out in vain that Sylvania had granted similar demands to I. U. E. locals in seven of its Eastern shops.

Fed up with management's uncompromising attitude, the union voted 373 to 0 in January to give its bargaining committee the power to call a strike. On March 14, when negotiations collapsed, between 350 and 400 employees walked out. Fewer than forty employees stayed with their machines, and four days later the plant shut down.

SHAWNEE'S commercial interests were 100 per cent with the company. The day after a fist fight took place near the plant a group of business men issued an unsigned manifesto demanding that law and order be upheld and the right to work secured. An anonymous business man put up $50 for the best back-to-work slogan and had it displayed on banners on cars which weaved through the business district. The Shawnee *News-Star*, the town's only daily, stirred up sentiment against the union, circulating the rumor that if Sylvania could not get its own way, it would move to a town where labor was more tractable. The trouble, the paper charged, was caused by "foreign agitators" who had poured into the community.

The funds behind a strike-breaking movement headed by a Mrs. Katie Quinn, a Sylvania employee, remained a mystery, but they were generous enough to pay for long anti-labor radio broadcasts by Mrs. Quinn in which she tried to persuade her fellow-workers to sign a petition to decertify the I. U. E. and return to work. Early one morning Mrs. Quinn with twenty-two supporters managed to break through a token picket line around the plant. When they emerged at five in the afternoon, they found fifty women pickets, twenty special deputies, ten policemen, and five state troopers who had been sent to the plant by Governor Johnston Murray waiting outside. A hair-pulling, clothes-ripping mêlée ensued. Mrs. Quinn and six pickets were arrested for disturbing the peace. A policeman testified later that Mrs. Quinn had not struck anyone, and the charges against her were dropped. A group of pickets, however, lodged an assault and battery complaint against her.

A few hours after her release Mrs. Quinn announced on her regular nightly broadcast that her back-to-work offensive would begin in earnest in two days' time and invited all her fellow-workers to accompany her back to the plant. A riotous outbreak was expected. Anti-union elements hoped that the violence would discredit the union and break the strike. But the unexpected happened. Mrs. Quinn appeared with only 31 supporters instead of the predicted 162, and as they entered the plant 100 pickets swarmed in also. A Sylvania representative, in explaining why Mrs. Quinn had been allowed to spend the day in the plant on her first foray, had incautiously admitted that the building was closed to no one. Both sides occupied the lunchroom for several hours, until the plant manager appeared and announced the end of his open-door policy. Mrs. Quinn and her retinue then departed, as did the pickets.

HIGH officers of the I. U. E. met Sylvania representatives in Washington at the end of May. By June 7 they had reached a settlement which was later approved unanimously by some 300 union members in Shawnee. The contract includes an average wage increase of 15 to 16 cents an hour, seven holidays a year, grievance procedure satisfactory to the union, a company-wide seniority provision, and the check-off. A union shop was not granted, but the union did get membership maintenance, which, ironically, allows the most virulent opponents of the I. U. E. to share the benefits obtained from management over their protests. The contract will run for two years and has a wage-reopener provision.

The remarkable thing about the Shawnee victory is that it was won against the active opposition of the town's business men and that the local's membership was largely women. As Hal Hartnett, national I. U. E. secretary treasurer, put it: "Their victory is a credit to the pioneer spirit of Oklahoma and to the workers' determination not to be treated as second-class citizens."

DAVID MILO

[*David Milo is a free-lance writer.*]

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

E. C. O. S. O. C. Sessions

Despite unavoidable East-West skirmishes, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations closed its fourteenth annual session this week with much excellent work to its credit. After many meetings devoted to the international economic situation, during which a mounting desire for increased East-West trade was made evident, the E. C. O. S. O. C. delegates reviewed the work of specialized U. N. agencies on health, labor, and education before turning to the final item on their agenda: a report on world social problems. As finally adopted, the report is a courageous and uncompromising document "bearing the colors of poverty, destitution, and unhappiness," to use the words of Ernest Michanek, Swedish delegate.

A *leitmotif* of the debates was the repeated warnings of delegates from Asia that their peoples, no longer resigned to poverty, are increasingly actuated by a conscious demand for a better life which, they are convinced, lies within their reach.

The E. C. O. S. O. C. is evidence of how profoundly wrong it is to think of the United Nations solely in terms of conflict and frustration. The golden era of world government is still far away, and no one conscious of the grave months which lie immediately ahead can afford to hold in contempt the only international organization, operating under a noble and human charter, which still provides a forum for the spokesmen of nearly all the globe.

Experiment in Immortality

A 175-year-old American laboratory experiment in the "withering away of the state" has been giving forth strange fumes lately. When Dillon S. Myer became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the spring of 1950 and announced his intention of "winding up the Indian Bureau," most students of Indian affairs were too polite to remark that similar announcements in 1834, 1887, and 1917 had been followed by vast enlargements of the powers of bureau officials. This time "winding up the Indian Bureau" has meant in practice increased control over Indians' employment of attorneys, new restrictions upon trips to Washington by Indians with grievances, curtailment of the right of individual Indians to use or lease their own lands, and denial of the rights of Indian communities to spend their own funds or even to hold free elections. California and Arizona Indians are protesting vigorously, asserting that the bureau has repudiated promises of freedom made during the Roosevelt-Ickes-Collier era and embodied in solemn charters.

Observers of intra-departmental quarrels are not inclined to blame Oscar Chapman too severely for the current trend in Indian administration, for they know how easy it is for a power-hungry bureau to increase its own authority. But old students of the Washington scene are amazed at the gullibility of professional cynics like Senators McFarland and Watkins, who have praised the Indian Bureau's latest "liquidation" plans as assurances of Indian freedom. If present policies continue, it is only a question of time before the cold war now smoldering on our Indian frontier bursts into some sort of flame. The blaze is not likely to reveal United States relations with non-white people in a very favorable light.

Struggling Toward Unity

Outwardly undisturbed by the noises from Chicago, Western experts in Paris are proceeding with the implementation of the European unification program. Their main goals are twofold—the creation of a European parliament and implementation of the decision, taken at the last meeting of the Council of Europe, to link the council to such concrete projects as the Schuman plan and the European army. This decision was hailed by federalists of all shades as a step forward, even though it falls short of the council's original ambition to become "a European political authority with limited functions but real powers."

Both economic and political considerations make the British reluctant to participate in any of the various proposals for European unity. But Continental pressure on them continues, especially from the French, who are anxious to balance Britain against Germany within the frame of the Schuman plan. Eventually a compromise will probably be reached through the appointment of a permanent British delegation to the high authority which will govern the plan when it is finally set up. This means British collaboration rather than integration.

One thing is already clear. It is easier to talk in Strasbourg about consigning to museums the old national cults and the trappings of Napoleonism than to reshape Europe's economy in accordance with new conceptions.

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Convention Picket Line

When a television camera inadvertently photographed a picket in a crowd in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel during the Republican National Convention, a CBS news commentator jumped in front of him and the TV audience was treated to a view of the sky above Chicago until another shot was lined up. The picket was a member of the Radio Writers' Guild, which has been on strike against the major networks since July 2.

The Guild called the strike over the failure of the networks to meet its wage demands and other grievances, such as the right of employees to material written by them on their own time, and extra pay—which has been granted to actors and announcers—for doing commercial news broadcasts. The network's counter-proposal, which the union found unsatisfactory, was a wage increase of 15 per cent—the union had asked for 21½ per cent—and extra pay for the two network news broadcasts which originate in New York but not for the forty local news programs.

Now the Guild has again set up picket lines in Chicago. This time Democrats will have to cross them. But suppose a convention orator, capitalizing on a golden opportunity to show the party's sympathy for labor, openly urges the networks to meet the writers' demands? What will the TV viewers get then? A "breakdown" in sound equipment or a shot of the roof supports of the International Amphitheater?

Death of a Fighter

Whatever the promising future may bring, Israel up to now has had virtually no natural resources other than the fighting spirit of its people. Yet this intangible has been enough to carve a nation out of a wilderness in circumstances of appalling difficulty. The inimical British had not yet left when the armed Arabs came; all at once there was a war to fight against odds, a state to create out of chaos, and the meager but precious crops to be guarded against not one enemy but two: the Arab invader and the sinister desert. All this the Jews did and one thing more. Even as they were building their house in the midst of battle, they kept the door open to welcome their harassed co-religionists from abroad.

So Israel won its independence and, without respite, had to plunge into another war to maintain it—the economic war which is still being fought. It, too, is claiming its victims—especially among the older generation of Zionists who have spent their lives in furious pursuit of seemingly unobtainable objectives. Among these victims is Eliezer Kaplan, Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, former Minister of Finance, and, before Israel's statehood, for many years treasurer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He died last week because, fighting for his people, he refused to favor an ailing heart.

The Forgotten Man

AS THE curtain lifts on the Democratic convention, five avowed candidates are in the running—Kefauver, Russell, Harriman, Barkley, and Kerr. In addition, several favorite sons will probably be placed in nomination. Yet at this writing no one candidate has the backing of even one-fourth of the 1,230 delegates, according to an Associated Press tabulation. President Truman continues to insist he is not a candidate and would refuse to accept a draft. Poor Governor Stevenson seems to be as uncertain as ever, but his spokesmen insist that he would only respond to a genuine draft and that he would not accept a draft as genuine until it had been demonstrated by several ballots that the delegates were unable or unwilling to nominate some other candidate. Thus on any reckoning the Democratic fight promises to be a free-for-all.

At least two factors point up the possibility of a prolonged deadlock. One, of course, is the excess of avowed candidates and the lack of a truly dominating figure among them. The other is the potential conflict for control of the party between a South-West coalition, represented possibly by Kefauver and Russell, and a coalition of Northern city machines backed by the White House, whose hopes are centered in Harriman. But just as the city bosses look down their noses at Kefauver, so Harriman is not the strong man around whom the stop-Kefauver forces can easily rally.

Assuming that several ballots fail to produce a significant break, how might the resulting deadlock be resolved? The most likely compromise candidate, it seems to us, would be Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. He is from a pivotal state; he is acceptable to the Northern city machines; he has the reputation of being a "reformer" and a balancer of budgets; and his standing with the Dixiecrats is excellent. The quickness with which he sponsored the candidacy of Senator Kefauver is a measure of his shrewdness as a politician. By indorsing Kefauver he aligned himself with the popular "anti-Truman" candidate to whose support he might easily fall heir should the Tennessean find that the coalition against him is too strong. Senator Douglas, moreover, has let it be known that he is available. But if he seems the most likely dark-horse candidate, it by no means follows that he is the kind of candidate the Democrats should choose.

FORTUNATELY there is another name that might be suggested at Chicago as a means of breaking a deadlock. In our view Justice William O. Douglas, the forgotten man in Democratic politics, would make the strongest race against General Eisenhower with the possible exception of Governor Stevenson.

In earlier issues we have explained why we think Justice Douglas comes closest to being the kind of candidate the Democrats should name—and our readers share our view in the ratio of two to one. Now, on the eve of the balloting, we would like to suggest why we think he is the strongest possible candidate to oppose Eisenhower. What the Democrats need, of course, is a candidate who can carry the fight to the General on all issues, including foreign policy, and who can outpoll him in such pivotal states as California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. Justice Douglas has a particularly strong following in these states.

The Democrats also need a forceful, hard-hitting, colorful candidate, in short, a popular one. On this score Justice Douglas stands head and shoulders above the favorite sons and the five avowed candidates. People think of him as the real inheritor of the Roosevelt tradition. He has a happy faculty of being able to dramatize great issues and state them in terms that the people can understand. He would out-poll any of the avowed candidates in the groups whose enthusiastic support is essential to a Democratic victory—labor, the minorities, and the independent voters. He would make an extraordinarily popular candidate throughout the West and especially in the three key West Coast states. He would give the Democratic campaign precisely what it needs—the quality of a people's crusade for freedom, justice, and peace. A favorite in polls of student opinion, Justice Douglas would upset the Republican strategy of making a strong appeal to new voters. He succeeds in conveying, as none of the avowed candidates do, the impression that he is well aware of the kind of world in which we live and is quite capable of dealing with the realities of this world. This, of course, is a political asset of great value in a campaign in which the Republican nominee will be widely billed as the embodiment of the small-town virtues of Midwest America, circa 1910.

The Democrats cannot win in November by trying to outbid the Republicans in a competition to appease the "white" vote in the South. Trick combinations, such as a Kefauver-Russell or a Harriman-Sparkman ticket, cannot offset the risk that Eisenhower may carry Virginia and Texas and perhaps other Southern states as well. Strong candidates in the convention might not make strong nominees against General Eisenhower. Senator Paul Douglas would be a strong candidate in the convention but a weak nominee, if only for the reason that he tried his best to win the Democratic nomination for General Eisenhower. Governor Stevenson, around whom the maximum unity could doubtless be organized, might be seriously handicapped by the similarity of his views on foreign policy with those of Eisenhower. Unity is not necessarily what the Democrats need; what they need are a platform and candidates that can be distinguished from the Republican platform and candidates.

Acheson in Brazil

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE RECENT visit of Secretary of State Acheson to Brazil was not accorded, in general, the attention it deserved. True, news reports intimated that he made the journey to allay the anxiety and discontent prevalent in Latin America because of the changed orientation of the Good Neighbor policy in recent years, but the reasons for this anxiety and discontent were not subjected to much analysis.

The feelings of Latin American countries toward the United States could have been correctly gauged during the last Pan-American Conference in Washington by anyone who looked beneath the superficial agreement. I covered that conference for *The Nation* and wrote then (April 7, 1951): "The lack of an authentic community of ideals and purposes is the first great weakness of the Washington conference. Another is the disparity between the objectives of the United States and those of its southern neighbors—democrats and dictators alike. This disparity was made clear, without any beating about the bush, in the reply of Foreign Minister Neves da Fontoura of Brazil to President Truman's address of welcome." It is no coincidence that the same Neves da Fontoura has now spoken out in Rio de Janeiro concerning the growing uneasiness in Latin America about United States impositions in economic matters and its tendency to forget this continent, giving priority to American interests in Europe and Asia.

The present sessions of the U. N. Economic and Social Council offer ample evidence of this uneasiness. The Latin American delegates, experienced politicians that they are—many of them present or future ambassadors to Washington—take good care not to give too much offense to the United States delegates. Nevertheless, they have on several occasions voted with the Russians against the United States. And it is not only the representatives of "rebel" Mexico or "leftist" Guatemala who have voted that way but also Señor Santa Cruz of Chile, a country which only a year ago faithfully followed the United States line on every major issue.

The truth is that the interests of the United States conflict with those of Latin America. The United States wants above all to be able to utilize the resources of the southern continent in the event of a new world war. The Latin American countries seek the kind of help which will allow them to develop a broad-based peace economy, not a war economy. The Washington planners of the new Good Neighbor policy have either forgotten or chosen to ignore the all-important fact that since the end of the First World War the principal objective of Latin American statesmen has been to free their countries from exclusive reliance upon the production of raw materials. As early as the 1920's they saw the danger of letting national prosperity depend on a single source of income, however much money might be coming in from that source at the time—as in the case of sugar in Cuba. The United States, on the other hand, would like each country to concentrate its efforts on producing the particular raw material which fits in with the requirements of American war industries. Latin American countries talk of Point Four; the United States talks of the "necessities of war." The difference between the two concepts is behind the growing rebellion against Washington's current policy.

Resentment of the "American economic dictatorship," to use a Latin American phrase, is aggravated by Washington's insistence that all the other countries of the continent sign bilateral military pacts with the United States. In some countries this insistence has united government and opposition into a single anti-American front. In Argentina, for example, the refusal to sign any kind of military agreement with the United States which might require participation in the next war is the one important point on which Perón and his enemies seem able to agree. In Uruguay the "whites"—the conservative opposition party—are against a military pact with the United States. It is common knowledge that Mexico rejected such a pact and that the Alemán government united the whole country behind it by its refusal to sign. In Chile the pact has been approved by both chambers of the legislature, but military cooperation with the United States is still the most controversial issue in the present presidential campaign. A man like Ibañez, with his dictatorial past, was able to convert himself into a popular candidate merely by saying, "Chile for the Chileans and not for foreign masters."

Secretary Acheson went first to Brazil to try to overcome this widespread spirit of revolt because Brazil has a key position in the military plan elaborated by the United States. If Brazil was to be a safe ally, its army must be purged of unsafe elements. These elements, found even in the highest ranks, are those who oppose the excessive submission of Brazilian military policy to Washington under the direction of the Chief of Staff, General Goes Monteiro. Brazil also had to be courted to keep it isolated from the anti-American influence of Perón's Argentina. And it was necessary to stop the subtle, very discreet, and carefully dissimulated anti-American activity of such influential Brazilians as Ademar da Barros, a rich industrialist of Sao Paulo, a good friend of Getulio Vargas and a man with presidential ambitions. (Vargas himself, it should be remembered, started his electoral campaign by attacking the intervention of former United States Ambassador Adolf Berle in internal Brazilian politics.)

Secretary Acheson's visit coincided with a debate in the Brazilian congress on two measures of special concern to American interests: is designed to benefit foreign investors, and the other would bar foreign companies from exploring for oil. According to the Brazilian press, he discussed with the government American loans for an internal development program which will probably total $500,000,000.

Upon his return to Washington, Secretary Acheson declared his belief that "we have a great friend and a great ally" in Brazil. But in Brazil as elsewhere in Latin America both the government and the people are beginning to show signs of restlessness. The people are increasingly identifying themselves with movements of rebellion inspired equally by nationalism and by simple hunger.

Eisenhower Challenges the Solid South

BY ALEXANDER HEARD

THE Republican National Convention of 1952 gave the South a healthy, klieg-lighted shove toward two-party politics. General Eisenhower comes better armed than any other Republican could have been to exploit the deep-running trends that challenge the South's political habits.

Whether next November his party will carry Virginia, or Florida, or Texas, or perhaps Tennessee and North Carolina—or, by a curious irony of history, Mississippi and South Carolina—is a debatable question for the first time in a generation. And the conditions under which the Republicans might win in the South this year have more significance for the future of American politics than any of the scattered Republican victories of the last three-quarters of a century.

All this the leaders of the Democratic Party must know, and their reaction will also affect the course of Southern politics. As I write, the advance agents of Democratic Presidential hopefuls have taken over the campaign suites in Chicago. One thing is certain. No matter who is nominated, the candidate will be found "unsatisfactory" by some Southern Democrats. How unsatisfactory to how many may well be indicated before these words are read.

General Eisenhower's special potential in the South this year—perhaps we should say souths, for there are as many souths as there are states within it—derives from several factors that merit attention. The General is equipped to challenge that persistent source of Southern Democratic strength—emotional aversion to the word Republican when it is printed at the head of a ballot. He cannot vanquish it in this election year—not by a long shot—but he can cut its force in some places to a manageable minimum. No matter how hard he tries to appear a partisan Republican, Eisenhower cannot conceal and will not fail to exploit the fact that his prestige is chiefly personal and not political. He is the hero of Europe, the conqueror of one foe and the symbol of hope against another. His fame, his popularity, and the public's esteem for his talents grow out of his achievements as a general of the army. You don't have to listen to many people to note the effects of this non-political coloration. The habitual Democrat can say, as I heard one say the Friday Ike was nominated: "He's big enough for the job. He's the one Republican I could vote for."

Ike has another source of strength that has great importance for traditional Democrats. People think he can win. And those who would have to risk their political hides to support him are more than mildly interested in winning. Ike talks of storming the South with the cheerful confidence of one who counts on doing some good. Also, the issues on which he promises to make his appeal fit precisely the needs of Republican campaigning in this region. Southern Democrats can agree better among themselves and with other Democrats on foreign and military policy than on almost any other matter. The contradictory charges made by Senator Taft against the Administration's anti-communism program abroad have left them cold. Eisenhower has shown some signs of wanting to disassociate himself from the Administrations he served so long: before the convention he talked disparagingly of the "zigzag" foreign policy of the Democrats. But he will find it impossible to wham away at the policies which he executed as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, as Chief of Staff, and as Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Forces in Europe, and which he has defended before Congress time and again.

On domestic issues he has shown his ability and intention to slug from the floor. He is right, as well as to the right, in the eyes of those Southerners who have been unhappiest over the policies of Roosevelt and Truman.

The differences between 1928 and 1952 illuminate the significance of the Eisenhower appeal this year. In the 1928 election it can be truly said that Al Smith carried five Southern states for Hoover. The Republican successes in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Flor-

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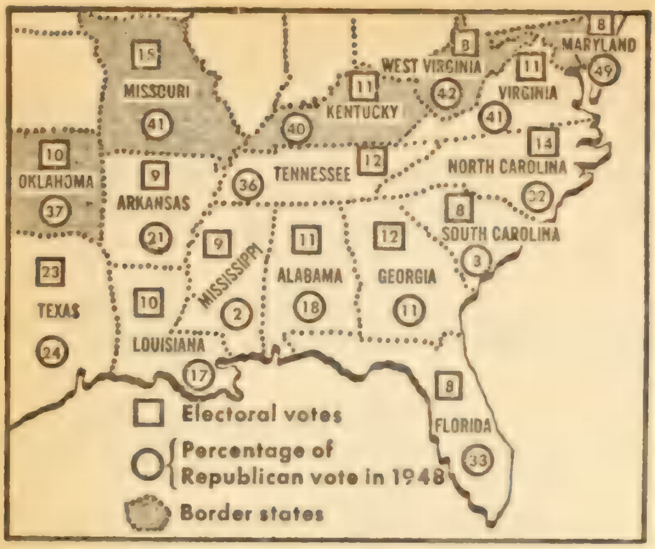

ida, and Texas were produced largely by Democrats who organized a campaign against their own party. These Democrats were moved to bolt by the nature of the Democratic candidate—his religion, his wetness, and his East Side provincialism. Their insurgency died with his defeat.

This year, by contrast, Eisenhower can capitalize on deep-seated dissatisfaction whose causes are imbedded in the changing character of Southern and American life. We need not here review the whole complex of social and economic developments that have been undermining Southern one-party politics. We can simply remember that the South is no longer an agricultural section largely homogeneous in its economic and social interests. (Other large groups of American states are also losing the homogeneity that once gave them incentives toward sectional political unity.) Nor is the Democratic Party any longer the champion of a Southern outlook, or the Republican Party the political haven of the Negro. The political issues that divide us now, both within the parties as well as between them, increasingly cut across the old geographic boundaries to produce alliances rooted in economic and social interests. In the last eight years many a Southern Democrat has felt out of step with his national party. He is the recruit most likely to fall in step with Ike.

The seating of Eisenhower delegations from Louisiana and Texas was hardly less important for the Republican future in the South than the nomination itself. The story of the crafty cynics who have dominated the Republican vest-pocket organizations in much of the South has now been carried by radio and television to millions of American voters. It is an old story to those who have had occasion to run it down—how these petty bosses keep the party small in order to keep control of it. Two aspects of this matter, however, distinguish 1952. The Eisenhower Republicans proudly claim among their number a healthy host of "independents" and converted Democrats. The absurd contention that these people should be shunned by the party was repudiated at Chicago. More important, if Eisenhower wins, are the signs that the new national Republican leadership has the intention as well as the incentive to encourage a revitalization of Southern Republican leadership. Nothing is more essential for the development of the party beyond next November. Nothing is more difficult. But the Republican platform is the surest sign of G. O. P. seriousness in the South this year. As the press noted, the ambiguous plank on a Fair Employment Practices Commission resulted from the Resolutions Committee's concern for the feelings of Southern delegates and voters. Its adoption will seemingly preserve Eisenhower's eligibility in the South.

TO MEET this challenge in the South the Democratic convention can follow one of two courses. It can, as suggested by Senator Sparkman, draft a civil-rights plank acceptable to Southern delegates, perhaps acceptable in the same way as the Republican plank. Or, responding to the insistence of leaders outside the South, like Senator Lehman, it can repeat the action of 1948 and force through an unequivocal statement of intent. Wholly aside from the intense personal views held by some delegates, shrewd managers in the convention must be guided by political arithmetic. The simple fact is that the stakes in this war of symbols are greater outside the South than within it.

In 1948 Harry Truman lost the states of New York and Michigan by fewer votes than Henry Wallace received. This year New York has 45 electoral votes and Michigan has 20. What will move Mr. Wallace's former supporters this year I cannot say, but in these states and in many others above the Potomac the symbolism of F. E. P. C. can sway the narrow margins that stand between victory and defeat. In five other states in the East and Middle West the Democratic and Republican totals were separated in 1948 by less than 2 per cent of the major-party vote. These states—Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio—will cast 76 electoral votes in 1952. Here we have 141 votes. The electoral votes of all eleven Deep South states total 128. The Democratic Party cannot lightly ignore these calculations in drafting its platform or choosing its candidates.

Does all this add up to Republican successes below the Potomac in 1952? The best analyses of the 1948 election reveal one eminently sobering fact for the prognosticator: the twist in public attitudes that returned Mr. Truman to the White House occurred during the last two weeks of the campaign. Many a twist will be given between now and November.

If trends mean anything, however, Senator Byrd's Commonwealth of Virginia seems more likely to follow Eisenhower than any of the other ten Southern states. Virginia showed the greatest Republican strength in the

South in 1948—41 per cent. The figure has been steadily rising since 1936—29.4 in 1936, 31.5 in 1940, 37.4 in 1944. Much will depend on the attitude of Boss Byrd, who provided a sort of neutral opposition to Truman in 1948 and has just been thumpingly renominated for his fourth term. He probably has the unique ability to run, in a relatively close state, as the Democratic candidate for Senator while at the same time failing to support the Democratic choice for President. It is hard to see what serious Virginia Republican would oppose the Democrats' personal edition of Mr. Republican.

The belligerent stance of the North Carolina Democratic organization sharply distinguishes the situation in that state from the situation in Virginia. In North Carolina, which went 32 per cent Republican in 1948, the drums have already begun to beat, calling loyal Democrats to the firing line. The Upper South state, Tennessee (36 per cent for Dewey in the last election), must be counted loyal this year if Senator Kefauver is on the ticket, as appears not unlikely.

Given these circumstances, it would seem that Florida and Texas, next to Virginia, are most susceptible to the appeals of Ike this year. Florida's Republican percentage in Presidential contests has been steadily rising too—23.9 in 1936, 26 in 1940, 29.7 in 1944, 33 in 1948. Moreover, Florida's political attitudes are less deeply rooted in the tradition that binds all of the other Southern states except Texas.

The case of Texas calls attention to the possibilities of a bolt in some Southern states, a bolt that would lead "Democratic" electors to vote for other than the candidate of the Democratic National Convention. Governor Shivers of Texas has hinted at this already in discussing the contest between the two Texas Democratic delegations seeking seats at Chicago. Governor Byrnes of South Carolina has made clear his desire to raise a ruckus if he can find something to raise it about. He might even be able to lead his state's electors to vote for Eisenhower. If so, possibly the same processes would throw Mississippi to Ike, and perhaps Georgia.

Whether Eisenhower's new Republican strength will be sufficient this year to give him the electoral votes of any Southern state must remain questionable. It seems certain, however, that Republican voting all across the South will increase because of his candidacy. This increase will be wholesome, since it will move the South and the country closer to two-party politics. It will move them closer to a kind of politics in which party names have greater meaning, in which the party in the majority has the power and the responsibility to govern, in which honest conservatives and liberals can know what they are voting for and vote for what they want.

TV: High-Frequency Palpitations

BY GILBERT MILLSTEIN

THE television and radio industry, a golden graft of art upon the scaly body of commerce, is, in the opinion of a network vice-president widely distinguished for once having said "no" to an advertising agency vice-president, "a quiet collaboration among quiet, desperate men held together by a common bond of insecurity and given to the habit of furious acquiescence." The awesome expansion of television in the past six years has brought the industry to the point today where there are more men saying "yes" and feeling bad about it than ever before in the history of mass communications or entertainment. "A man," continued the network vice-president with melancholy certainty, "develops an anxiety from having to be nice to people he can't possibly like."

With the possible exception of two remote, shamanlike figures known respectively as the "sponsor," who supplies the money, and the "sponsor's wife," who is popularly supposed to make up his mind for him, this frame of mind is widespread among television and radio department heads; executive producers, plain producers, and assistant producers; directors, casting directors, and assistant directors; script writers and commercial script writers; network vice-presidents, supervisors, and liaison men; technical directors, scenic designers, costume designers, make-up men, lighting experts, audio engineers, camera crews, script girls, actors, and actresses. It is also found in a large anomalous body of lay participants whose exact function defies description but who are endowed with what one man has called "a real flair for the utilization of words which, when analyzed, add up to nothing—I mean double-talkers."

The people in the industry are not only required to be in constant agreement about questions to which, admittedly, nobody as yet knows the answers but are subject to tremendous intensification of two other common pressures—time, of which there is never enough, and money, of which there is too much. They live four years in one, always nervously, because the broadcasting

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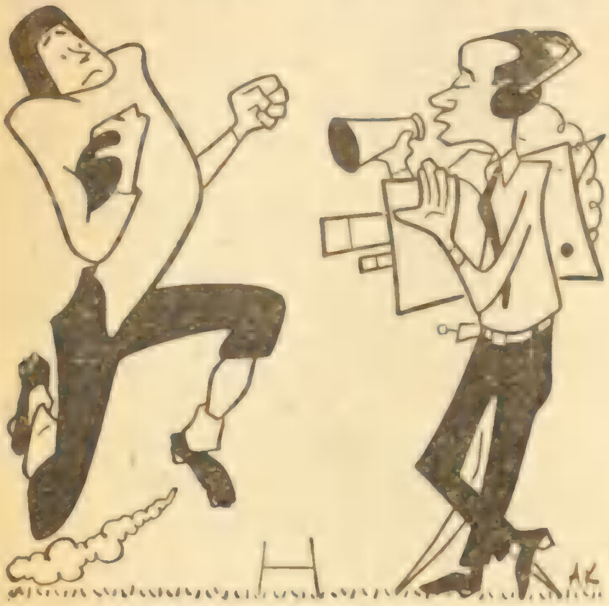
year is divided into thirteen-week cycles, with notifications of cancellation or renewal issued at the end of the ninth week. Solemn and frequently successful efforts have been made to get the outside world to wrench around its own concept of time to fit the business. One of the areas in which the problem has been handled with a certain amount of dexterity is the televised football game. During a game, if a team calls time out, it may suspend play for anywhere up to two minutes. Nowadays most teams take the full two minutes, thereby providing sufficient time for the broadcast of a commercial.



"Halt! Two minutes out for Bleaties!"

"The officials," one network sports announcer remarked the other day, "have been most cooperative in inducing team captains to take the full two minutes."

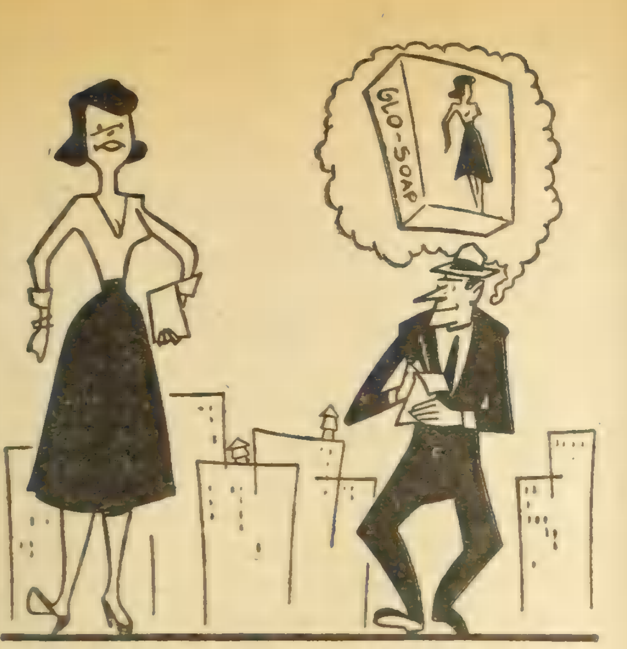
Money exerts a curious sort of pressure. The biggest musical on Broadway rarely costs more than $300,000 to produce, and the anticipation of a profit is innocently based on how good the entertainment will prove. In television and radio nothing is done for less than $3,000,000 a year and then for the primary purpose of selling something else. "You got to get in there and spend that money," a critic of the process said thoughtfully not long ago. "It's timid and it's bold. There is nothing moves so slowly as a million dollars, except when it starts to move, and then it goes like an avalanche. Granted entertainment and uplift aren't its primary purpose, I still think there is more enterprise—and more apprehension—in this business than in the industries that support it. Out of which I suppose a social philosopher might make something."

One part-time social philosopher, Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr., vice-president in charge of television at the National Broadcasting Company, once did make something out of it. He sent his department heads a memorandum urging them to support a fund-raising campaign of the American Heart Association. "The reason why I am interested in this cause," the memorandum read, "and why I want all of you to overdo our support is simple. This is our way of going, fellows. Let's not kid ourselves. Aside from those of us who elect the high-board finish, this business is almost devoted to worsening the statistics on cardio-vascular drops. As I see you in our daily work, so also I see you as you'll go—the quick slump, martini dropping from nerveless fingers, eyes glazed, jaw slack, and the faint voice saying, 'Surgery calling Frank Campbell—back up the meat wagon.' Yes, boys, some may look forward to fretting with their pillows and wasting away of a deep-seated organic disorder, but not you. You'll be snarling at an agency man one minute, and the next you'll be hearing, 'Anybody know the Lord's Prayer bit?' "

THE industry occupies its own little planet of which the axis is Madison Avenue in New York. Three kinds of advertising agencies line the avenue—those decorated in the fashion of an eighteenth-century manor house, for conservative clients; those using blond wood, monk's cloth, and Japanese prints, for clients who believe this style to be functional; and those with plain useful furniture, for clients who hate to think their money is being wasted by an agency. At Madison Avenue and Fifty-second Street are the headquarters of the Columbia Broadcasting System. A block and a half to the west, in the austere mass of 30 Rockefeller Plaza, are located the National Broadcasting Company, the American Broadcasting Company, and more advertising agencies. The proximity of the agencies to the networks deeply affects the folkways of both.

These seem to have developed much in the manner of the "peck order" among barnyard fowl, as described by T. Schjelderup-Ebbe. "There exists," said Schjelderup-Ebbe, "a definite order of precedence or social distinction . . . founded upon certain conditions of despotism." Members of the lower echelons of chickens "spend time in out-of-the-way places, feed after others have fed, and make their way around cautiously, apparently with an eye out to avoid contacts. The lowest-ranking birds may appear lean, and their plumage is somewhat more rumpled because they have less time to arrange it." In the industry the order of descent is from network and agency-account executives to actors and writers. There is some dispute as to whether actors or writers are lower in the peck order.

The typical network or account executive—the two are freely interchangeable, like 600 by 16 tires on automobiles—is a thin, dynamic man in the middle forties with a deceptive boyish complexion, an ulcer, hypertension, and a palpitating heart. His mind is in constant ferment, and he cannot look at anything without improving, changing, or packaging it. His tailoring is impeccable, and he gives the impression of having been graduated from an Ivy League college, although the



"He cannot look at anything without packaging it."

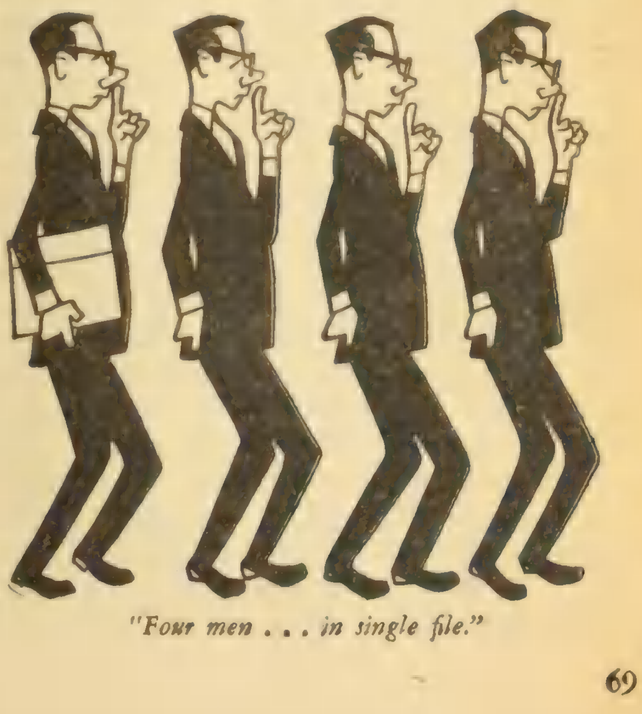
chances are he went to Northwestern. During the war he was in the navy and rose to the rank of lieutenant-commander. (Only performers were in the army; most of them played small roles in "This Is the Army.")

The executive has little time for his family or for relaxation, and when he takes his wife out, it is on business. He can't watch a play without wondering whether it can be adapted to television. When he gets near the breaking-point, he takes a long vacation, usually in Arizona or Colorado. If he insists on doing business during his vacation, he goes to Palm Springs. He is no longer "sincere," as in the days of Frederick Wakeman, but "serious," and his speech is a curious collection of borrowings with meanings other than those he intends to convey. Thus he "really gets in there and pitches," "holds a client's hand," "pools brains" with other people, "kicks an idea around," "thinks out loud" or "mulls it over." After that, he goes out and "beats the bushes," "lives with" an account or "bird-dogs" it, "pounds the pavements," "checks and gets back to" (always by telephone, of which he has at least three on his desk), and eventually "goes along with" whatever a client proposed to do in the first place. He is, finally, unable to estimate the extent of his success and is inclined to equate it with the latest Nielsen rating or a *Variety* review of a show put on by his newest account.

The "talent," by which agency and network men mean those who are not agency or network men, are, in the view of these executives, a race apart, "warm-hearted," as one of them freely conceded, "and sentimental, but always grasping for idealistic things which are usually impractical. Frequently, they don't understand the economics of the business, but that's not surprising. They tend to forget that we're not in business to uplift or instruct."

Like agency and network men, the talent are governed by the telephone, except that they are never home to answer their own; they are always registered with a telephone-answering service. Probably the most important meeting place for talent is the third-floor lounge at NBC, where, as one page firmly believes, it is possible to tell audiences from performers only by the fact that audiences never look as if they knew where they were going, whereas entertainers look as if they knew where they were going, but not how to get there.

Just as the business end of the industry thinks the entertainment end is given to a rosy impracticality, so the entertainers feel that the business office is concerned only with marketing. The uneasy fusion of the two elements has been described by a neutral as follows: "People have rehearsed for forty hours in an old theater, tripped over booms and cables, walked in front of a camera during a run-through, and lived in fear of going up in their lines—there's no second-night in this business; once it's done, it's done. Everybody is exhausted except the producer, who is hysterical, and the writer, who is sullen. Fifteen minutes before the show goes on the air, four men in oxford-gray flannel suits with crew haircuts walk into the place. They always walk in single file—never abreast, never scattered. The first is the head of the agency's TV department; the second and third are sponsor's men and nobody ever saw them before. The fourth is the assistant to the first and carries a portfolio in which is a copy of what they always call 'the latest revised commercial.' With nine minutes to go, eight minutes must now be cut out of the script. These men always talk in low voices and you have to lean forward to hear them. They're afraid of overhearing themselves. Anybody who raises his voice gets checked in 'Red Channels.' They've got only one thing to say, 'I'm afraid you can't do this.' One thing I've learned: You can't; and you do something else. One other thing: I like the life."



"Four men . . . in single file."

Green Light for the Red Dean

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

SCARCELY anyone here fears that Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the seventy-eight-year-old "Red Dean" of Canterbury, will make many converts for the Communist cause. The last "big" meeting he addressed in Britain—it was after his return from Rumania a year ago—attracted only 150 persons, most of them habitual attenders of Communist-front gatherings. Characteristically, he was ecstatic about the fish ponds on Rumanian collective farms. For him what is commonplace in Israel or Indonesia becomes a triumph of Communist planning in Rumania.

Dr. Johnson's inability to impress an informed audience was demonstrated at a press conference here on July 8, the day after he returned from a seven weeks' trip to China. Of course the "hatchet men" of the ultra-conservative press came prepared to handle him roughly. But many newspapers, unhappy about use of the napalm bomb in Korea, were ready to report any serious evidence he could produce in support of the Communists' charges of germ warfare. The Dean, however, could do no more than present as "final and unanswerable" the alleged confessions of two American war prisoners and the exhibit in Peking prepared by Chinese scientists "of world-wide reputation, many of them trained in England and America." "No one," he said, "doubts their objectivity, honesty, and scientific equipment."

Naturally, the Dean is constantly raising the blood pressure of the old Conservatives. Last year Sir Waldron Smithers, Britain's serio-comic equivalent of America's Senator McCarthy, proposed that Dr. Johnson be tried for treason and hanged in public. A few weeks ago Sir Waldron, amid general laughter in Commons, asked Prime Minister Churchill whether he might submit a list of "fellow-travelers" in the Church of England and the House of Commons to be used as guinea pigs for Britain's first atomic-bomb test. Another Conservative, J. D. Profumo, has denounced the Dean as a "turbulent priest" who has inflicted "slashing wounds" on the British public. More than a score of other members of Parliament—all Conservatives—are now demanding that the Dean be ousted. And for the first time this demand is supported by Liberal newspapers like the *News Chronicle* and the *Evening Star*.

The *Times* summed up the situation on July 10. "There can be little doubt," it said, "that if there were any safe and lawful means of dispensing with the Dean's services, his ecclesiastical supporters would have long ago adopted it." But Dr. Johnson, like all British cathedral deans, has a life appointment to office. Moreover, under a measure approved in 1949, compulsory retirement of the clergy on political grounds is specifically forbidden. The only legal way to unseat him would be to prove him guilty of heresy, treason, or felony.

What infuriates most orthodox Conservatives is the Dean's use of his exalted position to give his political views an importance they would otherwise assuredly lack. The Conservatives were furious when Prime Min-

The Green Dean

"I spy with my little eye
Something that starts with G,
And my proof confirms G stands for germs,"
Says the Dean, "as all can see.

"No proof I lack of spiders black,
Mosquitoes and rats in the snow,
All kinds of thing with noxious stings,
As my documents will show."

"But why try a rat or a fly
For bacteriological war?"
His hearers ask, "when for this task
A bomb could do much more?

"Mosquitoes, mice, rats, flies on ice
We must presume are dead;
Might not disease among Chinese
By China's flies be spread?"

"Bugs, lice, and fleas the free Chinese
Have purged," the Dean replies—
"These insect swarms in lethal forms
Germ-planes have dropped from the skies.

"A Bible oath I would be loath
To question or to doubt—
God-fearing men around Mukden
Have searched these carriers out."

His hearers all for a mission call
By a supra-national team
But this request in vain is pressed
On Peking's Red regime.

The Chinese know they cannot show
What never was there to be seen—
It may be said that the Dean is Red,
But what makes the Red Dean green?

SAGITTARIUS
(In the *New Statesman and Nation*, London)

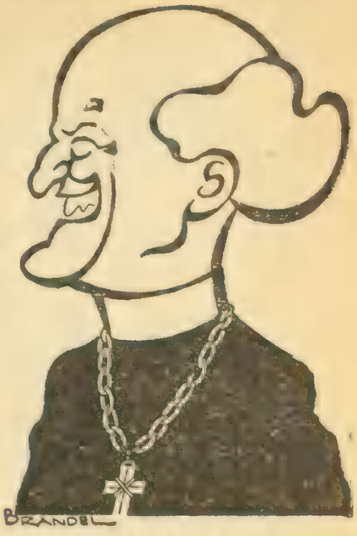
ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor.

ister Ramsay MacDonald in 1931 named the Socialist Dr. Johnson a dean, and they have seen no reason since to change their minds.

Objection to the use of orthodox honors to support unorthodox views has been behind the "political persecution" cases which have recently marred Britain's outstanding civil-liberties record. Thus Edgar P. Young, retired naval commander, was struck off the list of retired naval officers in March because his activities in behalf of the Communist Party were proving a "source of embarrassment and distress to the Royal Navy at home and abroad." His removal was attacked by James Callaghan, Labor M. P. and former parliamentary secretary of the navy, as unwise and unprecedented persecution for political views. No similar action was taken, Callaghan pointed out, against Admiral Sir Barry Domville, who had been interned during the war for his fascist sympathies.

In June, 1951, Mrs. Monica Felton was removed from her post as chairman of the Stevenage Development Corporation by her sponsor, Hugh Dalton, Labor's Minister of Local Government, when she returned from North Korea to spread the Communist version of American atrocities and American aggression. Similarly Sir John Pratt, the brother of Boris Karloff, was dropped from a Foreign Office committee on Chinese students for propagating the Communist line.

None of these persons, it should be noted, has been deprived of his passport, which the British consider as much a right of citizenship as voting.



Dr. Hewlett Johnson

Last year the Dean himself was quoted in the Soviet magazine *Ogonyek* as saying, "I should not be surprised if I were shortly to be relieved of my duties at Canterbury Cathedral because I tell the truth about the Soviet Union." But despite the clamor against him he will probably be denied his martyrdom. Britain has a soft spot for eccentrics, including political eccentrics, possibly because British society is so stable, so firmly rooted in tradition, that it has no need to fear them. Most leading Britons, including the bulk of the Labor M. P.'s, would rather keep the fabric of their free institutions intact than join in a witch hunt against the shriveling group of Kremlin followers. As the *Times* said somewhat portentously, "The whole structure of both church and state in England is strongly biased toward freedom of opinion, and wherever freedom exists it will sometimes be abused." Churchill has refused to do anything to silence the Dean, declaring, "Free speech carries with it [certain] evils, but we would rather lump them than do away with it."

Our Gimmick Society

BY SEYMOUR FIDDLE

WITH his customary incisiveness Robert S. Lynd developed in an earlier issue of *The Nation* [Our Racket Society, August 25, 1951] the idea that ours is a racket society. As he visualized the situation, our way of life places massive pressures upon the citizen to flourish by deviation and induces in him a range of attitudes from cynicism to honest indignation. There is, however, another descriptive phrase which fits the facts equally well—our gimmick society. Looked at from this point of view, our society appears to have a disproportionate number of specialists who exploit peripheral devices for solving problems. By some magical process critical issues are pressed into clever and innocent-faced forms.

Some illustrations may be helpful: Radio writers specializing in crime stories compete with each other in thinking up trick devices for killing or not killing off their characters. An apartment house with an anti-Negro policy tells Negro applicants for advertised vacancies that the advertisement was a "mistake" and that the only available apartment rents for some $40 more a month. A synthetic is sold to dentists at $45 a pound and to airplane factories for 80 cents, the manufacturer introducing light amounts of arsenic into the cheaper product to prevent its use in dentures. Counties in some Southern states are so gerrymandered that Negro majorities cannot materially affect the political contest.

Instances multiply-like drosophila. Huckstering, legal chicanery, and the misdirection of inventions are three more types of gimmickry that come to mind. Each is a device which elaborates a peripheral structural element at the expense of some other shared central element in the interest of a special occasion or special group. Put

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more simply, the gimmick specialist gets a dilemma and solves it by unsuspected indirection. Such a division of labor encourages some citizens to thrive by forcing open or widening the holes in the social and cultural fabric.

Gimmick specialists prosper when the flaws in the social structure expand in number and size, and as the possibilities for spontaneous consensus on critical issues diminish. It is under such conditions of *anomie* that knowing manipulation of the left-handed surprise is least vulnerable to attack. Indeed, even concealing the absence of shared values becomes the function of a gimmick: elections are run along sidetracked issues. Instead of party contests on broad issues, the citizen is bemused by the gulleys and sidings of peripheral problems. Semantic confusions and cunning ambiguities—these are some of the familiar devices contrived to blur his vision.

While the term gimmick seems to be distinctively American—there is apparently no reference to the term in the latest slang dictionaries—the pattern is not exclusively American. What is striking about our society is rather the stress, pervasiveness, and profitability of the gimmick pattern and its congeniality with other cultural patterns, such as the emphasis on technological developments. The gimmick specialist canalizes American machine-mindedness for private interests. Just as machines become progressively more efficient, so gimmicks become more subtilized. Last year's ingenuity is, in the vernacular, this year's corn. The independent observer wonders if such a pattern does not encourage a misappropriation of social energies for ephemeral wants rather than basic needs.

The same observer examining at close range the operation of gimmickry may be disturbed by a painful resemblance. Tugging the rules of the game at their edges until they give way, or pushing in at the fabric's flaws, characterizes both the gimmick-man and the demagogue. The Huey Longs candidly pry open patched-over structural problems only to repatch them with privately lucrative cloth. To use Karl Mannheim's metaphor, they explore and deepen the rat holes of society with their armies of astute footpads. They would cajole by meretricious slogans and operate the state by magical formulas.

Though the gimmick pattern is not simply a war and post-war phenomenon, a good hunch is that it spreads out under conditions of lush disorder. Like other commodities gimmicks clog the market, their inventors doubling as vendors. The sheer prevalence of the phenomenon escalates the public's expectations for the stunning cleverness of the next experience. In self-defense those specialists who seek to sell to large markets pack their talents under one shiny label. So a description of a morning TV news program leaves the uninitiated craning as at a Ringling Brothers extravaganza. The question of central import, the adequacy of the broadcasts as critical and constructive instruments for detecting critical trends and situating events, is only prattled about in a glib parenthesis. The news releases press their weight on the astonishing trick.

An alternative to the gimmick pattern is the pattern of principled conduct, a pattern in which large values actuate the individual who seeks to locate himself socially so that he can fulfil them as best he can. For the professedly democratic society as a whole it is the principle of democratic planning. On either level such an idea would not blot out all keen maneuvering or delicate complications or petty invention. The gimmick would not be banished—just whittled to its proper proportions.

William Pomeroy—American Huk

BY BENJAMIN APPEL

"I AM a stranger to you and the mother of William J. Pomeroy, a citizen of the United States who went back to the Philippine Islands to write a book on conditions in the Philippines and the Huks." These were the opening lines of a letter I received in April, postmarked Rochester, New York. In it Mrs. Pomeroy explained that she had written me because she had heard of my recent novel about the Philippines, "Fortress in the Rice," and hoped to interest me in her son's case. A former G. I. and official historian of the 5th Bomber Command, Pomeroy had returned to the Islands after the war and eventually had joined the Communist-led Huks. According to Ramon Magsaysay, the Philippines Secretary of Defense, he was acting as their propaganda chief when he was captured by units of the Philippines army north of Manila. Magsaysay was reported to be asking for the death sentence.

The mother's letter moved me. It was the letter of a woman devoted to her son if naive about the political forces that had shaped his life. I wrote Mrs. Pomeroy in reply that I was curious to know how and why her son, a Rochester boy, had become a revolutionary leader in a land ten thousand miles away. No other American Communist as far as is known had joined the Huks.

BENJAMIN APPEL, author of "Fortress in the Rice," was official historian of the McNutt mission which surveyed Philippine conditions at the request of President Truman.

The mother then wrote me again and sent me photostats of articles her son had contributed to Filipino journals and poems he had published as a high-school student. "It is my conviction," she said, "that Bill's main purpose in going with the Huks was to write the history of them." Pomeroy himself, in a long letter entitled Why I Have Joined the Huks, published April 14, 1951, in the *Philippines Free Press* of Manila, had described his literary interest in the Filipino scene: "In my short stories I wrote of the people I saw, hoping to probe into the lives that lay behind the dulled eyes."

After his war service Pomeroy was restless in Rochester. So he decided to study at the university in Manila. There he met and married a Filipino girl, a graduate of the university. Meanwhile he was writing. He asked his mother to send him five notebooks of his poems. He thought of becoming a teacher.

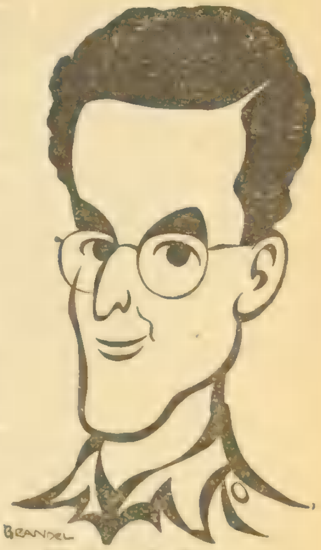
Then, with seeming abruptness, he and his wife left Manila to join the Huk rebels. His letter in the *Free Press* revealed political as well as literary reasons:

> For over three years I was a spectator of human history in the Philippines observing the tidal wave of change building up in Filipino life, observing, too, the frantic efforts to dam it by those who want to keep things as they are in this country. Having trained myself to think socially, I feel it deeply when my fellowmen are murdered, tortured, and starved. . . . I could not remain a mere spectator in the Philippines without being a traitor to my conscience, to my beliefs, to my sense of honesty, truth, and justice. . . . That is why I have joined the Huks.

But in this political testament he did not mention that he was a Communist. The *Free Press* learned it only after publishing his letter and naturally resented such a significant omission. In an editorial in a later issue, headed Deception and Sincerity, it said:

> That the over-all impression made by the Pomeroy letter to the *Free Press,* published two weeks ago, was that of a man, an American, who became a Communist after witnessing the horrible social conditions prevailing in the Philippines cannot be gainsaid. That the writer was indulging in "poetic license" all the time also cannot be gainsaid in view of the evidence that he was a Communist when he came to the Philippines. The deception has brought into question the sincerity of the man. . . . Yet of Pomeroy's sincerity as a Communist, if not as a man, as the bourgeois world understands the term, there can be no doubt. When all is said and done, Pomeroy still stands ready to die for his faith. He did give up a life of relative security and comfort to join the dissidents in the hills.

Pomeroy replied that he had severed his connection with the American Communist Party and had returned to the Philippines not in behalf of communism but to further his personal interests. He was undoubtedly referring to his ambition to become a writer. As a boy in Rochester he had devoured books by Emerson, Kipling, Keats, Hemingway. In high school he was editor-in-chief of the school paper and won the school's most important literary prize. "As a senior, Bill was in my class in current problems," wrote Charles A. Vallance, a teacher at Rochester West High. "He was always interested in social and economic questions and formed conclusions which he did not hesitate to express even if they were entirely opposite to mine or to those of the rest of the class. . . . He was a pronounced idealist but never a radical."



William J. Pomeroy

At eighteen, after winning a college scholarship, Pomeroy was forced to go to work. He continued his education in the school of war. At the age of thirty-six he pleaded guilty to the charges of the Philippine government and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Pomeroy story, dramatic as it is, is but a single drop of color on the huge revolutionary canvas that stretches across the Far East. The Filipino *tao* like the Chinese coolie will continue to revolt until he is given land. Americans who do not understand this land hunger are puzzled by many things now happening in the Islands. For instance, the defense lawyers in the recent trials of Communist and Huk leaders and of Amado Hernandez, leader of the Democratic Alliance which advocates a coalition with the Huks, were men of the most pronounced anti-Huk and anti-Communist sentiments. One of them, Claro Recto, served as Foreign Minister during the Japanese occupation; another was Jose Laurel, President of the Japanese-sponsored republic. Both men when in power fought the Huks as vigorously as has the present republic, which is dominated today by the Liberal Party of Elpidio Quirino. Recto and Laurel are leaders of the opposition Nacionalista Party and will be the chief candidates for the Nacionalista nomination for the Presidency in 1953. Yet, they were willing to act as defense counsel for the rebels and must have been convinced that their political fortunes would not be thereby impaired.

I submit that this situation should be seriously considered by all Americans. We must recognize the Philippine facts of life and try to meet the challenge—with land, food for the hungry, industrialization, education. Such a program as has been proposed by Justice Douglas for backward countries could save the Philippines for democracy. Nothing else can.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Limitations of Man

THE IRONY OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

VERY simply stated, the irony of American history, according to Dr. Niebuhr, lies in the conflict between our democratic pretensions and our accomplishments, in the "incongruity between our illusions and the realities which we experience." Our dreams of pure virtue are hard to reconcile with a resort to dubious means for a good end. The liberal tradition has always ascribed the defects of human nature to social institutions, or to environment, or to ignorance—never to original sin—and has assumed a rational basis for democratic society. Our belief that a rational world can be achieved by the use of education and a scientific approach to the problems of human nature is challenged by the choice between our responsibility to the world community and the use of the bomb, an ironic climax to history which shows how irrational is the basis of that belief.

Dr. Niebuhr believes that we have confused happiness with prosperity, and prosperity with virtue. We find it hard "to recognize the fortuitous and the providential element in our good fortune" and have come to believe that our prosperity is the reward of our superior moral qualities.

The assumption that living standards are the final test of the good life is, to our surprise, challenged in other countries. "The pursuit of culture requires certain margins of physical security and comfort; but the extension of the margins does not guarantee the further development of cultural values." We are beginning to realize that rivalries still arise in our economy of abundance, and that science and business enterprise do not insure the triumph of reason. Our belief that business enterprise can produce a rational world is matched by the more specific Communist dogma that man is corrupted by the single institution of property—abolish property and men will be free. But the Soviet dogma, ruthlessly applied and drawing to itself the self-righteousness of unlimited power and absolute certainty, is infinitely more corrupting than the American, which is modified by a sense of the practical necessities of life.

And America has been successful in establishing justice and domestic tranquillity. This is largely due to our pragmatic approach, so often at variance with our official credo, which meets and solves specific problems, not by the application of the doctrine of laissez faire or the false abstraction of economic man, but by compromise and the use of whatever political power is necessary to determine the immediate problem.

Thus the paradox of American policy is that its theory—the unchallenged institution of property, raised to a sacred dogma—is on one side of the debate, its practice on the other. Eventually theory is corrected by practice. Yet the dogmatic worship of laissez faire, in spite of the pragmatic modification of its application, tends still to allow only half-hearted measures to be taken against perils which demand immediate solution, such as inflation.

In a chapter on The International Class Struggle, Dr. Niebuhr shows high intelligence and imaginative insight in discussing the difficulties which confront the United States in its new position as leader of the community of nations. The revolutionary religion of communism has taken root, not, as Marx predicted, in highly developed industrial societies, but in non-industrial nations, particularly in Asia. The resentments against the industrial world of the West flow from several causes. Even after the emancipation of millions of people the revolt against "imperialism" and "colonialism" still lingers from the ancient exploitation. It is not hard for the Marxists to identify imperialism with the capitalist system, coating, temporarily at least, the new and infinitely more brutal imperialism with an ostensibly pure benevolence. The plight of the poor, the ancient evils of landlordism and usurious interest rates, the corruption of a vast bureaucracy (in China), the strategic necessities which sometimes force us to support colonialism (as in Indo-China), the new dislocations of non-technical countries trying to transform their agrarian cultures overnight into modern industrial civilizations—all these facts account for Soviet success. Yet we meet these resentments by broadcasting to the world boasts of our unexcelled standard of living—in order to prove our virtue!

Democracy in the West has little appeal in the East, where spiritual life is based on religions that are pantheistic and collectivist, and where "the purpose of religious redemption is the annulment of individual existence and its incorporation into a divine unity." How then can Orientals respond to the concept of "dignity of the individual"? Our most cherished values are neither understood nor desired. The dynamic religion of communism is welcomed in the East. It is a utopian appeal, and speaking in the name of justice it tells the oppressed that they can never be free unless the whole world is free.

We must face the spread of tyranny in the non-industrial world for many years to come. The Islamic power was finally destroyed not by its foes but by its own inner corruptions. And so with communism. "If we fully understand the deep springs which feed the illusions of this religion . . . and the realities of life which must ultimately refute them, we might acquire the necessary patience to wait out the long run of history while we take such measures as are necessary to combat the more immediate perils."

Dr. Niebuhr ends with a discussion of the American future. Our problems of idealism are aggravated by the inordinately overbalanced American power in the present world situation and by the fact that it offers to our self-confidence, impatient of history, no clear or easy or swift path to victory or to peace. We must reorientate "the whole structure of our idealism," which is "too certain that there is a straight path toward the goal of human happiness; too confident of the wisdom and idealism which prompt men and nations toward that goal; and too blind to the curious compounds of good and evil in which the actions of the best men and nations abound."

Dr. Niebuhr does not, as a recent

criticism of his book suggests, attack the scientific and the rational approach to life and to politics, or contrast faith and reason to the detriment of the latter. I am not sure what he means by "faith," but I think he uses the word to indicate a sense of the mystery of life, of the intuitive instinct flowing from an experience which is not so much irrational as inexplicable in terms of logic. That faith, more explicitly the Christian faith, teaches us awareness of the limitations of man, in itself an act of skepticism, just as the rejection of the omnipotence of logic is a type of skepticism. A sense of the irony of history and of the limitations of human beings gives Dr. Niebuhr such an approach, faith touched with skepticism.

Humility will not weaken our power or dim our aspirations. We must not fall into the sin that has made communism such a monstrous evil—the pretension that there is but one road to salvation, the attempt "to play the role of God to history." It is more important, as Lincoln once remarked, to know whether we are on God's side than whether He is on ours.

FRANCIS BIDDLE

Spiritual Malaise

HEAVEN AND EARTH. By Carlo Coccioli. Translated from the Italian by Frances Frenaye. Prentice-Hall. $3.50.

THIS is the first novel by Carlo Coccioli I have read, although his advance publicity says he has written six and although I make a profession of following the Italian literary scene. The reason for my "snubbing" Coccioli is over-simple: he was touted by Malaparte, from whose jaundiced opportunism a recommendation is considered by many, myself included, the kiss of death.

But "Heaven and Earth" came in as a reviewing task, and I am both irritated and pleased by it, irritated because it is a long, maundering near-classic of a book no word of which you can miss without loss, and pleased because Coccioli can frame a story of spiritual malaise, can place a portion of today's struggle, as sharply, as fiercely, and as intemperately as does the priest about whom he writes.

The novel chronicles the search for a spiritual home of one Ardito Piccardi, "Ardito" being a sort of "Pilgrim's Progress" name, meaning "daring." Ardito started out in life an orphan, unsheltered—and unhampered—by the family ties that can make childhood sweet. Instead, he was relegated to an elderly aunt in whose house he lived until in his teens his vocation came upon him, at the scene of the exorcism of the devil from a young girl whom he alone suspected of being possessed.

His life as a priest is told in a series of flashbacks variously attributed, for variety, to a doctor, a newspaperman, two of Piccardi's instructors, a young homosexual, a Socialist school teacher whom he had brought into the Catholic fold, and, of course, his own letters. The variety of style and treatment is not so great as to allow all these attributions: most of them are pure Coccioli (I do not think the translation at fault; it seems, with rare lapses, unexceptional). But there is enough conviction in the writing, a vast-enough canvas, so that the story holds together and holds the reader. The author is moved, as is his protagonist, Don Ardito, by the basic problem of how to make peace between the conflicting selves of man, how to survive in a world rent by useless and evidently unjust, though not unjustified, conflict, and especially, I would say, by the reconciliation of man's "fall" with his "redemption" or, in lay terms, the tranquillization of his guilt by the freeing of his capacities for usefulness.

Coccioli seeks two frames of reference—the world of the militant Catholic church, with which he seeks to identify himself, and the world of the beleaguered homosexual, which, but for the libel laws, I would guess he has held for years like thorns to his breast. In seeking to crucify his priest-protagonist he forces him to feel personally guilty of having failed one—and only one—of his flock, a young perverted suppliant to whom, textually, he yearns to have said, after the latter's suicide, "My son, live as your nature commands you. Live, and torment yourself no longer. All of us have a right to live, and you too are one of God's creatures." "But," says Don Ardito in a letter to his instructor, "I said nothing," and a paragraph or so earlier the priest had referred to the boy as "this young man whom I caused to die." This incident requires stress because Coccioli uses it as the crux of Piccardi's young priesthood, and recurs to it in Don Ardito's relations with all his other suppliants. The priest's significant failure in this one instance to have "saved" the soul concerned forms the turning point of the book.

After the suicide Don Ardito leaves a parish which has passed from open hate to fearsome veneration of him as a saint and miracle worker. (The mixture of paganism and orthodox Catholicism which characterizes Italian peasant faith is admirably suggested.)

A brief description of the war years follows, and here, except in a couple of brilliant pages on Naples, we find Coccioli unconvincing, helplessly at sea. His priest is against killing—well and good; but this same priest identifies a hysterically vindictive German captain "with effeminate hands" perpetually toying with a revolver, as an *anima naturaliter Christiana.* In fact, he has Don Ardito say, "I'd go farther and say that without knowing it he's—a Catholic."

Though the author, like many a more

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whole man, can stomach neither political extreme, you sense that he has not settled on a vital and viable third choice. But you sense, too, that he is genuinely seeking. "Heaven and Earth" is a novel of ideas, rare anywhere these days and rarer still from this apparently orthodox quarter—Graham Greene and Evelyn Waugh excepted. Catholic fiction in America has recently given us "The Foundling"; closer to the source we now have the confused, histrionic, impassioned, and greatly daring Coccioli, who like his protagonist seems to want love and can only beget hate. Judged by this single book, Coccioli is a muddled, tormented, but undeniably gifted man.

FRANCES KEENE

Hearties and Aesthetes

ORIGINALS ABROAD. The Foreign Careers of Some Eighteenth-Century Britons. By Warren Hunting Smith. Yale University Press. $3.

WALPOLE'S friend and correspondent in Florence, Horace Mann, once remarked to him, "Surely our nation produces more originals than any other." To explain why this is so may be difficult; it is easier to illustrate, for English life of the second half of the eighteenth century has a richly documented strain of eccentricity. Its greatest literary figure, Johnson, is in some ways an original, and certainly Boswell, now emerging from his bales of papers, will take his place as a monumental one. England offered enough elbow room for originals—"Tristram Shandy" is the apogee of that spirit—but life abroad erased the walls of convention.

The first of this group of biographical essays describes William Skrine's visit to Italy. With lots of money and a vulgar origin, he hoped that ostentatious display would make him a "milord," but the other Englishmen caught on. John Chute of the Vyne, who is treated at greater length here, had less money but a better genealogy, a young moneyed cousin as companion, and the friendship of Walpole and Mann. He stayed in Italy nearly five years, devoting himself to the pastimes of the aesthete and dilettante. With his fan and his single eyeglass he amused or shocked the hearty English travelers on the Grand Tour. As Mr. Smith writes of the devotees of taste, "They toiled not neither did they spin (except for a few Victorian ones who took up knitting or embroidery)." The cleavage of sensibility between the hearties and the aesthetes persisted not only through the Victorian era—with Henley and Wilde as extreme poles—but to our own, when Stephen Spender, writing of his visit to Germany in the 1920's, tells of his astonishment that such a cleavage did not exist on the Continent.

Life abroad was suited not only to sensitive men but to hearty women as well. Mrs. Burrington Goldsworthy, who was called by virtue of her husband's position "La Belle Consulesse," enjoyed a romantic friendship with the elderly General Wachtendonck; on the Continent a lady was openly entitled to a lover as well as a husband. As portrayed in Walpole's and Mann's letters she was an amusing flibbertigibbet. Her countrywoman, the Dowager Countess of Carlisle, also found the moral climate of Southern Europe more congenial; after patronizing a succession of young army officers, she finally annexed a phony German baron who was ugly, ridiculous, and faithful. Lady Percy, whose amorous exploits were equally frenetic, pursued her love affairs and marriages on both sides of the Atlantic. The daughter of the grimly respectable Countess of Bute, she was at the same time the granddaughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a fascinating original of an earlier day.

The Giberne brothers exemplify another kind of career abroad. Like "La Belle Consulesse" they hunted for political places and patronage. George Giberne, who started his career as Mann's servant in Florence, ended it as a successful wine merchant in England. His more original brother, Isaac William, became a wealthy Virginia landowner and slave owner, as well as a clergyman who sinned with a sublime gusto.

The two remaining essays in the collection, while they deal mainly with characters, have wider implications. In The Bengal Conspiracy several Britons meet in Florence to plot the seizure of the rich Indian province. Although their failure makes the conspiracy seem like musical comedy—the leader ended as commodore of the Tuscan three-vessel navy—it is a reminder of the savage imperialism that was soon to succeed under Clive's leadership. The essay about the Prujean family is a study in irony; as Catholics they had left England to practice their religion openly, but their last member had to return there for refuge from the French Revolution.

These sketches, set down in a lucid and often witty style, are an entertaining sampling of the vagaries of the British character. They are not about important people, to be sure—and Mr. Smith makes no immodest claims—but they are solidly constructed footnotes to the text of English social history.

ROBERT HALSBAND

Books in Brief

UPON THEIR SHOULDERS. By Shelley Ayame Nishimura Ota. Exposition. $3. The story of an immigrant's troubles and triumphs, and of the integration of his children into Hawaiian American society. Mrs. Ota is no novelist, but she has managed to infuse her tried and true subject with warmth and sincerity, aided by the exotic novelty of the Oriental immigrant's background, which contrasts with and yet parallels the experience of the great body of Americans who have come from Southern and Eastern Europe.

JOHN SLOAN. By Lloyd Goodrich. Published for the Whitney Museum of Art by Macmillan. $3. Although published in conjunction with the Sloan retrospective exhibition at the Whitney Museum last spring, this book is an independent entity. It gives an adequate impression of sixty years of work by John Sloan, whose painting was revolutionary at the beginning of the century, conservative in later decades, but always honest and forceful, like the man himself. The text, which is well illustrated, achieves a good balance of biography and critical appraisal. Of the two, the former is the more interesting, perhaps because Sloan was more admirable as a man than as a creative artist.

THE ATOM SPIES. By Oliver Pilat. Putnam. $3.50. A sober tracing of the complicated and crisscrossed threads of Russian espionage that resulted in the theft of the secrets of the atom bomb, one hears only the usual swell on the first note; more important, in the two scores I have looked at there is only the one *fp* on the first note, and none on the subsequent tied notes to justify the non-existent "odd burble" in the performance.

Churning up words and ideas without relation to heard fact has this consequence, that some time after Mr. Kolodin has described the opening rhythm as "punched out incisively" in Krips's performance, he comes to Toscanini's performance and to "an insistent but light rhythm on plucked strings that no one of the conductors previously mentioned had bothered about." Or, "strongly impressed by the vigorous treatment of dramatic contrasts in the development" in Krips's performance of the first movement, and remarking later that "Toscanini's contrasts in the development are not so emphatic as Krips's," he goes on talking, with this eventual result: ". . . It is possible to imagine a performance of the first movement that would, better than either, express the pathos and simple eloquence of this music. But it is hard to imagine two performances less distorted by false emphasis or underplaying. If anything, Toscanini overstates the drama of the climax, but the musical text justifies almost everything he does; and Krips does not do quite enough. . . ."

With Mr. Kolodin's lists of suggested LP recordings we come to his musical understanding, taste, and values, which may be inferred from the fact that in his first basic list of fifteen recordings—five each of orchestral, vocal, and instrumental—the first basic five instrumental works include the monstrously falsifying Horowitz arrangement and performance of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," and the first basic five vocal works include Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess" but not one opera of Mozart.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCIS BIDDLE is the author of "The Fear of Freedom."

FRANCES KEENE lived in Italy for many years.

ROBERT HALSBAND is assistant professor of English at Hunter College.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Point Four vs. Technical Assistance

Dear Sirs: You have asked for your readers' reaction to an article entitled Norway's Point Four [*The Nation*, May 24] which described Norway's newly inaugurated technical-assistance plan. Although the gesture is heartening and truly indicative of Norway's social conscience, I should like to see that $3,000,000 contributed to the technical-assistance program of the United Nations. If the United Nations' children's emergency fund can go directly to the people for aid, why not technical assistance? How about educating the various people of the world to bring pressure upon their governments to contribute more money to the United Nations agencies?

It is my firm belief that every nationalistic gesture, even though it be well-meant and generous, weakens the possibility of the United Nations' ultimate success. ETHEL CHERNOBLE
Brooklyn

"My Son John": Black and White

Dear Sirs: Last night my teen-age son, a sophomore in college, went to see "My Son John" and thought it was wonderful. I asked him about it in some detail and found that he had gained the impression that (1) Catholicism is synonymous with the good, (2) communism is synonymous with evil, (3) the happy-go-lucky boy who is casual about his studies and concerns himself with athletics is somehow more admirable than the studious type, (4) students who are very serious in their pursuit of knowledge are apt to be crackpots!

GLENNA MIDDLEBROOKS
Shreveport, La.

Justice in Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs: I am writing this letter from a county jail while waiting for sentencing under the Penal Sedition Act. . . . The local court set bail at $50,000. The District Attorney demanded $100,000.

The offices of the Communist Party were padlocked and the furniture carted away as well as all the equipment.

A local Slovak editor who protested had eleven windows smashed in his house while his wife was expecting a child. The hoodlums were instigated by the press and a group known as "Americans Battling Communism." . . . The printing plant where left nationality papers were printed was stoned daily until the persecuted editors left town.

I attempted to get a local or Pennsylvania lawyer to defend me. I saw eighty lawyers and wrote to seven hundred, but was unable to get one. One lawyer who handled some pre-trial questions for me was arrested one evening as he was entering a bus, handcuffed, thrown into jail, and charged with sedition. I had to defend myself, although sick and still on crutches. The jury found me guilty twenty-one hours after the case opened.

A doctor after making out a prescription for one of my co-defendants told him, "Scratch my name off the medicine bottle as soon as it is delivered."

My trial was something like a story by Lewis Carroll, only it wasn't a fairy tale but bitter truth. Perhaps because it happened to a Communist and a veteran of the Spanish Civil War it attracted little notice anywhere.

Judge Musmannos, who is a candidate for the state Supreme Court, not only conducted the raid on C. P. headquarters but was a witness against me and selected the trial judge. Musmannos's nephew was my prosecutor.

I face a sentence of up to twenty years in prison. And why? Because I spoke my mind. STEVE NELSON
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Comments from Readers on How Free Is Free?

Dear Sirs: How Free Is Free?, your special issue on civil liberties which appeared June 28, is the best journalistic weapon forged in the past ten years. I hope it gets into the hands of every American who cares for our Bill of Rights and wants to fight for it with every ounce of energy he possesses.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, Minister,
Los Angeles First Unitarian Church

Dear Sirs: I have subscribed to your weekly for nearly a quarter of a century and I have never been prouder of it than when I read your special issue of June 28. My warmest congratulations!

MANUEL PEDRO GONZALEZ
Lake Arrowhead, Cal.

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Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your How Free Is Free? issue. . . . It should cause all freedom-loving citizens to take resolute action in defense of our threatened democratic way of life.

This issue is a telling and magnificent retort—an urgently needed one—to an article in the March issue of *Commentary*.

Brooklyn H. ELLENPORT

Dear Sirs: May I take this occasion to express my deepest appreciation for the admirable issue on civil liberties. All of us are indebted to *The Nation* for the courageous and effective work done in this field.

EMILY PARKER SIMON, Chairman,
National Policy Committee,
Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom
Washington

Dear Sirs: Sincere congratulations for the magnificent job you've done in your issue How Free Is Free? The courage displayed in the writing and publishing of each article is commendable beyond words in the light of the repressive conformity which now pervades most current thinking.

I look forward to seeing some more of this top-level writing in *The Nation.* I hope, indeed, the civil-liberties issue is a promise of what we can expect in the future. If so, I can assure you that all liberal and progressive forces in the country will stand firmly behind *The Nation.* ANITA EINSOHN

New York

[*Rates for bulk orders of* The Nation's *special issue on civil liberties appear on the back cover.*]

McCarthyism in Oklahoma

Dear Sirs: Here is a footnote to your civil-liberties issue of June 28. McCarthyism has taken over the Republican Party in Oklahoma and we are now threatened with a brand-new series of witch hunts, library censorships, and book burnings, together with intensified religious fanaticism.

A news item in the Oklahoma City *Times* of June 13 reveals that "in compliance with the wishes of Republican brass, expressed in a resolution passed at a recent meeting of the G. O. P. policy-makers," the Republican state chairman announced the appointment of a seven-man committee "to investigate subversive activities in the state of Oklahoma." Presumably this is only a prelude to what will happen if by some unfortunate circumstance the Republicans carry the state in November. The chairman of the committee is Glenn O. Young of Sapulpa, one of the stalwarts of the Oklahoma Citizens' Committee on Un-American Activities, which engineered the Sapulpa high-school book burning last February.

This action by the Republican Party leadership must inevitably alienate the Farmers' Union, with its 65,000 members in Oklahoma, the labor unions, whose leaders have taken a strong stand on the civil-liberties issue, and a substantial part of the independent liberal element among business and professional men. JOHN H. LATTA

Oklahoma City, Okla.

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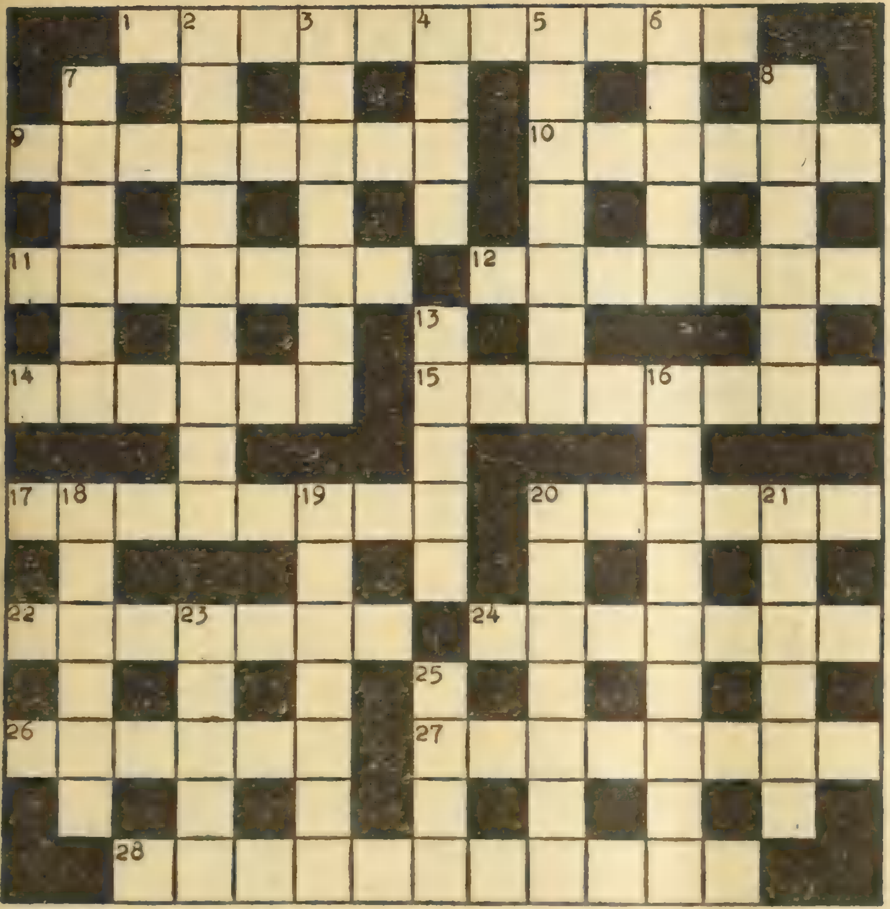
Crossword Puzzle No. 475

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 16 down. The sort of life led by the bored or bloated? (4-2-5, 9)
9 Would the result of a screen test be a flat tire? (8)
10 The way to get rid of unwelcome passengers is to procrastinate. (3, 3)
11 So it ain't neat! (7)
12 You'd have quoted directions to get it, between "physician" and "self." (7)
14 One run it takes nerve to make. (6)
15 Pie and cake might be emphasized in turn. (8)
17 See 20.
20 and 17. Music and conversation at the spa? (6, 2, 6)
22 Hold a little more than law enforcement groups with it. (7)
24 Sort of shrinks up and squirms with pain. (7)
26 Might be fit to be found in a shell. (Aye, there's the rub!) (6)
27 The rains came out of them, and the waves may be high there. (4, 4)
28 Much desired by Lady Macbeth, but familiar to the tidy housewife. (4, 7)

DOWN

2 and 8. When the eager politician will run, perhaps! (2, 3, 4, 2, 1, 3)
3 Buster Keaton's acting perhaps, but not with a live spider! (7)
4 and 25. What it is for protection, or where it's worn. (8)
5 A synonym might sound like what goes upon the Swanee River. (7)
6 Utter. (5)
7 It will take most of your finance to be one! (6)
8 See 2 down.
13 The road-agent takes it to heart. (5)
16 See 1 across.
18 Hitler was afraid of more than one of them. (6)
19 Was the mission of the man who called in play to do it? (7)
20 Giver to the cause of a downfall, perhaps. (7)
21 Happenings in the life of Steven. (6)
23 You might sink to do it in front of the house, perhaps. (5)
25 See 4 down.

——★——

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 474

ACROSS:—1 A HAIR OF THE DOG; 10 BUS STOP; 11 PACIFIC; 12 DESPERADO; 13 MEETS; 14 ENTAIL; 16 ACOUSTIC; 19 TRANSFER; 20 CITRON; 22 STEEP; 23 PRIVATEER; [illegible] THIN AIR; [illegible] WHIMPER; 27 INTELLIGENTLY.

DOWN:—2 HOSTS; 3 IN THE FIRST PLACE; 4 ORPHAN; 5 TOP-NOTCH; 6 EXCOMMUNICATION; 7 OFF-CENTER; [illegible] OBEDIENT; 9 ACES; 15 TRAGEDIAN; 17 CONFRERE; 18 TEMPORAL; 21 WIGWAG; 22 SATE; 24 EXPEL.

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FREDERICK L. REDEFER, Professor of Education, New York University

The above message is but one of many that have reached *The Nation* since the publication of its recent 64-page

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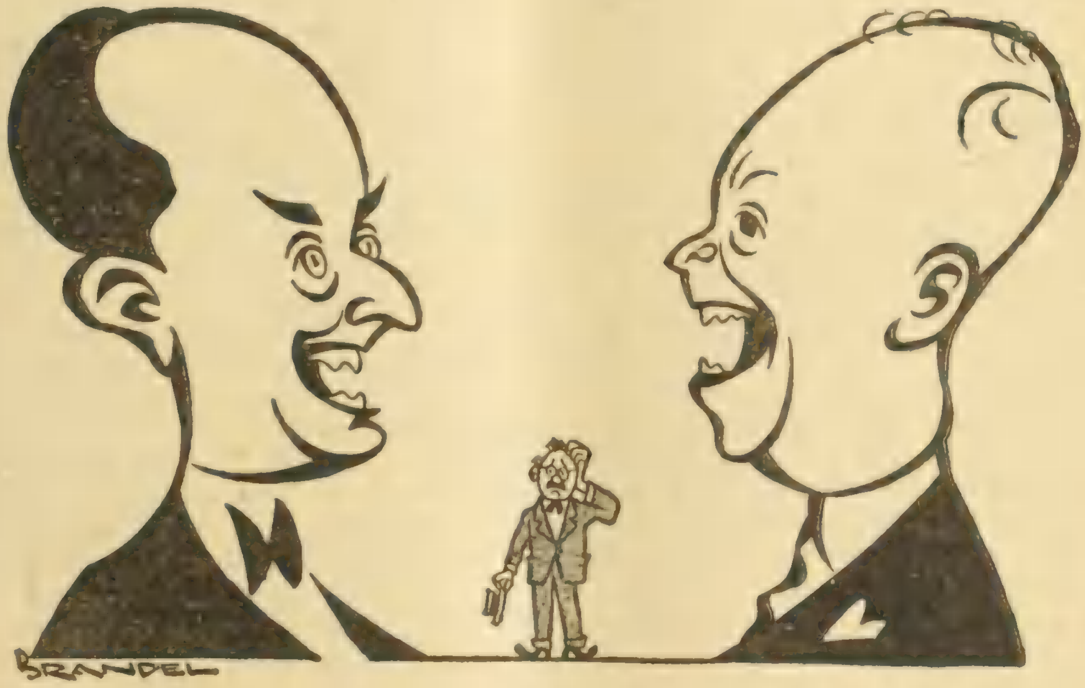

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Operation Lunchbox

Seattle

ON THE West Coast docks "Lunchbox" is the monicker of bullish, brawling Harry Lundeberg, leader of the Jim Crow, fiercely anti-leftist Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Lundeberg and his lieutenants have tied up the Seattle waterfront in a strike against the Alaska Steamship Company, which has a virtual monopoly on shipping to Alaska. Strikes against other companies belonging to the Pacific Maritime Association, the biggest shipping group in the West, have been called in other ports. The Seattle strike is causing serious concern to Alaskans. Governor Ernest Gruening, pleading "Don't let Alaska go hungry," has tried in vain to persuade the S. U. P. to bring food ships to Alaskan ports.

The union asks for a 5 per cent increase in wage and overtime rates, overtime pay for all work after noon on Saturdays, a sixty-day reopening clause for wage increases, and a fifteen-day reopening clause for "scope of work." The shipowners refuse to sign a contract for less than a year and demand a no-strike pledge.

The other maritime unions believe that the shipowners balk chiefly at the reopening clauses. The fifteen-day reopening clause for scope of work is in fact, these unions contend, a "raiding" clause, giving Lundeberg the power to call a strike any time he wants to take jobs from other unions and fill them with his own men.

For more than a year there has been a "beef" between the S. U. P. and Harry Bridges's Longshoremen (I. L. W. U.) over who has jurisdiction over certain stevedoring and cargo-loading jobs on certain types of vessels, particularly steam schooners. "This is an important beef," said the S. U. P.'s fiery newspaper, *West Coast Sailors* (April 4, 1952). "It means more work for us." The Longshoremen replied, "We will load the ships and the sailors will sail them. That is the way it has always been on the Pacific Coast, and that is the way it will always remain."

Right and left unions have joined forces against what they call "Lunchbox's raid." "It's a matter of survival," an official of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association said. "If we don't stop him now he'll take us over one by one." The situation appeared so serious to V. J. Malone, president of the strongly anti-leftist Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Wipers, that he flew to Seattle from San Francisco to help organize the Northwest Joint Policy Committee of Maritime Unions. In an open letter distributed to practically every sailor in Seattle the committee states: "The purpose of this committee is to protect the rights and work of the member unions, and to fight with all the means at its command any effort by Harry Lundeberg to attempt to use what he calls a strike to make a wholesale raid on all other maritime unions."

Lundeberg has boasted that he has the support of the Association of Masters, Mates, and Pilots and the American Radio Association. But it is common knowledge that the membership of the former has refused to indorse him. Even Captain May, long president of the M., M., and P. and a crony of Lundeberg's, has denounced him. "If this strike goes on until the end of summer," Captain May declared, "Seattle will be ruined. I think he [Lundeberg] has gone crazy." As for the Radio Association, only an edict from national headquarters in New York has kept the Seattle branch from cooperating with the Joint Committee.

THE STRIKE has another aspect which has made many of the maritime unions jittery. Lundeberg has given all-out support to the Marine Cooks and Stewards (A. F. of L.), which split off from Hugh Bryson's National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (N. U. M.-C. S.) in 1949 and is now competing with it for contracting rights. After the N. U. M. C. S.'s hiring hall was voided by the National Labor Relations Board, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco directed that hiring halls be set up by the shipowners and that all men with papers to work in the stewards' department be given equal chance to ship, irrespective of union affiliation. The men were allowed, however, to designate the union of their choice and to ship through that union. This system has given the waterfront the opportunity to observe the sentiments of the workers and to judge whether Lundeberg is riding a tail wind or bucking a storm.

In the struggle between Lundeberg and the N. U. M. C. S. the race issue has played an important role. Of the group which left the N. U. M. C. S. only 1 or 2 per cent were Negroes, although approximately 70 per cent of its Seattle membership was Negro. To gain recruits for the new union Lundeberg's aides have played a double game. They have offered the Negroes "real equality, free from communism," while telling white workers they would protect them from the "colored goon squads" which are supposed to run the N. U. M. C. S. The reaction of both Negroes and whites has been a blow to Lundeberg. The latest registration figures at the neutral hiring halls show 2,582 stewards favoring Bryson's independents and only 265 for Lundeberg's protégé.

Although Bryson's N. U. M. C. S. is disliked—even detested—by some maritime unions because of its alleged Communist leanings, it has the support of most of the important ones in its fight against Lundeberg. "Politics have nothing to do with this," said a wiper who has been on the beach for two months because of the strike. "The way the ship is set up, each union has its own jurisdiction. We want to keep it that way. If Lunchbox takes over the Cooks and Stewards he'll start on us. After that it'll be the Engineers and the Longshoremen. The time to stand together is now, while we're all in one piece."

Lundeberg is in a tough spot. The shipowners have let him down. The public, which usually reserves its spleen for the Longshoremen and the Cooks and Stewards is angry at his Sailors' Union. The newspapers, generally warm to the S. U. P., have cooled. On the waterfront Lundeberg faces the strongest combination of maritime unions gathered together in years. His old seafaring allies have deserted him, and even his own sailors are uneasy and worried. Little wonder that everyone is asking, "What will Lunchbox do now?"

RICHARD MANSARD

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 2, 1952 NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

Egypt and Iran

Among the things that are distinctly underdeveloped in the so-called backward countries is popular affection for Britain and/or the United States. The point is made as regards Bolivia by contributor William Rosenberg (see Democracy in the Andes, page 89 of this issue) who hints that it is politically dangerous for any statesman there to seem too friendly toward Washington. Events of the last week have shown that what is true in La Paz is also true in Tehran and Cairo. In Tehran it took only four days for street rioters, shouting anti-American and anti-British slogans, to force out a new Premier whom the Anglo-Americans had been preparing to support, and to return triumphantly to office the implacable Mossadegh, the terror of Anglo-Iranian Oil. In the even more dramatic developments in Egypt, where Farouk has been forced to abdicate by a military strong man, the basic issue is overlaid with domestic problems: corruption in office, and anguished post mortems on the 1948 defeat of the Egyptian army by the Israelis. But what is of significance to the West is the loss of a king who if not friendly has been at least reasonably pliable. Washington and London, in pursuit of settlements of the Suez, Sudan, and general Middle East security questions, must henceforth deal with an Egyptian general whose views are at best uncertain, and with an Egyptian Premier—Aly Maher Pasha—who was so pro-German during World War II that the British intervened to force him out of office.

Events in Cairo and in Tehran are merely the latest dramatic symptoms of the revolutionary unrest pervading the less developed areas of the world. That these symptoms almost invariably show an anti-Western trend points up the need for a constructive Middle East policy as emphasized at the recent New York conference of the Nation Associates.

The Issue Was Profits

The fifty-three-day steel strike has finally been settled on terms less advantageous to the steelworkers than those recommended last March by the Wage Stabilization Board. The workers received a 22-cent wage boost, but the government has granted the companies a price increase of $5.20 a ton. Since the companies originally estimated that prices should be raised 20-cents a ton for each one-cent-an-hour increase in the wage bill, it is apparent that "uncle" has been extremely generous with the steel industry.

The settlement follows the pattern of the Bethlehem formula which was worked out five weeks ago in secret talks between the union and the Bethlehem Steel Company. Indeed, the strike might have been settled then if the government had been prepared to grant the price rise demanded by the industry. In retrospect it is clear that the industry at all times held the initiative in its dealings with the government and the unions. Taking advantage of the so-called "emergency," the companies tied the hands of the union for ninety days while inventories were built up and the WSB obligingly stalled the workers. Then came the period of the strike, during which inventories dwindled and demands for steel piled up; this stepped up the pressure on the government to grant a price increase that would enable the companies to face the contingencies of what may prove to be a "post-war" market with every assurance that profits will not decline.

The issue of the strike, from the company's point of view, was never wages or the union shop; the issue was profits. Both the government and the industry must have been fully aware that a cessation of steel production would not imperil the nation's security; otherwise the government would never have permitted the strike to last as long as it did. So far as the companies were concerned, the "emergency" was overproduction.

The Subversive Olympics

We call the attention of Senators McCarthy and McCarran to the scandalously amicable attitude of the American Olympic athletes toward their Soviet competitors—and vice versa. Our boys have permitted their pictures to be taken arm in arm with conspiratorial high hurdlers from Uzbekistan. An American pole-vault champion gratefully accepted the congratulations of his defeated Russian rival, acting as if there were no such thing as Aesopian language. In direct defiance of the Battle act prohibiting the transfer of war materials to the Soviet Union, our pistol-shooters presented a box of ammunition to Russian competitors who were having trouble with their own. Worst of all, an American runner referred to by the *Times* correspond-

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ent as "Horace Ashenfelter of the FBI" showed his heels to the Russians when, as is well known, the reverse should have happened.

Truly, all this is not only scandalous but positively alarming. Events at Helsinki, in demonstrating that we and the Russians can coexist peacefully on the athletic field, may give rise to popular suspicion that the same might be true in other fields. What would happen, then, to the cold war? To armament contracts? To the Republican and Democratic foreign-policy planks? To Senators McCarthy and McCarran?

We respectfully request that the Olympic committee be added to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Exemplary Union Practice

In a recently published pamphlet entitled "Action Against Jim Crow," the United Packinghouse Workers of America, a C. I. O. affiliate, has documented its fight against racial discrimination in the packinghouse industry. Unhappily only a handful of unions in this country require in their contracts a fair-employment-practices clause—a provision which prohibits discrimination by management against anyone on its payroll. The U. P. W. has gone even further. By insisting in their contracts that the non-discriminatory principle apply to hiring, as well as to treatment of men on the job, they are succeeding where the federal government, through the lack of appropriate legislation, has so far failed.

With the U. P. W.'s meritorious example before them, it is hoped that other unions, which in the past have frequently bargained away a fair-employment-practices clause for other benefits or ignored it altogether, will take a strong stand on this issue and not wait any longer for federal or state legislative action to materialize.

Japan's Trade Dilemma

Japan is seeking entry into the so-called Torquay agreement which extends "most-favored-nation treatment" to the thirty-two countries and customs areas which signed it last year. If, as seems likely, its request is granted, Western industrial circles will feel considerable uneasiness. Financed by a two-billion-dollar American aid program and army procurement orders, Japan can produce many items more cheaply than any other country, and its rate of output is already 50 per cent above the pre-war figure. Were it not for an escape clause in the Torquay agreement—insisted upon by the United States—which allows a country to raise tariffs on imports which threaten to destroy a domestic industry, American producers would be in a panic.

Hampered by tariff barriers in the West and cut off from its "natural" China market by the Battle act, which prohibits any nation receiving United States aid from trading with a Communist country, Japan is turning more and more to free Asia for markets. In cooperation with Point Four officials and the Defense and Commerce departments, it is passing along to this area a slice of its share of American aid, in the form of capital and capital goods, in return for sorely needed raw materials which it processes into finished products for export. The real solution for Japan's problem will only be found, however, when the United States—and to a lesser extent Great Britain—realizes that without free trade the turn from isolationism to internationalism in political affairs is meaningless.

A Congressional Medal Next?

Andrija Artukovic, Minister of Justice in Hitler's war-time puppet state of Croatia, was permitted to enter this country in 1948 on a visitor's visa. Yugoslavia demanded his extradition as a war criminal. There followed a year of hearings by immigration officials in Los Angeles, where Artukovic is now living. A Yugoslav army officer testified that in 1941 he heard Artukovic urge on a radio broadcast that the Croatians should "greet the Germans with open arms and flowers but kill the Serbs." John J. Knezevich, California publisher who during the war served with American military intelligence, stated publicly: "Under the direction of a triumvirate which included Artukovic, the Croat army performed atrocities, having killed 760,000 Serbian men, women, and children and over 60,000 Jews. . . . Much as I detest Tito, I believe Artukovic must be extradited." Mr. Knezevich is a member of the California Republican State Central Committee.

But instead of being turned over to his accusers, Artukovic got three visa extensions. Then Yugoslavia took its case to the Los Angeles federal District Court, requesting extradition under the terms of an American-Serbian treaty of 1901 which Secretary Acheson had certified as "presently in force." Here two Catholic priests testified in the defendant's behalf. One of them, asked by the judge if Artukovic would make a worthy citizen of this country, replied: "Yes, one of whom we would all be justly proud."

Despite Secretary Acheson's specific affirmation to the contrary, the judge finally ruled that the treaty upon which the Yugoslavs had staked their case was no longer valid. And on the same day—it was on the eve of the recent adjournment of Congress—Representative Sheppard of California introduced a private bill which would give Artukovic continued sanctuary here and enable him to apply for American citizenship.

The Yugoslavs, who say they cannot understand the American position, particularly in view of the political rapprochement between their country and ours, intend to appeal to the Supreme Court. Their perplexity is shared, to put it mildly, by many Americans.

The Price of Unity

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN NOMINATING Adlai Stevenson the Democrats have chosen their strongest vote-getter and one of the most attractive political personalities to appear on the American scene since the death of President Roosevelt. In politics as in war, as even General MacArthur must now realize, there is no substitute for victory, and in Stevenson the Democrats sensed a winner.

If the Governor of Illinois fails to lead the Democrats to victory in November, it will not be for any lack of political skill. Few nominations have been won with more grace or greater ease than he displayed in acquiescing in a draft that if not completely genuine was sufficiently so to excite the awe and admiration of the politicians. Whatever his motives, his tactics were brilliant. To advance while appearing to resist, to receive President Truman's support without being tagged as a handpicked successor, and, finally, to win without a campaign—these are achievements which distinguish artistry from mere talent.

But the interest in Governor Stevenson's nomination lies not in his skill as a politician but in what his selection implies. Given the system of dead reckoning used in both parties, Governor Stevenson, like General Eisenhower, is a candidate of the center ("to the right of the Fair Deal," reports Bruce Boissat of the Newspaper Enterprise Association). Chosen by a "free" convention, Stevenson nevertheless paid much the same price for his nomination that was demanded of Eisenhower—generous concessions to the right wing.

While the Democratic platform is less conservative than the Republican, it can hardly be said to advance the frontiers of American liberalism. It fails to call for repeal or modification of the Smith act or of McCarran's Internal Security Act, and adds insult to reticence by suggesting that the main effect of the President's loyalty program has been to protect "loyal public servants against unfounded and malicious attacks." The foreign-policy planks are weak, and this fact, together with the absence of debate, would indicate that the Democrats do not consider foreign policy a major issue. In this they may be right: observers as dissimilar in outlook as John O'Donnell and Anne O'Hare McCormick agree that just as the Democrats seem to be in complete harmony on foreign policy, so there is little difference in the views of the Stevenson and Eisenhower supporters on basic objectives in this field.

Optimists may argue that the civil-rights plank represents a shadow-thin improvement over the 1948 statement, but it is utterly misleading to herald the adoption of the 1952 plank, as one liberal Democratic newspaper did, with the headline: "Dixie Yells Fade Before Historic Civil Rights Plank." In actual fact, the civil-rights fight in the convention had an almost calculated phoniness about it. After listening to no end of brave words and thunderous phrases from the civil-righters, the convention voted to seat seventy Dixiecrat delegates from Texas and Mississippi, adopted a weak "loyalty" pledge, and then, having voted not to seat the Dixiecrat delegations from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, proceeded to seat them in a way that implied an apology for the apparent discourtesy. The smiles which Governor Byrnes, Battle, and Kennon wore on Friday morning may have been a little brighter than the occasion warranted, but they were smiles of victory all the same.

Leaders of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party should have foreseen the need for unity on a platform, a strategy, and a candidate. In an editorial in the issue of April 5—Mr. Truman Steps Aside—*The Nation* pointed out that the liberal wing of the party would have to regain the initiative or be routed by a fusion of Northern and Southern conservatives. Writing in the New York *Times*, William M. Blair said of the caucus, "The difficulty was that there was no rallying point, such as agreement on a candidate," while Senator Humphrey told the caucus, "There is no use denying that Farley and the Dixiecrats gave us a trouncing." The nomination of Senator Sparkman was part of this trouncing, and it may well prove to have been a costly mistake. Despite a good voting record on many issues Mr. Sparkman is not the kind of candidate who will arouse much enthusiasm among Negro voters. It now appears that Governor Stevenson merely approved the selection. Why, then, did the liberal bloc approve it? If labor had enough power to block the nomination of Barkley, why did it approve the selection of Sparkman, who voted for the Taft-Hartley act and against the Fair Labor Standards Act?

THE movement of power in both conventions was toward the center. Since there is no organized "left" opposition in either party, the left-of-center forces in both—Senators Morse and Ives in the Republican; Senators Moody, Humphrey, and Lehman in the Democratic—had to make painful concessions to the right. But in the drift toward the center the extreme right wing of both parties was overridden if not vanquished. The Hoover-Taft-MacArthur elements were pushed aside in the Republican Party, and the Byrd-Battle-Byrnes elements were set right on the realities of power in the Democratic Party.

The eclipse of the extreme right in both parties was symbolic, not decisive. The right-wingers were first humiliated, then embraced; in the last analysis they were snubbed. The fact is that both extreme groups are hopelessly "dated" and therefore less powerful than they appear to be. Thanks to seniority, a skilful use of patronage, and an ability to appeal to local prejudices, they still retain great strength in Congress; but they are far behind "the people"—the national electorate—in their political thinking. The best Taft could do in Chicago was to present his ritualistic indictment of Roosevelt's 1936 program; Senator Russell Long of Louisiana demonstrated that events have left the Byrneses and the Shiverses of the party stranded in a stagnant backwater which will soon be a dry lake. Being passé, the Taftites are no more prepared to bolt the Republican Party and join forces with the Dixiecrats than the latter are prepared to leave the Democrats for a coalition third party. Since neither of these dissident groups has any place to go between now and November, they are more likely to be guilty of covert treachery than of overt acts of sedition.

While the nominations of the two major parties have not directly improved the outlook for realignment, it may well be that the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition has been weakened. In the South a new Republican element is emerging which threatens one-party rule there more directly than any possible defection of Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party. In much the same way, a new element in the Southern Democrats is seeking to remove the Bourbons from power. In retrospect, Kefauver's campaign against Senator Russell in Florida and the refusal of the Republicans to seat Taft's handpicked delegations from the South may be cited as significant turning points in the struggle to establish a two-party system in the region.

If this is true, it may be noted with some irony that the beginning of the end of one-party rule in the South coincided with the emergence of new majorities in both parties which are in basic agreement on most issues. The Republican majority represents an older middle class, one occupying a somewhat higher income-tax bracket than its Democratic counterpart. The differences are of degree, not of kind: the Democratic majority that nominated Stevenson is surely not much less conservative than the Republican majority that nominated Eisenhower. Will the winner become the captive of his more conservative supporters? Will either nominee, if elected, be able to cope with the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that rules Congress? Behind Eisenhower stands Taft; behind Stevenson, Byrd.

But just as the choice of Eisenhower and Stevenson produced an audible sigh of relief in Europe, so most Americans should be able to find some small measure of satisfaction in the fact that both parties have nominated men of reason and good-will. This satisfaction would be increased if the two candidates would join in an emphatic repudiation of political smears and denunciations, of purges and witch hunts. Will one repudiate McCarthy and the other McCarran? If they act jointly, neither will suffer any disadvantage, and future generations will bless them both.

Adlai Was Available

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago

THE Democratic convention was superficially a much more complicated affair than the Republican. Whereas the Republicans had a straight two-man fight, the Democrats seemed to be divided into countless factions. There were six Dixie delegations snorting defiance and threatening to bolt if a civil-rights plank were stuffed down their throats. They hated Harry Truman, the labor leaders, the "radical" New Yorkers and Minnesotans. There was the "moderate" or non-bolting South—but the moderates didn't want their sister states thrown out. There was the "liberal coalition" of Averell Harriman, Senator Kefauver, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Moody, which was willing to combine on platform and rules but not on a candidate. There were favorite sons by the handful—Governors and Senators waiting for a place, and a time, to transfer their votes. Yet underneath the turmoil, the delegates were pretty clear about their eventual landing place. They were going to pick Governor Stevenson of Illinois unless he announced, early enough, a Sherman-like refusal to accept.

Some of the factions did not like it. Senator Kefauver muttered of a "boss-selected" nominee and a "synthetic draft," and the bitterness of his camp increased as the week went on. The labor leaders felt that Stevenson's understanding of the Taft-Hartley law was, to say the least, incomplete. From the Southern point of view he had followed a middle-of-the-road course: he had been for "states' rights" unless they turned into "states' wrongs," in which case he "presumed" the federal government would have to "do something." But there was an overriding feeling among the majority of delegates that Stevenson was a man of stature, a new political force with great thrust and persuasiveness.

Where else could they turn? Russell of Georgia was a sectional candidate and nothing more. Kerr of Oklahoma was less than that. Harriman of New York had made a remarkable last-minute campaign; he had served as a rallying-point for Northern New Dealers, but he was too rich and politically too inexperienced to do more. Kefauver had the largest committed bloc of delegates and the prestige of his winning primary campaigns, but against him was the attitude of the White House, the venomous hatred of Northern city bosses, and the equally vindictive malice of his fellow-Southerners, who considered him a "traitor to the South" for his refusal to participate in Senate filibusters. The delegates were ready for Stevenson when he made his opening-day address of welcome. His speech confirmed the conviction of the majority that here was a man of no ordinary talents, a man of intellect, of humility, of courage, of rare capacity to clothe ideas in striking language.

Thereafter only five questions remained: On what ballot would Stevenson be nominated? Who would seize credit for shifting the votes to put him over—the New Deal North or the conservative pro-Russell South? What kind of platform would be written, particularly on civil rights and the Senate filibuster rule? What would be done about the six Southern states that threatened to force a retreat on civil rights or to nominate another Dixiecrat, or Eisenhower, as the "Democratic" candidate in their states? Who would be the vice-presidential nominee?

TO GO back to the beginning: for the liberal-labor forces the first convention crisis came when it was discovered that an effort would be made, with at least some White House backing, to unite the delegates around Vice-President Barkley. Editorial columns were filled with abuse of the "cruel" union chieftains who told the President and then Barkley himself that at seventy-four he was "too old." But had the convention actually nominated Barkley, its action would inevitably have been interpreted as a confession that the party expected defeat and had chosen him to serve as trustee in bankruptcy.

The union leaders, moreover, were as little "cruel" as circumstances permitted. They were appalled when they discovered that in addition to telling the White House they would have to tell the "Veep" face to face. They assured him that they loved and respected him but they could not support him for the single reason of his age. And when Barkley in his first disappointment lashed out at them as "self-anointed political labor leaders," committed to some other candidate through whom they could better "control" the party machinery, they spoke soft words in reply. They had said nothing whatever about "commitments" through which they could better hope to control the party. What they had said was that Barkley's candidacy had been announced very late and that some individuals among them had previously made individual commitments to either Kefauver or Harriman. All through the convention their word was that any one of three candidates would be "acceptable" to them—Kefauver, Harriman, or Stevenson.

One other fact motivated the union leaders—one which they did not mention to the "Veep." The Barkley candidacy was being used, they suspected with good reason, as a front behind which conservatives hoped to regain control of the party. It is not clear that Truman knew exactly what was being done by a foursome made up of White House Secretary Matt Connelly, Democratic Committee Chairman Frank McKinney, the New Deal-hating James A. Farley, and Senate Secretary Leslie Biffle. But labor had no reason to trust this group of key Barkleyites: they feared "deals" for a conservative vice-presidential nominee or a backtracking platform or both. So they went out to stop Barkley, and thereby stopped Messrs. Connelly, McKinney, Farley, and Biffle.

Before the convention some Washington observers theorized that the White House was in no mood for compromise with the Dixiecrats, that it considered the vote of the Negroes and other minority groups in the North more important to Democratic national success than the solid South and would not lift a finger to keep any "erring sisters" in the convention. This theory proved incorrect. As early as Tuesday the word came from Washington to find some method of compromise, if possible, so that the Truman-hating states of Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana would not be driven from the convention. House Speaker Sam Rayburn, as permanent chairman, used all his power and prestige to this end, finally getting the needed votes from Illinois.

To this reporter it seemed that the "liberal coalition" headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Senator Moody, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Kefauver scored some successes. Their first achievement was to split the six Southern states that had arrogantly threatened to bolt. Adoption of the Moody rule on Monday night forced Governor Shivers of Texas and Governor White of Mississippi to give satisfactory assurances to the Credentials Committee. As for the fire-eating Georgians, they decided they had better sign the "Moody pledge" if they wanted any consideration for their candidate, Russell. When Senator Long of Louisiana refused to bolt, Virginia and South Carolina were further isolated. When Governor Battle of Virginia pointed out that Virginia law required placing the national nominees on the ticket and the convention accepted this statement as "substantial compliance" with the Moody pledge, Soutn Carolina was left alone.

Of course Virginia can still change its law. The Moody "loyalty" resolution was watered down before Texas, Mississippi, and Senator Long would accept it. The convention delegations of the six states still have to "report back" to their state ruling bodies, and the bloody-shirt-wavers may still bolt to Eisenhower or a plain Dixiecrat. The angry Harriman-Kefauver forces, at their early Friday morning strategy meeting, ranted at their "betrayal" by Illinois. (The Governor had promptly authorized a statement that he had had nothing personally to do with the Illinois shift.)

Hubert Humphrey finally had sense enough to point out that if the liberal North did not "break" to Stevenson, the Governor's eventual nomination might come from the Russell forces. Harriman, who had wanted Stevenson originally and never wavered in his conviction that Kefauver was insufficiently experienced and tested for the Presidency, prepared to shift New York; the C. I. O. Political Action Committee issued a statement expressing hope that its delegates, after fulfilling their honorable "commitments," would shift to Stevenson. Governor Dever was always ready to shift his favorite-son Massachusetts votes to Stevenson at the proper moment. Michigan's powerful delegation, after a moment of frightfulness when it swung forty votes to Kefauver toward the close of the first ballot, also was ready to take Stevenson.

NO ONE can be wholly satisfied with the Democratic platform. On Tidelands oil, for example, it is silent. It does not indorse national health insurance, although it speaks respectfully of the President's new commission on the nation's health needs, which presumably will come up with something better than the nothing we now have. Without specifically indorsing the Brannan plan—which the Republican platform denounced by name—it calls attention to the perishable crops that bring farmers three-quarters of their cash income and advocates putting them under price guaranties, which is exactly what the Brannan plan attempted.

The civil-rights plank and anti-filibuster plan are quibbles. The North had to omit the adjective "enforceable" in describing the F. E. P. C. law and substitute a mere promise that measures should be "effective." Senator Lehman and Walter Reuther had told the platform committee that any civil-rights plank would be meaningless without a direct assault on the Senate filibuster rule. At the urging of Senator Sparkman, all mention of the filibuster rule was removed from the civil-rights section and transferred to a section on "strengthening Democratic government." The plank "urges" that the Eighty-third Congress "at the beginning" try to "improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority of either house." This reporter is skeptical that the South will support any such program in Congress, where it is relatively much stronger than in a Democratic convention.

The civil-rights program at least did not retreat from the 1948 platform that sparked the four-state Dixiecrat Presidential campaign. It asserts that all citizens have equal "rights" guaranteed them by the Constitution and that these rights include security of person, equal participation in political life, and equal opportunity for employment. If they are to be secured, there must be an anti-lynching law, an anti-poll-tax law, an F. E. P. C. law. The real question is whether the Democrats have found leadership that can translate the promises to actuality.

The choice of Sparkman as vice-presidential nominee is an arguable one. Walter White, of the N. A. A. C. P., says it will be "hard" for Northern Negroes to swallow a Southern filibusterer. The common phrase went that Northern Negroes would only want to know one thing about Sparkman—that he is from Alabama. Without engaging in prophecy, one may note that if anybody votes for or against a major-party ticket primarily because of the vice-presidential nominee, something new will have been added to American politics.

This reporter does know that Sparkman is no Throttlebottom but a spokesman for constructive forward-looking Southern liberalism. Labor's League for Political Education, an arm of the A. F. of L., listed him as having voted or been paired correctly on every 1951 key issue. So did Americans For Democratic Action. The C. I. O. *News* listed him as right on every issue on which he voted or was paired. He was wrong in 1950 on the Kerr natural gas bill, but apparently that was because of a pledge he had given Southwesterners in return for their support of his middle-income housing bill. He has always been wrong on civil rights. No one who knows him, however, has ever heard him say an extreme word about the race problem.

The real ticket and platform are Stevenson. The question is whether this apparently remarkable man stands up as well between now and November as he has during the anxious months since he "refused the crown" at President Truman's hands. Kefauver's charge that Stevenson was a "boss-selected" candidate backfired because nobody paid any attention. The "bosses" did not even have a headquarters for Stevenson: The volunteer "Stevenson for President" committee was headed by Leo Lerner, an anti-boss Chicago Democrat, and Walter Johnson, head of the University of Chicago History Department, author, idealist, and liberal. Their meetings took place in the law office of Representative Sydney Yates, a Chicago liberal of quality and brains. There was no "synthetic" draft but a genuine one, with just enough organization to keep it from being witless and to provide a structure which delegates could climb aboard when the time came.

Stevenson is not, as he may think, a "free man." He made no deals and is beholden to no politician, but he is the heir of the New Deal and Fair Deal and he cannot turn his back upon them. The men of the Roosevelt-Truman era are passing from the stage. Stevenson represents the new era in the sense that a new generation must now move ahead to meet its own problems—the cold war, the revolutionary flame spreading through Asia and Africa, America's own demand for a richer and more fruitful democracy.

Whooping It Up for Adam Smith

BY HAROLD V. KNIGHT

AN OBSCURE denominational college in the Southwest may well be exerting a greater influence on the economic thinking of the American people than most of our great universities. Drop into a movie house anywhere, or into a women's-club meeting or a Main Street lecture hall, or pick up a small-town weekly newspaper, and you are likely to be introduced to hoary economic theories adapted to modern use by the sage of Harding College, at Searcy (population 4,000), Arkansas.

This once-struggling Church of Christ (Campbellite) institution, dedicated to him who drove the money changers from the temple, is now spending a million dollars on a National Education Program designed to prove that free enterprise is the only true religion and Adam Smith its prophet. Not surprisingly, the sage of Harding, in his pursuit of what he considers to be the great American ideal, has run afoul of the National Labor Relations Board, which has just warned the college that it must not tamper with the efforts of certain of its employees to join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (A. F. of L.).

Harding's sage is its president, George Stuart Benson, who took over the institution in 1937 when few had heard of it except a handful of devoted evangelists and a number of tradesmen and others to whom it owed sums totaling $75,000. As late as 1944, according to the *Saturday Evening Post,* Benson's salary as president was listed as $1,800 a year. But a few years later the Associated Press reported that Benson's life had been insured for one million dollars at an annual premium of $16,500. Who is paying this premium? And who is paying for the Harding College million-dollar National Education Program? A study of Benson's career reveals a few facts, suggests a few more; the rest is shrouded in mystery.

Benson graduated from Harding in 1926, when the

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college was at Morrilton, Arkansas. After eleven years as a missionary in China he returned to assume its presidency. He first gained national prominence in 1941, when he appeared before a Congressional committee in Washington—newsmen described him as "an unknown witness from a small town in Arkansas"—and stirred his audience with an impassioned plea for government economy. "I understand that professionals are employed [by the government] to prepare radio scripts and movie films," he declared, "and that the most luxurious types of publicity are included. If our colleges used such luxuries we could not educate two boys for the cost of keeping one boy in the Civilian Conservation Corps."

Nevertheless, what he saw in Washington must have made a profound impression on the economy-minded clergyman from Arkansas. On his return he called together a group of Little Rock business men and, according to a witness, told them in effect: "Certain influential men in the East have offered me $100,000 to carry on an educational program on a national scale. I want you to raise $5,000 for my college so that I can be relieved of responsibility in that direction and devote all my time to the national program."

IN the following years Benson learned two things: that it is much easier to raise money by whooping it up for Adam Smith than for the Old Testament; and that movies and similar "luxurious types of publicity" are reprehensible only when the other fellow indulges in them. Today his National Education Program—that is its official title—encompasses the following activities:

1. Distribution of a weekly column by Benson to an estimated 2,500 weeklies, metropolitan dailies, house organs, and trade journals. Typical of Benson's philosophy is his complaint, in a recent column, that a secretary left her private employer to join the civil service because the pay was better and vacation and sick-leave provisions were more generous. "If these unwholesome conditions are not corrected very soon," writes Benson, "the federal pay roll will begin to swallow up American prosperity and progress."

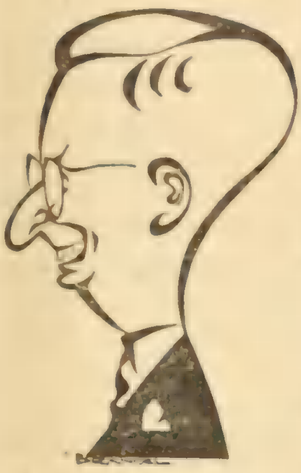
2. Distribution of the Harding Monthly Letter, based on Benson's weekly column, to 40,000 individuals and organizations.

3. A weekly transcribed radio program entitled The Land of the Free, which dramatizes the life story of Americans in Horatio Alger terms and is carried on 364 radio stations in all the forty-eight states as sustaining or sponsored programs.

4. The preparation of visual-education material, such as the so-called "flannelgraph," which according to Harding College publicity enables even amateurs to give illustrated talks.

5. The Freedom Forum, an annual week-long conference which brings together on the Harding College campus about 150 representatives of industry and business. A pamphlet describing a recent forum reports the presence of C. I. O. and other union spokesmen, though no representatives of organized labor appeared on the program. However, numerous spokesmen for industry, notably personnel directors, discussed how to put management's story across to the workers.

6. Production of technicolor cartoon movies expounding the free-enterprise philosophy in a semi-humorous vein. Costing from $80,000 to $100,000 each, the films have been made possible by grants to Harding College from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Up to the end of 1950 these grants had totaled $597,870. An additional $75,000 for the film program has been provided by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh.



George Stuart Benson

The films, of high professional quality, are first distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to 10,000 movie houses throughout the country in ordinary commercial fashion. After having been seen by an estimated 25,000,000 persons, they are released in sixteen-millimeter size for showings to industrial concerns, schools, civic organizations, and similar groups. They are lent free of charge or sold for $125 a print.

Naturally, the films are not labeled propaganda for free enterprise or the profit system, or for anything else. They are presented as pure entertainment. The most recent cartoon, "Why Play Leapfrog?" tells how Joe, a worker in a doll factory, invents a new technique which earns him a raise and makes everybody happy—including the customer, who does not have to pay more for the doll. Wage increases are justified, the movie warns, only when they do not raise the price of the product. In another cartoon Dr. Ism comes to an untimely end trying to sell Utopia tonic to labor, management, and farmers; in another we see the calamitous things that happen in Eggville when Dr. Hoot introduces "planning" among the feathered residents. Scheduled for early production are films on taxes, inflation, and profits.

Benson's National Educational Program has developed into a major enterprise, and thousands of dollars are being poured into films, radio, and other propaganda media; yet Harding College, according to George Smokey, a former Harding professor, somehow can't find the money to pay long overdue salaries to some of its own faculty members. Commenting on other aspects of the Benson regime, Mr. Smokey said:

Until recently Harding loudly championed religious fundamentalism. An appeal to sectarianism will move but a limited number. The objects of spite need but be changed to attract a larger number. Dr. Benson's method is simplicity itself: all his outcries follow the same pattern, whether he is fulminating against other denominations or against members of political parties, as he finds it profitable to do today. He has a new object to attack, but he uses the old methods commingled with camp-meeting histrionics. Hard-boiled business men succumb to emotional appeals when cleverly made. Benson's lingo is tailored to appeal to the high-class trade.

Benson's title of "doctor," by the way, accrues to him by virtue of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree granted him by—you've guessed it—Harding College.

Democracy in the Andes

BY WILLIAM ROSENBERG

EARLY last April the thin air of La Paz, 12,000 feet above sea level, crackled with gunfire, and the latest Bolivian revolution got under way. After a few days the government forces admitted defeat. Between 1,000 and 3,000 persons had been killed in the bloodiest clash in recent Bolivian history. Soon Victor Paz Estenssoro, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (M. N. R.), returned from six years of exile and assumed the Presidency.

Almost his first official act was the announcement that he would appoint a commission to prepare for nationalization of the tin mines owned by the Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo groups, the "Big Three." Attention was thus focused at once on the question of tin, which is in fact the key to recent developments in Bolivia.

When the modern state of Bolivia was created by the men who liberated the region from Spanish rule, an ethnic and economic unity which had existed for centuries was broken up. This initiated a long decline, with the result that the area which had led the continent in civilization, population, and wealth became one of the most backward. The decline was sharply accelerated when the weakened country was deprived of its seacoast by Chile. Today 85 per cent of the population of 3,500,000 is engaged in subsistence farming, follows the old customs, and speaks only the ancient tongues, Aymara and Quechua. Most of the rest of the people live, directly or indirectly, from the export of tin ores. The subsistence agriculture does not suffice to feed the cities, which must import necessities with the proceeds from the sale of tin.

The educated Bolivian, aware of his country's former greatness and present backwardness, has developed a proud and hostile nationalism. The disastrous Chaco war against Paraguay in the thirties intensified this feeling and made possible the brief but spectacular career of President Germán Busch. Busch's militant nationalism antagonized the outside world but made him a hero in Bolivia.

The M. N. R. clearly derives its strength from the nationalistic tradition. It aspires to be the party of the Indian and the voice of the submerged 85 per cent, whom it proposes to educate away from their centuries-long habit of scratching the soil for a bare livelihood and set to work to tap the virtually untouched natural resources of the country. In order to get the funds for this program, and to free the people from the political domination of the tin interests, it intends to nationalize the tin mines. It is suspicious of anything that smacks of foreign interference but will welcome the aid of foreign capital and know-how.

Observers outside Bolivia have fallen into the error of assuming that the M. N. R. is unique in its nationalism, its social planning, and its hostility to the tin interests. Actually these attitudes are claimed by all the parties, being essential to political success in Bolivia today. The M. N. R., not unnaturally, has welcomed and perpetuated the delusion that the opposition has other aims; the opposition has done nothing to correct the error abroad but has stubbornly attacked it at home.

The M. N. R. carries on a continuous campaign against the "Rosca"—that is, the coalition of "vested interests"—which supposedly consists of the hirelings of the tin interests and the feudal landholders. Probably the Rosca, or a reasonable facsimile of it, once existed, but events of recent years show that it is either dead or impotent. Moreover, a box score of laws directed against the tin interests would show that such legislation is passed whether the M. N. R. is in power or not. The most that can be said for the M. N. R. is that it is the only party with an unequivocal program and the only one which has succeded in becoming identified with that program.

The M. N. R. participated in the coalition government of President Gualberto Villarroel, which was established in December, 1934, by a military coup, and Paz Estenssoro served as Minister of Finance. Despite grow-

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ing differences between the military and the M. N. R., the government remained in power until July, 1946, when a teachers' strike for higher wages led to street riots which developed, apparently spontaneously, into a revolution. The violence culminated in the hanging and mutilation of President Villarroel by a mob and the escape of Paz Estenssoro and others into exile.

Victor Paz Estenssoro

Disillusioned by the outcome of their advent to power by the easy but treacherous road of alliance with the army, the M. N. R. leaders now started a vigorous campaign of political education. This was a new and truly revolutionary idea, for traditionally elections served merely to indorse the party in the saddle, and power changed hands only by military coup. The effort bore fruit in the presidential election of May, 1951. Campaigning from exile, Paz Estenssoro received 45 per cent of the total vote of 120,000, a clear plurality. (The smallness of the vote is explained by the high rate of illiteracy and the lack of woman suffrage.) Since no candidate gained a majority, the President was supposed to be chosen by the new Congress from among the three candidates in the lead, and it was a foregone conclusion that Paz Estenssoro would win. But a military junta headed by General Hugo Ballivián deposed the incumbent President Urriolagoitia without firing a shot, and the new Congress never met. Far from denouncing this violation of constitutional procedure, President Urriolagoitia gave the coup his blessing and said that it was "maintaining democratic traditions." The revolution which swept Paz Estenssoro into power in April was the natural reaction.

THE Villarroel government had passed various measures to ameliorate the lot of peasant and worker. It had not moved to nationalize the tin mines because the uninterrupted production of tin was of critical importance to the United States. (With Malaya and Indonesia in Japanese hands Bolivia was practically our sole source of ore.) Apart from all other considerations, including Bolivia's obligation to cooperate in the war effort, it was clear that the United States would not stand idly by while nationalization was attempted. Today the United States has a stockpile of tin and is purchasing freely in Malaya and Indonesia. Virtually no tin has been shipped from Bolivia in almost a year, partly because of difficulties imposed by the Urriolagoitia government in efforts to curry favor with the voters, and partly because of a deadlock in price negotiation with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation: the R. F. C. has offered approximately $1.18 per pound; the Bolivians insist they must get about $1.50, because of increased costs.

On the domestic front the M. N. R. is in a firm position at this moment. It is no longer, as it was in 1943-46, the junior member of a coalition government. The conditions for nationalization are therefore as auspicious now as they are likely to be in the foreseeable future. Several considerations, however, favor a go-slow policy. The M. N. R. could consolidate its present position by renewing the export of tin and thus bringing back prosperity, but it could scarcely do this if it attempted the total reorganization of the industry. The operation of tin mines requires technical know-how, and the present operators could withdraw the technicians. Moreover, the operators—particularly the Patiño group, which also has extensive holdings in the Far East—can freeze Bolivia out of the world market simply by keeping the price below the break-even point for Bolivia. Bolivian production costs are high because Bolivian ores must be mined, whereas the ores in Malaya and Indonesia are found in alluvial deposits and are recovered much more readily. Before the Second World War, the tin cartel set production quotas and fixed the price high enough to keep Bolivia in the market and give very handsome profits to the low-cost producers in the Far East.

With this situation in mind, the commission on nationalization will undoubtedly make an effort to reach an amicable agreement with the Big Three mine owners. Presumably such an agreement, while based on formal nationalization, would include compensation for the owners and some arrangement by which they would act as stewards of the mines and keep the technical management in their hands. Whether a satisfactory formula can be devised depends in large measure on the mine owners. They will find Paz Estenssoro forthright, firm, and reasonable. The forty-four-year-old economist sizes up a situation rapidly and communicates his decision directly. Unlike most Latin American politicians, he does not say "yes" just to be polite when the "yes" may mean anything from yes to maybe to no. He can change his mind when the facts warrant, but he does not change with every shift of the wind.

The mine owners are aware that no important political faction in Bolivia is really friendly to them. The utmost they could hope to get from any anti-M. N. R. group would be a slower pace of change; the political realities of the country are such that they cannot expect a reversal of the direction of change. If they consent to deal with the M. N. R. they will at least have the advantage of dealing with principals. The M. N. R. is the only organization which has sufficient popular backing to make concessions and then win their acceptance by the country. If the owners can reconcile themselves to the idea that ultimate nationalization is inevitable, and negotiate to salvage what they can, they may accomplish a good deal. They have some strong bargaining points.

In trying to free the Indian from the shackles of ignorance and apathy the M. N. R. will have a long, hard road to follow. Its moral position is weakened by the fact that it has not scrupled to play the game of power politics when occasion offered. But it does appear that a grass-roots movement has started in Bolivia which may ultimately prove more important than the ups and downs of any one party. Bolivia may at long last be on the road to progress and enlightenment; it may yet catch up with the twentieth century.

The Passing of "Red" Hynes

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles

ON A November morning in 1932 Theodore Dreiser arrived in Hollywood for a lecture engagement and promptly announced that he would "punch Red Hynes in the nose if he tries to stop me from speaking here." The challenge was directed at Police Captain William F. Hynes, whose death here on May 17 recalled the city's fifteen-year subjection to him and his police Red squad.

Hynes's career is of interest because he was one of the first of the mercenaries in the crusade against "communism." He joined the Los Angeles police force in 1921 after seven years in the army. An eight months' apprenticeship as under-cover agent in the I. W. W. practically clinched his future career; on his return to regular service he was assigned to the Red squad and there found ample opportunities for his talents.

By 1933 Hynes had graduated with honors from the rough-house school of law enforcement. He perfected the use of the pitched battle and adapted it to political meetings, strikes, picket lines, and demonstrations against the conditions of the depression era. The Red squad started out that year by dispersing five hundred hunger marchers with tear gas and arresting twelve of the demonstrators. Two weeks later the squad suppressed a "fierce riot" of another hungry contingent demanding food and aid at the offices of the county Bureau of Charities. "Desk, chairs, and windows," the press reported, "were smashed, inkwells hurled, heads clubbed, and lips cracked." Hynes offered to produce "documentary proof that the entire disturbance was inspired by Communists."

Next Hynes led the Red squad and some members of the American Legion in a raid on the Hollywood John Reed Club. This was the cause of a celebrated bout in the City Hall. Prompted by the insistent demand of Attorney Leo Gallagher for an immediate public hearing, a meeting was held in the City Council chambers. The Council president adjourned the meeting and ordered the room cleared. Then Hynes and his squad took over. According to newspaper accounts, a "wild battle" followed, the participants "hurling spittoons, biting, and swinging clubs and fists." The fracas has been described in detail in a pamphlet, "Fifteen Years on Freedom's Front," by Dr. Clinton J. Taft, then director of the local American Civil Liberties Union:

> Although I had sat quietly on the front seat and had taken no part in the meeting, Hynes singled me out and rained blow after blow on my back as I went up the center aisle toward the exit, remarking as he did so: "Get out of here; you are back of all this!" . . . Mr. Gallagher was not so fortunate. He was struck in the face and had his glasses smashed. Then, as he left the City Hall . . . he was pursued by four plainclothesmen, dragged back into a small room in the building, and given a terrible beating.

The next day Hynes told the City Council he had instructed his men "never to use force until resisted." But, he added, "when the fight does start, I don't want them to get hurt. I don't want to see them on the floor. I want to see the Communists on the floor." Describing his job as "tough" and "unpopular," Hynes summed up his lifework: "Some of us have to be cops," he said.

The success of the raid on the John Reed Club encouraged Hynes to team up again with the American Legion a month later. The Board of Education had granted permission, over Hynes's and the Legion's protests, for a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union in the auditorium of the Polytechnic High School. As the chairman started to address the audience, the lights went off, tear gas was let loose, and the Red squad and a group of legionnaires stamped down the aisles. Hynes then appeared on the stage and ordered the chairman to dismiss the meeting.

Hynes took a leave of absence from the force the next

HANNAH BLOOM writes frequently for The Nation *about events on the civil-liberties front in California.*

year. He described his policeman's holiday to the La Follette Committee on the Rights of Labor at its hearings in Los Angeles in 1940. During part of 1934 and 1935, he testified, he "rendered services to various groups throughout the state," advising them on the "proper protection of their property, employees, things of that nature." He was employed in "an advisory capacity" during labor strikes by the Los Angeles Railway, the Associated Farmers of California, the Furniture Manufacturers' Association, the Cabinet Store Manufacturers' Association, and other offshoots of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The work had its compensations for a man on a patrolman's salary. For one stint of five months he was paid $50 a day. In a divorce suit filed in 1936 his wife estimated his bank deposits at $40,000.

FEELING that he had struck a bonanza in "labor relations," Hynes made strike duty a specialty when he returned to the police force. A slush fund paid him and his squad extra money for policing a strike though they were on the city pay roll all the time. For expenses incurred during the 1936 garment-industry strike—"luncheons or dinners or extra details"—Hynes received $769.50 from the Southern California Garment Manufacturers' Association. The association secretary explained to the La Follette committee, "We probably figured we might stand in their good graces a bit more." Hynes informed the committee that his system was "optional" for employers. In the garment strike, he said, "a great many militant Communists were involved" who required "special handling." "In other strikes it was the same way. If they became so violent they had to be manhandled, we had no hesitancy in handling them." He insisted, however, that the money received for these services was distributed among the whole squad.

By the mid-1920's convictions were difficult to obtain under California's criminal-syndicalism law, but it remained a favorite device of the Red squad. When the law was invoked to prevent James W. Ford, the Communist candidate for Vice-President in 1932, from delivering a radio address, the Methodist Ministers' Association accused Hynes of "brutality, violating the Constitution, and attempting to build up a fascist dictatorship." Hynes, given a chance to answer the charges, pointed to Dr. Edward P. Ryland, the minister who prepared them, and retorted: "Who is Ryland to tell you we are violating the Constitution? He's no lawyer!" The Red squad used a city anti-handbill ordinance even after it had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Citing the court decision, three newspapermen protested their arrest for distributing literature pertaining to the *Citizen-News* strike of 1938 and were told by a Hynes disciple, "You'll learn pretty soon that the Supreme Court isn't running Los Angeles."

However, the courts forced Hynes to obey the laws on a few occasions. The American Civil Liberties Union obtained small judgments against him for illegal search and entry and some injunctions preventing police interference with meetings. His efforts to deport undesirables were also sometimes blocked. Hynes was a frequent government witness in deportation cases, and while government agents have denied that he had any official connection with the FBI, friends credit him with "obtaining the information that caused the deportation of literally hundreds of undesirables." But in two important cases the federal courts were not impressed by Hynes's information. In the majority opinion in *Schneiderman* v. *United States*, Justice Murphy cited Hynes's admission that "he never attempted a philosophic analysis of the literature he read but only read it to secure evidence, reading and underscoring those portions which in his opinion 'had to do with force or violence or overthrowing this system of government other than by lawful means provided in the Constitution.'" In another case Hynes's testimony that he had no doubt "but what the Communist Party is the party which believes in, teaches, and advocates the overthrow of the government . . . by force and violence" was regarded as insufficient evidence to justify deportation.

Hynes remained a constant source of pride to the Los Angeles *Times*, the M. and M., the Chamber of Commerce, the Better American Federation, the American Legion, and the city fathers, who envisioned Los Angeles as "the citadel of the open shop." These powerful forces could easily nullify the effects of unfavorable court decisions. Shortly after Municipal Judge Joseph L. Call awarded a judgment against Hynes and blasted the practices of officers "acting under bigoted conceptions of their own power and . . . under coercion of organized groups," a grand jury exonerated Hynes of brutality charges and complimented the entire police department for "the efficient manner in which the Communist menace has been met in Los Angeles." A director of the Better America Federation was the jury foreman.

Hynes's career ended abruptly in 1938 with the election of Mayor Fletcher Bowron on a reform ticket. The Red squad was abolished, and Hynes was assigned to a west-side beat eighteen miles from City Hall. Shorn of his honorary captaincy, he was limited for the next five years to routine activities, occasionally brightened by appearance at deportation hearings and Congressional investigations. He retired from the police force in 1943 and until his death last spring at the age of fifty-five worked at odd jobs, as a private bodyguard or as security officer at an aircraft plant. He appeared briefly at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Los Angeles last fall. Apparently baffled by the formality and refinement of the proceedings, he roamed around the hearing room looking for old friends.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

TAKING THE MYSTERY OUT OF POLITICS

BY H. H. WILSON

THE great intrinsic interest of Samuel Lubell's "The Future of American Politics" (Harper, $3.50) was increased for me by the fact that I read it while following the most thoroughly publicized national conventions in our history. But in any case I should have found Mr. Lubell's book a valuable and stimulating study of American political behavior. A former reporter, war correspondent, and assistant to Bernard Baruch and James F. Byrnes, now a free-lance writer, Mr. Lubell has made effective use of our resources of political statistics, drawn upon all available studies of voting behavior, and added considerable research of his own. Though he generalizes about national behavior, his synthesis rests upon a solid foundation of election returns for more than three thousand counties, wards of major cities, and even precincts in selected areas. This has been reinforced by many months of intensive interviewing. The result is a refreshing study in which the customary platitudes have been discarded for a realistic discussion of ethnic, religious, economic, and class conflicts in American society and, in which, for the most part, contemporary political developments are skilfully charted.

Obviously there will be disagreement with some of the conclusions, reservations about the claim to have established a "new theory of political parties," regret that the analysis of voting behavior was not related directly to the operation of power in this society—especially since Mr. Lubell states cogently that the cold war has "transformed the American economy into a gigantic agency for the redistribution of our national income," with the result that "control of the government becomes a more glittering prize than ever." There will perhaps be rejection of what seem rather conservative overtones. There will undoubtedly be some surprise that in the treatment of forces shaping American politics McCarthyism and the whole "loyalty" crusade are totally neglected. After all, we do have political figures, including the vice-presidential candidate of a major party, who have made careers on this issue alone. It is regrettable that Mr. Lubell did not elaborate his provocative analysis of the impact of the "urban frontier," perhaps relating it to David Riesman's hypothesis, expounded in "The Lonely Crowd," that the society of incipient population decline develops "other-directed" people, with all that this implies for political phenomena. None of this detracts from the value of a book which deserves a wide audience and should surely be considered by the prize committee of the Political Science Association.

Broadly this study provides an explanation of the Democratic domination which began in 1932 and is unlikely to be reversed, though it may be interrupted, in the foreseeable future. More important, throughout the book Mr. Lubell has created a sense of urgency by his conviction that the American political system is inadequate to handle the country's responsibilities. Both the New Deal and the Fair Deal have been primarily concerned with buying time. Neither administration has attempted to face up to the primary dilemma. It might be added that we are equipped in 1952 with a governmental structure which was deliberately designed by the Founding Fathers to prevent positive and effective action, and a party system which can select and elect candidates of sorts but is incapable of converting party politics into party government. As Professor Schattschneider has said, "The parties do badly the one thing that they might be expected to do with perfection: they fail to organize the nominees they have elected to office into an effective, cohesive team for the control of the government." Presidential leadership, which Lubell sees as the only way national unity can be achieved, is stymied by urban-rural conflict reflected in the Congress and by the traditional Republican predilection for weak Presidents, which "stems from the fear that a strong executive might set himself up as a tribune of the people and curb the economic freedom of business."

IN TWELVE fascinating chapters uncluttered by the solid factual structure Mr. Lubell attempts "to take the mystery out of present-day American politics." Instead of relying on rumor and personality differences to explain American voting behavior, he has used statistical analysis. He believes that we are moving into a new political era and that a realignment of political parties is inevitable and presumably desirable. Among many forces operating to re-orient our politics, he selects eight as decisive: the coming of age of urban minorities; the rise of a new middle class; the migration of the Negro and the resulting tension; the economic revolution in the South; the upheaval in world strategy; the changed relationship between the farm and the rural town; the growth of organized labor with a simultaneous "ebbing of labor's political vitality"; and the impact of the cold war on the welfare state.

Those who like to speculate about the United States as a "middle-class" society will find much stimulating, controversial material in this book. The chapters on The Revolt of the City and The Frontier Reappears should certainly be read in conjunction with C. Wright Mills's "White Collar." Perhaps most voters in the Democratic coalition have prospered, improved their social status, and to some degree become more conservative in the process, but they have tended to retain the political attitudes acquired in their struggle for this social and economic status. In a sense these people have become the "new middle class" but have retained their Democratic loyalty, in contrast to the older Republican-rooted middle class. As Lubell observes, "what really separates these two middle classes is the factor of timing—of when each arrived at the state of middle-class blessedness." The new group never really experienced the freedom of an expanding economy and a "classless" society. They met more discrimination, suffered more from the economic depression, and learned that most of the obstacles they had to overcome were man-made. "Having achieved their gains in a period of expanding governmental authority, they are not as hostile to 'Big Government' as the older middle-class elements." Though Mr. Lubell believes the trend is toward the increasing middle-class orientation of American politics, the new middle class has goals, values, and ideology sufficiently distinct from the old to make the development of a "middle-class" political movement impossible. The result is, as Mills noted, that "both old and new middle classes become shock troops for other more powerful and articulate pressure blocs in the political scene."

Perhaps the most significant fact presaging the Democratic domination was that the 13,000,000 immigrants who came to this country between 1900 and 1914 stayed in the cities. The children of these immigrants bore the brunt of the depression and experienced the worst abuses of industrialism. For them Republican platitudes about "rugged individualism" and natural laws governing economics, or the presumed tradition of the independent farmer had no meaning. "A philosophy that called for 'leaving things alone' to work themselves out seemed either unreal or hypocritical in the cities. . . . The wage-earner had to look to the government to make sure that the milk bought for his baby was not watered or tubercular; he had to look to government to regulate the construction of tenements so all sunlight was not blocked out." Mr. Lubell concludes that even without the depression, the 1930's had to produce a Democratic era, for the issue between the parties was one of timeliness rather than one of conservatism versus liberalism. In fact, the true issue was the recognition by the Democrats of the needs of a new segment of the American population. Not only were these immigrants and their children forced into the dirtiest jobs at subsistence wages, but they were segregated socially, largely ignored politically, and denied even the protection of labor unions. Urban America had become a class-structured society, and class bitterness existed long before Franklin Roosevelt. For a long time passive and submerged resentment had smoldered against the "old American" dominant class.

Even during the allegedly properous twenties the Republican vote in twelve of our largest cities was declining steadily. By 1928 the Republican plurality had become a slim Democratic plurality. Lubell concludes that "Smith's defeat in 1928, rather than Roosevelt's 1932 victory, marked off the arena in which today's politics are being fought." While Hoover carried some 200 Southern counties which had never voted Republican before, Smith won 122 Northern counties from the G. O. P. On the basis of detailed analysis of the city vote Lubell shows that Smith won the support of the new immigrants but failed to win the votes of the mainly Protestant native-born migrants from rural areas. "Between 1920 and 1930 more than 6,500,000 persons were drawn off the farms and hills; 4,500,000 came into New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles alone." By 1936, and especially in 1935 when "more social legislation [was] enacted than in any other year in the nation's history," the New Deal program had welded these two urban groups together to give the Democrats the tremendous urban pluralities which enabled them to stay in office after 1940, when the war and the third-term issue cut into the rural vote.

THE DEMOCRATIC coalition consisted of four elements—the urban voters, immigrants and their children and rural migrants, Negroes, and the South. At the start of the depression these elements roughly constituted the "have-nots" in American society. This fact gave the coalition a deceptive appearance of unity and served to blur internal conflicts. Certainly since 1938 bitter conflicts have developed even within the ethnic wing. In fact, some of Lubell's most fascinating material deals in sophisticated fashion with the political role of the new immigrants. The rise of the Italian Americans most dramatically illustrates this trend, but other minority groups are turning to political power to gain economic and social opportunity. While Irish domination of Tammany Hall was replaced by Italian American rule in 1947, the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago was superseded by that of Jacob Arvey, a Jew; and a combination of Italian Americans, Polish Americans, and dissident Irish ended Frank Hague's Jersey City rule. Inevitably the repercussions of this power struggle are felt elsewhere, and Lubell comments that "the intensifying Irish-Italian feud which has accompanied this rise wracks not only the Catholic church, whose hierarchy in this country is mainly Irish. It rocks gangland, too," as revealed by "the struggle between James Pendergast and Charles Binaggio in Kansas City." In addition, as Italians, Poles, and Czechs have improved their status they have sought to limit Negro opportunities both in jobs and housing: witness the race riots in Cicero, Illinois. Despite this friction and Republican efforts to capitalize on it, the Negro vote, Mr. Lubell believes, has virtually solidified in the Democratic Party.

Conflict within the dominant coalition, according to Lubell's theory of American political parties, is inevitable, since "it is within the majority party that the issues of any particular period are fought out." However, he suggests that for the Democrats inflation has "become the breaking point." Ironically, "the very successes of the New Deal bring the elements in the Roosevelt coalition into increasing conflict with one another." Under conditions of full employment—and, presumably, high taxes—with inflation further aggravated by rearmament, "no new economic gains can be promised any group of Democrats without threatening the gains of other Democrats." It was this issue of inflation, incidentally, that in 1950 broke the pattern of voting according to economic status. All income levels were bitter about rising prices and the increase in the withhholding tax.

Lubell does not conclude from this that the task of the Republicans is a simple one. For they too will have to meet the issues plaguing the Democratic coalition. What are these problems? "Civil rights, how to balance the interests of the newly emergent labor power against those of the rest of society, the yearning for security against another depression, the hunger for social status of the climbing urban masses"—these are the issues which rack the Democratic Party. They also constitute part of the dilemma facing the Republican Party, which must not only win a Presidential election but transform itself if it is to become the dominant coalition. Diminishing the total potential Democratic vote will not be easy. As one element is pulled away, the remaining elements may be strengthened—for example, the Democrats' loss of the Dixiecrats in 1948 was counterbalanced by the gain in Negro votes. If Lubell is correct, Republicans cannot console themselves for the 1948 defeat by claiming that the Republicans did not vote. The available evidence indicates "that more former Roosevelt supporters failed to vote than Republicans, which may well have spared Dewey from being buried under an overwhelming landslide." However, Lubell says that Eisenhower has the strongest appeal among those sections of the urban middle class—the teachers, white-collar workers, small business men—which turned most sharply against Truman in 1948.

AFTER WHAT the New York *Times* euphemistically termed "clearly a people's victory" in the Republican convention, it is enlightening to read Lubell's appraisal of the Taft and Eisenhower forces. He shrewdly recognizes that "although foreign policy appears to be the most important issue of cleavage, the division between the supporters of General Eisenhower and Senator Taft runs much deeper." Eastern Republicans, as a result of the "revolt of the city," have had to adjust to the special and economic problems faced by urban voters. At the same time "Midwestern Republicans have had to emphasize issues which would preserve the anti-Roosevelt alliance of economic conservatives and one-time isolationists" because of their dependence on the rural vote. This conservative group, dominated by Senator Taft and Joe Martin, has largely controlled Congress through alliance with Southern Democrats. The result has been that conventions, obliged to consider urban voters, have sought to avoid being tied to Republican performance in Congress and therefore selected Willkie, Dewey, and now Eisenhower for Presidential nominees. These men, however, have been unable to campaign either as "liberals" or "conservatives" because to do so would involve rejection or acceptance of the Republicans' Congressional record and split the party.

With the nomination of General Eisenhower it appears that the sophisticated conservatives have gained control. No one need be carried away by the notion that Eisenhower's nomination means the genuine "liberalizing" of the G. O. P. It may more appropriately be considered an example of the triumph of the "personality" approach to politics. The General is a perfect front man for the coalition of financial and industrial interests which selected him. *U. S. News and World Report* comments, "'Ike's' roots are in the Midwestern small town of the early 1900's. Eisenhower missed the depression effects of 1921 and 1929-31." At no time has he indicated any comprehension of the human problems which have helped both to create the Democratic coalition and to keep it in turmoil. One may reject Lubell's estimate that Eisenhower is a "dramatic personality who is above both parties," while agreeing that he "symbolizes the hope of lifting the nation above the divisions of party warfare." His selection "might be termed a substitute for a reshuffling of both parties," since his candidacy serves to blur important issues in American society.

From the Portuguese

EPITAPH OF A SMALL WINNER. By Machado de Assis. Translated from the Portuguese by William Grossman. Noon-day Press. $3.50.

BIT by bit the literature of lands south of the Rio Grande, whether written in Spanish, French, or Portuguese, is being brought into focus for readers of English. Progress in the past two decades has been fitful, now pushed by a government policy, now lagging. Nevertheless the trend has continued. No study of sales has been made public, but if the southern books have not often reached the best-seller list, they have at least aroused enough interest to induce publishers to risk bringing them forth. By this time a collector of modern translations in the field has a long shelf of them.

The latest offering is an ironic and humorous novel by the great nineteenth-century Brazilian, Machado de Assis, a mulatto who rose to be the friend of statesmen and president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Born in 1839, he lived for seventy years cursed by epilepsy, rickets, and myopia, intensely shy, brilliantly observant, wrily philosophic. He paid for food and rent by working in a government office, but the force that made such a life bearable was literature. He learned French from a baker; he read English. His writings fill thirty-one volumes and show concern with almost every literary form. His translator finds his fame resting on three novels, but anyone who studies Brazilian plays finds him also occupying first rank in the drama.

The present novel, one of the famous three, is a bit of spiced ginger to lighten the pessimism of 1952. It is presented as the irreverent memoirs of a ghost—Braz Cubas was his name on earth, and although he rose to be a deputy he owed his comfortable life to the invention of the Braz Cubas Plaster. Wealthy and successful enough, he was also blessed—if blessing it was—with the love of his best friend's wife. His sister tried to marry him to a damsel "dressed elegantly and expensively—a fact hard to explain, for her father earned barely enough to run into debt." Luckily she died, and he was not forced to reconcile the value of respectability with the pain of boredom. When, after his own death, he balanced the books of his life he found that the good and the bad mostly canceled each other except for one item—"I had no progeny, I transmitted to no one the legacy of our misery." It was this bitter good which made him "a small winner."

The influences of Voltaire, Montaigne, and Laurence Sterne are clear, but Machado de Assis is by no means a poodle who learned from foreign masters how to stand on his hind legs and dance. What gives his writing force as well as form is his own character moving within that strain of realism and irony which is seen in Portuguese literature as early as the fifteenth century. When the crippled mulatto decided at an early age that he would be a man of letters, this was the heritage closest to his hand. That it is so little understood in the United States is one of the reasons why Americans find Brazilians so pungent a surprise.

It was obviously this element which delighted Dr. William Grossman, the translator, who as an authority on economics and transportation law was called to Brazil to teach college economics. Unlike many of his fellow-professors he ventured outside his own field and fell in love with the writings of Machado de Assis. It speaks well for his own abilities that he was able to give this book so crisp and vivid an English dress. MILDRED ADAMS

Heretical Utopia

THE MILLENNIUM OF HIERONYMUS BOSCH. By Wilhelm Fränger. Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. University of Chicago Press. $10.

ALTHOUGH this book devotes its 150 pages to a single painting by Jerome Bosch (c. 1450-1516), its general interest is considerable, and its argument is fascinating. A large triptych in the Prado, usually considered Bosch's masterpiece, has always been interpreted as a kind of epic on sin. The wings of this altarpiece, balancing paradise with hell, flank a labyrinthine assortment of nudes engaged in an unheard-of number of variations on the theme of erotic pleasure. The picture has been called La Lujuria, The Garden of Earthly Delights, The Sins of the World, and The Wages of Sin. As a result of elaborate and detailed research, Fränger offers a radically new interpretation. These earthly delights are nothing less than a heretical Utopia, painted for a sect known as the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, also called Adamites. Fränger's new title is The Millennium. His book, the first of a series on major works of Bosch, is a highly theoretical but persuasive account of a very unorthodox sect which flourished during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in countries as separated as Bohemia, Spain, the Rhineland, and the Netherlands. If Fränger is correct, a member of this sect, on the occasion of his marriage, commissioned Bosch to paint this work as a kind of apotheosis of Adamite philosophy.

The chief source of information about the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit comes from a remarkable document of an episcopal trial held at Cambrai in the year 1411. On this occasion a member of the cult was charged with heresy on twenty-one counts—he professed his innocence of each. It is extremely difficult to sort fact from malicious rumor, and the highly secret nature of the sect makes the truth all the more inaccessible. It appears, however, that the faithful met in well-hidden places, performed a ritual in a state of nudity, and engaged in erotic pleasure sublimated by its having a higher significance. The brethren desired to attain the condition of innocence enjoyed by Adam and Eve prior to the temptation. They accepted, of course, the doctrine of original sin and the idea of redemption through Christ, but they regarded Eden as a state of grace and one obtainable, moreover, on this earth. Bosch rendered it visible.

While it is still possible to interpret this altarpiece as merely an elaborate and grotesque portrayal of sin, there are numerous difficulties. The paradise shows neither the creation of Adam nor the creation of Eve, neither the temptation nor the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, as was customary in such pictures. This is surprising, to say the least, in a work reputedly devoted to the cycle of sin. And it is a very strange hell that appears here—not the torture of souls by demons but the destruction of man's inventions, the damnation of monks and knights and gamblers, all dominated by a single colossal monster. This monster has a strange, elusive human face which looks back nostalgically to the central scene; its body is a hollow egg containing a tavern, its legs are blasted trees, and its feet are boats stuck in ice. Satan appears, it is true, but in a lower corner, devouring and excreting nude souls, as if to emphasize all the disgusting aspects of physical life, in sharpest contrast to the tender and muted physical rapture of the central panel. Moreover, the landscape of Eden continues as background setting to the earthly joys, while hell is completely detached from it.

If Fränger's argument cannot be broken down by other specialists in the field of painting in the Netherlands, the following developments accrue: the Adamites—who had strong affinities for alchemy—were important enough to enlist the services of a major artist, the person who helped Bosch organize the program of this work must have had the imagination and the knowledge of an Erasmus, and this person is portrayed in the lower right corner of the main panel enigmatically pointing out the new Eve to his bride, who is seen darkly through the crystal apex of a phallic construction. This person would be, presumably, the Grand Master of the Free Spirit. As his face is also the backward-looking face of the monster in hell, we are brought finally to "the Pythagorean definition of the ego, a revelation of selfhood that now acquires very remarkable autobiographical significance. . . . The Hell-ego, worshiping the world in its vanities, has long wavy hair hanging round its face. In contrast to this, the Paradise-ego, which is the ego overcome, wears its hair short as a sign of conversion, the peculiar cut emphasizing the severity of the discipline exercised by the will." Furthermore, Bosch appears to have included a self-portrait among the devotees in a lower corner of the main panel, and this would imply that Bosch himself was a practitioner of this fantastic cult.

The quotation given above will indicate the character of Fränger's text. It is crammed with symbolic double meanings. Nothing is merely what it seems to be. Fränger's thought, in my opinion, suffers from German excess, and I am not convinced that either Bosch or his patron was equipped with all the arcane learning of Fränger himself. I am also bothered with the thought of how such a picture ever became available for purchase by the king of Spain in the early seventeenth century, not to mention his stomaching such unorthodoxy if he understood it.

The illustrations, including four details in color, are the best yet published in all the books on Bosch, and the translation is excellent. I shall look forward to the comment of specialists on the ideas contained in this book. Even if they are demolished, which I very much doubt, I shall never regret the fascination with which I read it. I had planned to look through it in a cursory way. The reading time for me turned out to be twelve hours.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Ethics and Loyalty

CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES. Edited by R. M. MacIver. Published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Distributed by Harper and Brothers. $2.

PROFESSOR MACIVER has brought together in this small volume the diverse views of a dozen reflective men on the meaning of loyalty. The undertaking seems peculiarly appropriate in a time when it is scarcely possible to use the term "loyalty" save in quotation marks and when it has come to be little more than a synonym, in popular parlance, for political orthodoxy.

To the philosophers chosen by Professor MacIver, loyalty has profound ethical implications. They consider it something more than patriotism. They lack Senator McCarthy's facility in identifying and defining it. They tend to think of it always in terms of the individual conscience.

Speaking, for instance, of loyalty to the truth, Professor F. Ernest Johnson of Columbia observes that "the virtue of truthfulness can be realized only within a framework of equity that transcends considerations that are merely factual." Speaking of loyalty to the state, Roger Baldwin says, "Traitors always fail, for if they succeed they become patriots." And he goes on to assert, "Political progress owes a great debt to successful traitors. . . . A fair general conclusion on the ground of social ethics is that citizens are justified in disobeying law when it conflicts with a higher religious loyalty, or with a social conscience." Speaking of the difficulty of the problems involved in loyalty, W. W. Waymack declares: "The greatest simplicity that anyone is likely to find in any important aspect is a dilemma. More commonly it is a trilemma, a quadrilemma, or worse."

The underlying problem to which nearly all the essays in the symposium are addressed is the reconciliation of group or institutional loyalties with individual consciences and moral codes. Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, in what seemed to this reader the most stimulating of the contributions, points out that man's history "has been most profoundly affected by his character as institution builder." The concept affords insight into the problem of conflicting loyalties. "In institutions," Dr. Finkelstein says, "the individual becomes enlarged. . . . Men commit transgressions on behalf of institutions which they would never commit for themselves. Men are cruel in their efforts to save the institutions to which they have devoted themselves, as an animal might be ruthless in the protection of its young." He sees hope only in rearing "a generation of religionists rather than institutionalists"—that is, in transcending institution-mindedness.

It is a pity that these essays and lectures are so brief and disconnected. They introduce various aspects of the problem, but they fail to come to grips with concrete issues, and they lack the continuity and integration requisite to sustained interest. Some of them are so abstract that the ordinary reader may be forgiven if he finds them altogether wanting in focus.

Only a few of the contributions deal at all in meaningful terms with current "loyalty" issues. Notable among these is Ordway Tead's forthright discourse on the dangers of Know-Nothing interference in American education. "Nothing could be more ironic," he remarks, "than to contemplate the introduction of courses designed to familiarize high-school students with the contemporary social scene, only to have the exposition so tempered by timidity that a false and inadequate view is imparted." He notes astringently by the way that freedom in education demands, when all else is said, courage on the part of school administrators and on the part of the teachers themselves.

The book's final chapter, The Threat to Privacy, by Harold D. Lasswell, also concerns itself with an immediate problem of vital importance. Taking account of modern techniques such as wire-tapping, he predicts that "imper-

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fect as existing methods are, they clearly indicate that the time is not far distant when all private thoughts, feelings, and reminiscences are vulnerable to methods of enforced disclosure." Dr. Lasswell warns also that "as the garrison-prison state pattern is more closely approximated, invasions of privacy are to be anticipated." In the name of loyalty to the state it would seem that we are to abandon all loyalty to the purposes for which the state was established.

It must be said that Dr. MacIver's symposium provides few clear answers to the tremendous philosophical questions it has raised. But it has the virtue of inviting independent reflection.

ALAN BARTH

All Kinds of Economics

MAN, MONEY, AND GOODS. By John S. Gambs. Columbia University Press. $3.75.

IN 1848 a reader of a curious turn of mind could have found in one book, Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," a complete and fair account of the accepted truths of economics. His grandson in 1890 could have secured similar enlightenment from Alfred Marshall's "Principles of Economics." The unfortunate general reader of 1952 can turn to no one book for a summary in acceptable intellectual terms of the methods, assumptions, and achievements of economics. In practice, his choice is between textbooks which are both dull and incomplete and a variety of specialized studies too sophisticated in technique and language for the uninitiated. To an extent of course this is inevitable, as economics, in common with other intellectual disciplines, has become increasingly intricate and specialized. But as more and more political and social issues come to hinge on economic considerations, the need for economic understanding increases.

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Mr. Gambs makes a brave and partially successful effort to satisfy this need. Here is a book of a little more than 300 pages which summarizes standard theory (the price theory of the textbooks), the work of the dissenters (Marx, Veblen, and Mitchell), and the contributions of Keynes. It also considers a variety of current economic topics, including depressions, monetary policy, taxation, and international trade. The book is thus a study of both economic doctrines and economic problems. Mr. Gambs's manner is pleasant and his writing is marred only by a certain facetiousness usually associated with attempts to amuse the college freshman.

He is at his best in summarizing price theory and the institutionalist doctrines of Veblen. There is only one slip of consequence to the economist—the treatment of marginal cost on page 64—in a presentation otherwise admirable in its simplicity and accuracy. His handling of Marxism is also informed and fair-minded.

Probably he has been least successful with Keynes. Gambs treats Keynes as a "standard" theorist largely because he used and extended the accepted economic analysis of his day. Yet Marx is classed as a dissenter even though he relied on Ricardo at least as much as Keynes leaned on Marshall. It would not be worth laboring the point but for the fact that the reader is likely to derive a mistaken impression of the importance of Keynes's impact on economic technique as well as on economic policy. Mr. Gambs compresses Keynesian doctrine into a chapter called Boom or Bust and contrasts his impressionistic technique with the careful work of W. C. Mitchell. This is unfair to Keynes, for the business cycle was Mitchell's life study: it was not Keynes's. To treat Keynes as though he were a business-cycle theorist is to neglect his real role as the originator of modern income analysis. Nor is this account of Keynesian theory on the same high analytical plane as the remainder of the book.

Despite the excellence of Mr. Gambs's book, its general effect is depressing. The trouble lies in the current condition of economics. Economists do not agree in method, conclusion, or policy and they still use a bewildering variety of techniques to produce results often unimpressive and contradictory. It is a virtue rather than a fault in Mr. Gambs that his account makes all of this apparent, but it is likely to be small comfort to any reader who hopes to find in one book, even this one, an adequate orientation in modern economics. The very excellence of "Man, Money, and Goods" proves sadly and once more that economics is no fit subject for the hand of the synthesizer.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Books in Brief

SUNDAY, MONDAY, AND ALWAYS. By Dawn Powell. Houghton Mifflin. $3. Eighteen tricky and astringent stories written during the last two decades by one of our more gifted satirists. The funniest are generally the nastiest: Adam, for example, is about a climber who dumps his mistress in favor of her millionaire husband because the husband will be able to do more for him. Miss Powell ranges with equal knowingness from bobby soxers and movie stars to the professoriat and the avant-garde, but she is a little too concerned with the clever jape and the socko ending.

THE WHITE LADY. By Leonard Dubkin. Putnam's. $3. Leonard Dubkin is an amateur naturalist who has written two previous books and contributed a nature column to a Chicago paper. One day he discovered in a vacant lot a colony of little brown bats, and seized by a sudden impulse he all but moved in with them, spending many nights in their shelter and watching all the intimacies of love and birth. Almost incredible good fortune favored him in many ways. He saw a rare albino come into the world, and because this "white lady" was identifiable he could follow her development, tame her completely, and even take her to his apartment five miles away, from which she would return on her own to the home colony. Few persons, if any, can ever have observed before many of the extraordinary things he saw, and he describes his adventures with an extraordinary blend of the personal with the objective. This may well be one of the cases where amateur luck plus amateur enthusiasm has made a real contribution to our knowledge of animals, and the little book may become a classic.

MELVILLE'S QUARREL WITH GOD. By Lawrance Thompson. Princeton University Press. $6. Starting with the vein of anti-orthodox satire in Melville's work, Professor Thompson unveils for us as the "real" Melville a rationalistic ideologue chiefly engaged in devising verbal "mousetraps and sheeptraps," "sinister allegorical frames of reference," and so on, to conceal his religious heterodoxies from the pious Christian reader. The ingenuity of these hoaxings constitutes, according to the author, Melville's principal claim to our admiration of him as a writer. For the rest, he may be dismissed as "sophomoric," a "spoiled child," a "self-acknowledged coward, fugitive, outcast, escapist." It would be refreshing, simply for novelty's sake, to be able to report some spark of viability in this dissenting opinion, but, as may be gathered, the approach is tangential to a degree, and only the flagrant arbitrariness of its premises and the acuteness of its author's distaste for the imaginative and the experiential distinguish the book from the usual academic vagary of its kind.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spanish and Hispano-American culture.

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ALAN BARTH, editorial writer on the Washington *Post,* is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men."

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His column will be resumed in the issue of August 16.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Generous Reader

Dear Sirs: Cheers for *The Nation!* The special issue of June 28 was ably planned and brilliantly realized. It should be widely circulated and copies sent to every member of Congress. What is more, it should be the foundation of a comprehensive annual survey and report on developments in the whole field of civil rights and liberties.

Progressive and liberal groups should make such a report possible. The writer of this letter is not rich and is no longer engaged in a gainful occupation, but he will cheerfully send a check to any fund established for this purpose.

La Jolla, Cal. VICTOR S. YARROS

Motorcycles: High Tariff . . .

Dear Sirs: In your May 31 issue Keith Hutchison rehashed many of the arguments that were advanced by the attorneys for the motorcycle importers at the hearing before the United States Tariff Commission in Washington last September. . . . The record will show that the Harley-Davidson Motor Company has never in any way expressed opposition to increased imports. We believe the record will also show that Congress has never opposed increased imports. So long as increased imports cover a wide range of commodities no one can object and no one does. Congress, as a matter of long-range policy, foresaw the possibility of excessive imports of specific commodities, and to protect American labor and industry in these commodities from extinction included the escape clause in the Trade Agreements Act.

Would Mr. Hutchison recommend that excessive imports of specific commodities be allowed to go on irrespective of what happens to our labor and industry? Our union, Local 209, United Automobile Workers, A. F. of L., and the International Union, U. A. W.-A. F. of L., of their own volition entered our case before the Tariff Commission. The unions' interest and our own is to save the factory and the men's jobs.

Mr. Hutchison implies that our motorcycles are favored by police forces and the military, that imported motorcycles have not interfered with these sales, and that, consequently, excessive imports have not hurt us. Apparently he does not know and has not taken the trouble to find out that for years over 60 per cent of our production has been sold to pleasure or sport riders, that our police sales represent only a small percentage of our production, and that our military sales are almost nil.

Does Mr. Hutchison know that our new K model was begun in spring, 1949, six months before devaluation, and that because our present wage scale and fringe benefits total $2.18 per hour compared to a maximum rate of 65 cents per hour in England we are obliged to sell this model retail at a price 25 per cent to 30 per cent above the prices of imported motorcycles of comparable performance? Does he know that the devaluation of European currencies in 1949 continues to give European motorcycle manufacturers an immediate price advantage of 25 to 30 per cent? Does he recommend that American labor accept European wage scales and the European standard of living, or, not having a job of his own or a factory of his own to lose, does he blithely recommend that all industry in the United States which cannot meet European price competition because of high manufacturing costs here be put out of business so that the

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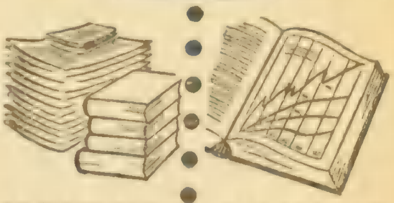

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domestic market can be taken over by European competitors? . . .

Motorcycle imports, which in many months are over 100 per cent of our domestic production, certainly cannot be brushed off. They are excessive, and the escape clause is meant to take care of just such cases.

New York E. V. GUMPERT

. . . or Low Cost?

Dear Sirs: In reply to Mr. Gumpert of Harley-Davidson, let me say at the outset that I do believe in unrestricted imports at least as long as this country has a large export surplus. The alternatives are (1) drastic shrinkage of exports, which are presumably those goods the United States manufacturer can produce most efficiently, (2) continuation of foreign loans plus gifts to bridge the gap between receipts for exports and payments for imports.

Mr. Gumpert's letter discloses that Harley-Davidson has not opposed increased imports. But its action in asking for a 40 per cent *ad valorem* tariff on motorcycles and, pending the necessary legislation, a quota set at 10 per cent of the previous year's domestic production speaks for itself. The effect of such a quota in 1952 would be a reduction in imports by more than 75 per cent.

The following figures do not seem to sustain the contention that Harley-Davidson has been injured by imports:

	Harley-Davidson Production	*Imports*
1939	6,774	360
1946	12,694	9,064
1947	16,263	15,073
1948	26,016	11,809
1949	21,923	5,261
1950	17,024	9,426

Thus Harley-Davidson has been able to increase production in the face of greatly increased imports. The total market has grown, and the figures support my statement that this expansion is due to the efforts of foreign manufacturers.

These figures also show that the total market is still very small in comparison with the market for automobiles. This helps to explain the difficulties of American motorcycle manufacturers, who have been unable to take advantage of mass-production methods. British manufacturers, with a larger home market, are better situated and so have been able to establish themselves as the foremost exporters of motorcycles. It is this rather than lower wages that enables them to compete successfully in the United States. By contrast, British automobile manufacturers, who pay similar wages, do not offer serious competition to American producers. In this case the cost advantages of mass-production are with the Americans.

In general the Harley-Davidson argument seems to be that imports should be tolerated only if they are of fringe importance, say 10 per cent or less of domestic production. But how are the dollar earnings of foreign countries to be increased if American sales of those of their industries that do have some competitive advantage are to be restricted in this way? In the case of motorcycles the kind of barrier that Harley-Davidson advocates would kill foreign competition almost completely.

New York KEITH HUTCHISON

An Apology Offered

Dear Sirs: In a letter to *The Nation* published on February 24, 1951, in which I mentioned the name of Mrs. John T. McCullough, I used phrases which did not say what I meant to say; I am completely at a loss to understand how I came to write what I did.

For a professional writer to use the wrong words is humiliating, but I did, and I am profoundly sorry for it. Far more important, however, I want to apologize to Mrs. McCullough for any distress the letter may have caused her, and to express my regrets to the editors of *The Nation* for any difficulties I may have inadvertently caused them.

New York GILBERT SELDES

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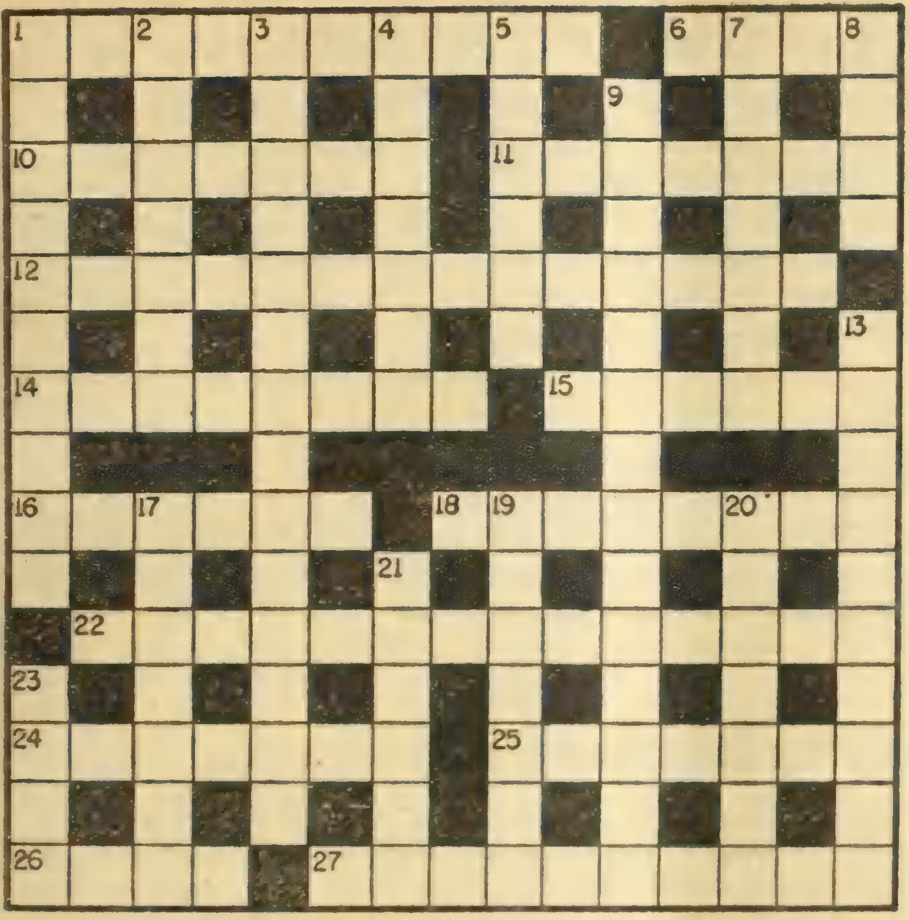
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 How things develop in a picnic, perhaps. (Things might not be fitting for those who are.) (9)
6 The sort of dash some like to [illegible] run. (4)
10 One might fix you up with [illegible] canape. (7)
11 Seems to prove that Hell is colorful, at any rate! (7)
12 He who is patient might appreciate one's attendance in the evening. (4, 5, 5)
14 The propitious circumstances of patronage. (8)
15 We might be singular, in his manner of speaking. (6)
16 and 21 down. — — with the winning of the workingman's battle? (6, 6)
18 The same pair indicates bad blood. (8)
22 Do they know what's in store for music counters? (7, 7)
24 See [illegible] down.
25 Composed. (7)
26 Barks of trees? (Water chestnuts, no doubt.) (4)
27 Imputations that sound like those Alexander conquered. (10)

DOWN

1 Contrariness is little work with [illegible] fighter at [illegible] feminine-sounding French town. (10)
2 The noble line preceding Carlos XI might be tough bands! (7)
3 Making up the eyelashes in the middle. (14)
4 Tend to argue. (7)
5 Deny time is up, in the wrong net. (6)
7 The type of headline might be the type of telephone. (7)
8 and 24 across. Comparatively quick? Not in comparison with a bird! (4, 2, 1, 4)
9 Officers on parade used to, and throw them back. (8, 6)
13 They might be fired for putting out campaign propaganda, perhaps. (10)
17 Certainly not [illegible] tribal marriage. (7)
19 Riding out [illegible] rough sea around rising ground, perhaps. (7)
20 Are most conductors so called? (7)
21 See 16 across.
23 This point might be an island if the Scotch accompanist is up to it. (4)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 475

ACROSS:—1 and [illegible] down HAND-TO-MOUTH EXISTENCE; 9 FILTRATE; 10 PUT OFF; 11 UNKEMPT; 12 HEALTHY; 14 NEURON; 15 DESSERTS; 20 and 17 VOICES OF SPRING; 22 POSSESS; 24 WRITHES; 26 STROKE; 27 HAIR NETS; 28 SPOT REMOVER.

DOWN:—2 and [illegible] AT THE DROP OF A HAT; 3 DEADPAN; 4 and 25 OVERSHOE; 5 OPPRESS; 6 TOTAL; 7 FIANCE; 13 ADAGE; 18 FRONTS; 19 INSPECT; 20 VERTIGO; 21 EVENTS; 23 STOOP.

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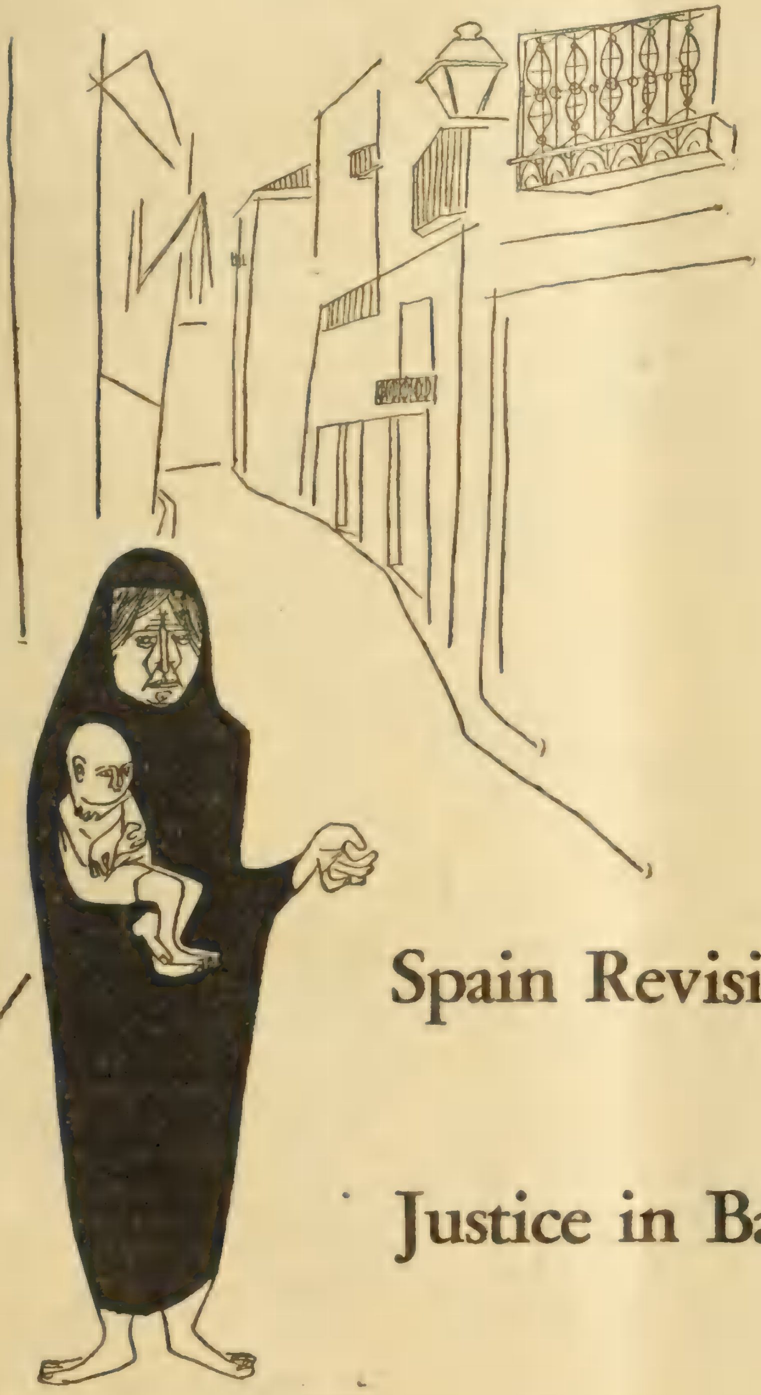

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Fish and Concrete

Portland, Oregon

"CIVILIZATION and fish don't mix," said the hawk-faced forest ranger who stood with me beside a roaring stream in a narrow mountain canyon. Sentimental affection for the vanishing wilderness is strong in people of the Northwest, even though the federal government has built up pay rolls and added to taxable wealth by thrusting power dams across white-spumed rivers. Thoreau has perhaps more followers here than Edison.

The encroachment of industry is epitomized by the diminution of the salmon runs. The great pink-fleshed Chinook provided food for Lewis and Clark when they came with the flag. Men packed salmon in the region long before they whipsawed lumber. True, the immense dams have made possible a light-metals industry fifty times more valuable than the salmon canneries, but many people are deeply troubled to think that the fighting fish with checkered scales can no longer thrash unimpeded up the rivers to the gravelly spawning beds. That the fish runs continue at all is due to the ladders—huge watery staircases—which have been constructed with care and skill by the dam-builders. The fish equipment at Bonneville Dam alone cost $7,200,000. But despite the precautions taken, some part of the American heritage was lost when steel and concrete sealed off the great rivers' headwaters from the sea.

In the fight to safeguard the scenery and wild life of the region conservative politicans at first supported the nature lovers, but now they have abandoned the cause. The situation has changed: formerly only the United States government wanted to build power dams; today the most zealous applicant for a permit from the Federal Power Commission is the Portland General Electric Company, the largest private-utility corporation in Oregon. This company hopes to wedge a $22,700,000 dam into the lava gorge of the Deschutes River.

The Deschutes, foaming off the snowfields of the Cascade Range, is one of the lush fishing streams of the nation. Rainbow trout lurk in its riffles. Chinook salmon surge upstream in April and May. It was in the mouth of the Deschutes that a visitor named Dwight Griswold, then Governor of Nebraska, caught the biggest steelhead trout ever hooked on light tackle—over twenty-eight pounds. Men have journeyed from the far reaches of the country to drop a dry fly in the river. The Izaak Walton League asserts that the Pelton Dam, as the power-company project would be called, threatens all the fish in the Deschutes.

The Federal Power Commission has approved the Pelton Dam, but the decision is in abeyance pending an appeal to the courts by the Oregon Fish Commission. The Portland *Oregonian* contends that the FPC has no jurisdiction over "the use of waters in a non-navigable stream wholly within the state's borders." The Bonneville Power Administration believes the utility company should be permitted to go ahead. The Fish and Wildlife Service, likewise an arm of the Interior Department, demands that the Deschutes be left free and clear for restoration of salmon migrations.

A BILL introduced in the Oregon legislature reserving for recreation and wild life the waters of the Deschutes and its tributary, the Metolius, failed in the House of Representatives, forty to nineteen, after the power company had lobbied against it. Legislators who had shed copious tears over the fate of fish blocked from their spawning grounds by federal dams suddenly decided that they had no objections to a private-utility dam across the Deschutes.

Oregon's Republican Governor, Douglas McKay, does not favor Ice Harbor Dam on the Snake River, which would be a federal-government project, but has said nothing against Pelton Dam. The two are equally feared by fish people. No river is ever helped for fish propagation by high-parapet dams. Even if adult trout and salmon can successfully negotiate fish ladders, thousands of fingerlings are killed in penstocks and spillways on their way to the sea.

When President Roosevelt first proposed federal dams on the Columbia, the utility companies encouraged the protests of the owners of salmon trawlers, who saw their livelihood imperiled, and of the proprietors of inns and lodges with a direct financial stake in fishing as a sport for tourists. The Pelton Dam controversy has revealed the hypocrisy of the private utilities. And the worst of it is that the power companies have picked one of the West's finest trout streams to desecrate. The Portland General Electric Company, moreover, plans to build not one barrier but two; the $37,250,000 Round Butte Dam will be eight miles upstream from the Pelton site.

Respect for fishing and scenic values has never been characteristic of the power companies of the Northwest. Ted Trueblood, a writer on outdoor topics for many magazines, declared recently in *Statewide*, an Idaho periodical: "All of the Idaho Power Company dams in the Snake River have been destructive of wildlife, due to the daily fluctuation of the water level or blocking the migration of fish, and none has provided any fishing to make up for it."

In 1889 Rudyard Kipling waded out into the Clackamas, which flows down from the ice cap of Mount Hood through the Oregon fir forests. He caught nine Chinook salmon that memorable afternoon and wrote to his friends in India, "I have lived!" If Kipling were to return to the Clackamas today, he would be bitterly disappointed. Listen to the words of the Fish and Wildlife Service: "Upon the construction of the River Mill Dam [in the Clackamas] in 1911 the upstream-bound salmon were quite effectively blocked. . . . Today only a fraction of the previous large run remains. This destruction of an important segment of the Columbia River salmon fishery may be attributed almost entirely to a failure to provide adequate fishways."

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

[*An Oregon state senator and well-known journalist, Mr. Neuberger was one of five senate sponsors of the bill which sought to preserve the Deschutes River for recreation and wild life.*]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Sparkman's "Liberalism"

Though many liberal commentators have spoken up in defense of the "liberalism" of Senator John J. Sparkman, his nomination for the Vice-Presidency will not make it easy for the Democrats to win the support of the Negro minority in November. On civil rights, the chief stock in trade of many Northern liberals, Sparkman has a record which is not to be distinguished from that of Senators Eastland, Byrd, Ellender, or any of the Dixiecrats. In his ten years in Congress, Senator Sparkman has had sixteen opportunities to vote on civil-rights measures, and sixteen times he has voted with the Dixiecrats. He has opposed cloture, measures to prohibit segregation in the armed forces and in public housing, and federal aid to education; he has consistently voted against anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax bills. Nor has he always been liberal on other issues. He voted for the Taft-Hartley act, for appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee, for Rankin's whitewash of the Veterans' Administration, against portal-to-portal pay, and against unemployment compensation for war workers. He voted to pass the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill over Roosevelt's veto and to drop 750,000 workers from the social-security rolls.

An End to Double-Talk

If the nomination of Sparkman was a slap in the face for Negro voters, it was given a special sting by the dishonest attempt to induce Negroes to accept him as something he is not and to justify his record on the ground that, after all, a Southern liberal must hedge on civil-rights measures. But Maury Maverick, a Texan, regularly voted for anti-lynching legislation in the 1930's, when there was less support for such measures in the South than there is today. And Senator Estes Kefauver voted to uphold Barkley's crucial ruling on cloture in 1949 and consistently supported anti-poll-tax legislation. Other Southern politicians of courage and understanding have managed, every now and then, to defy regional provincialism and cast a vote for decency in human relations, but Sparkman has no such votes to his credit.

It may have been possible to take a charitable view of the double-talk of Senators Hill and Sparkman when they were facing violent race-baiters in reelection campaigns, but another standard must be invoked when one of them aspires to the Vice-Presidency. In a national campaign the kind of equivocation in which both men have specialized is not only morally indefensible but politically obsolete. Senator Hill could boast, as he did in 1950, that he makes one kind of speech in Alabama and another in Washington (New York *Times*, April 15, 1950), but his colleague will not be appealing to a schizophrenic electorate in November. The only way the Democrats can hope to offset Sparkman's civil-rights record is to induce the Senator to repudiate it. And in Governor Stevenson's phrase, the repudiation must be without contradiction, equivocation, or evasion.

Too Much Unanimity?

Last week the President, in a small room in a Kansas City hotel, signed the agreements calling for the emergence of West Germany among the family of nations. He made no more fuss over signing the historic documents than had the Senate in approving them after a purely *pro forma* debate a month ago. But events continue to indicate that our own official unanimity on German policy is not shared by our Western allies, who live some 3,000 miles closer to the initial battleground of the next war, if and when it comes.

Just before Truman uncapped his pen in Kansas City, the British Parliament approved the same agreements, but only after prolonged debate and the break-up of a bi-partisanship in foreign policy which had lasted twelve years. The Labor Party, which had held a caucus on the subject on July 16, voted almost solidly in opposition. The caucus almost cost Clement Attlee his party leadership; a Bevan motion calling for four-power talks and German elections before German rearmament was lost by only six votes. Even so, as a result of the caucus, the Laborites are today on record as demanding that German elections and rearmament of other Western powers should be given priority over German remilitarization.

Two more parliaments must yet sign the agreements to bring them into effect: the French and West German. In both countries the demand for an immediate four-power conference is even stronger than it is in Britain. And over and above the question of ratification is the practical question of implementation, involving a whole complex of political and military issues. Britain, for financial reasons, has for the second time slowed down

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its own rearmament plan; France is insisting that we pick up a bigger share of the check for its contribution to the West's defense. When the showdown comes, how far will either country permit West Germany to outstrip it in rearmament?

It almost seems as though our foreign policy could do with a little less unanimity at home and a little more of it abroad.

Record of the "Worst Senator"

The Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, a non-partisan group, has just issued a carefully documented 134-page indictment of the Senator from Wisconsin. Only the most conservative sources are cited, and the editor, Morris H. Rubin, has wisely avoided even the appearance of special pleading. Rated by a poll of correspondents as "the worst Senator" in Washington, a conclusion indorsed by the American Political Science Association, McCarthy here stands arraigned on a dozen or more counts which, if taken together, would warrant his ouster from the Senate: unethical conduct as a judge; acceptance of $10,000 from Lustron; filing income-tax returns that balance but mystify; making charges against government officials based solely on stale gossip and discredited rumors; using "the big lie" technique in the disreputable campaign to unseat Senator Tydings; slandering George C. Marshall, and so on. The most damning count of all, perhaps, is omitted from this indictment—the impact of McCarthyism on constitutional freedoms.

In support of its various charges the document quotes such diverse sources as the Wisconsin Supreme Court, the late Henry L. Stimson, the senior vice-commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart, *Time-Life-Fortune*, the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Commonweal*, the New York *Times*, *America*, the *Christian Century*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Collier's*, the Toledo *Blade*, the Denver *Post*, the St. Paul *Dispatch*, and two of General Eisenhower's most important backers, Senator James H. Duff and Governor Earl Warren. (The blistering comments of President Truman have been tactfully omitted.)

Few figures in American political life have been condemned by a more impressive array of individuals and publications. Tom Coleman, Senator Taft, and the *Freeman* seem to be about the only hold-outs.

Wisconsin Must Judge

Publication of the McCarthy record (copies can be obtained at $1 each from the committee's headquarters, 409 N. Frances Street, Madison, Wisconsin), raises some interesting questions. With the possible exception of the late Theodore Bilbo, it is doubtful whether any incumbent United States Senator has ever had to face a more severe indictment than the one McCarthy must now answer; even before its publication, the Milwaukee *Journal* and Madison *Capital-Times* had focused powerful spotlights on McCarthy's career. Considering that in the matter of good government and progressive legislation Wisconsin has long ranked high on the list of American states, what inferences must be drawn if the voters of Wisconsin now return him to the Senate? Upon what fears does the man play to be able to induce the people of this progressive state to set aside such an impressive indictment?

It is now up to the voters of Wisconsin to convince the rest of us that they can distinguish between the values on which the American tradition rests and the counterfeit version of these values peddled by the medicine man from Appleton. The same issue has laid siege to the conscience of General Eisenhower: will he continue "to walk with the devil" or will he repudiate him?

A Loss to Journalism

Anatole France once said that the greatest prejudice of all was the pretension of non-prejudice. Of this pretension Tom O'Connor, managing Editor of New York's left-liberal daily, the *Compass,* who died the other day at his desk, was guiltless. He flaunted his prejudices; he devoted his professional life to letting people know that on certain questions, such as racial equality, the rights of the working man, the aspirations of the underprivileged, he brooked no debate on basic issues. He was a sensitive and vivid writer, and his prejudices lent passion to his work. Many of his friends were long ago convinced that he could have achieved notable success working in fields other than leftist journalism. But perhaps O'Connor knew himself better than did his friends; perhaps he knew that, divorced from his real interests, his talents would have withered. He was by instinct a crusader, and it is because there are so few like him today that his death, at the age of thirty-seven, represents so great a loss to American journalism.

Brien McMahon

The death of Brien McMahon removes from the Senate a brave spokesman for a revitalized foreign policy which would place less emphasis on armaments and more on reconstruction, less emphasis on threats and more on trying to remove the sources of East-West tension.

Senator McMahon voted for heavy armaments, for the North Atlantic Treaty, for other key parts of the Administration's policy, but repeatedly he issued warnings that armaments and treaties were not enough. Does the Senate realize, he asked in 1950, that the weapons with which we menace others may be turned against us, that we are talking of things that might "incinerate fifty million Americans in the space of minutes?"

His criticism of Secretary Acheson was not the preposterous charge that Acheson was "too soft" toward communism but that the Secretary was so hardened in a single policy—to rearm in order to negotiate from "situations of strength"—that he could think of nothing else. McMahon in 1950 proposed a "global Marshall plan" involving fifty-billion dollars spent across a five-year period to help all peoples—including the Russians—to revive agriculture, improve transportation systems, modernize industry, and turn men's minds toward the arts of peace rather than the engines of war. The State Department treated the program with contempt, but McMahon continued his efforts. Let us try to persuade the Soviets, he urged last year, that we mean peace, not war; let us hammer it home continually.

The Atomic Energy Act, establishing civilian control of the development of atomic energy for both arms and peace-time uses is McMahon's monument. His creative views on foreign policy were no less valuable, and it is a pity that he will be missing from the Senate next year, when, under a new Administration, he might have helped evolve a fresh approach.

The Fallbrook Story

A thirty-minute documentary film—narration by Cecil B. De Mille—had its premier in the town of Fallbrook in Southern California recently. Lieutenant Governor Goodwin J. Knight and other notables were on hand for the showing of "The Fallbrook Story," which according to the Los Angeles *Times* depicts the heroic struggle of 14,000 farmers to prevent a gigantic "water grab" by the federal government.

Seldom have Southern California publicists, who have a style all their own, succeeded in making a bigger mountain out of a smaller molehill. In the first place, the number of defendants is approximately 1,750, not 14,000. In the second place, the federal government has merely brought an ordinary title action to determine water rights in the Santa Margarita River valley after purchasing certain lands in the area. This is the suit which the *Reader's Digest,* under the title Washington Tyranny: Another Case Study, describes in a manner to suggest that the government is taking the last drop of water from 14,000 farmers and heaven knows how many avocado trees. The *Saturday Evening Post* deals with the case under the heading The Government's Big Grab. Now comes "The Fallbrook Story," which is being flown to Washington to be shown to Senators and Representatives who, given the Washington heat and the political tensions of August, will doubtless be prostrated by this latest version of Eliza fleeing from the sheriff and the bloodhounds.

The film is supposed to demonstrate that "the people, aided by the free press, can defeat non-elective bureaucrats who seek to usurp the powers of government and oppress ordinary citizens." It would be fascinating to see a list of the "ordinary citizens" who financed this extraordinary campaign to malign an agency of the federal government.

Bargaining With Franco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN THE end Franco may get his price from the State and Defense departments. The prevailing conviction that Spain has superior strategic advantages as a Mediterranean base may finally overcome Washington's reluctance to accept it as an ally co-equal with the other Western European countries. But for the moment Franco's pretensions seem to be greater than his bargaining power. The latest reports from Madrid and Washington confirm what *The Nation* has been saying ever since the late Admiral Sherman talked to Spain's dictator a year ago: that Franco is engaged in a major hold-up operation against this country. His tactics are not new. A glance at his war-time record—fully revealed in State Department publications—shows many curious similarities between his present dealings with Washington and his earlier ones with his Axis partners. In both cases he professed all-out devotion to the common objectives —Hitler's after 1940, Washington's today—while demanding a big price for services frugally conceived and vaguely defined. As a result in World War II, while he sacrificed little, he got less than he demanded from his tough allies.

Today he is playing the same sort of hand, with perhaps better reason to expect success. He has been so extravagantly courted by American politicians and military men that he can be excused if he has come to imagine himself our favorite ally—far more dependable than France and Britain, with their inefficient democratic habits, their contending parties and points of views, and the neutralism and downright aversion to war of a large part of their populations. If he gauges his position by what Senator McCarran says to Ambassador Lequerica in the Spanish embassy in Washington, he must feel he can name his price. From this point of view his price is, in fact, moderate. What he wants is Spain's inclusion in the mutual-security program on equal terms with the other countries receiving aid and a formal agreement guaranteeing immediate American military assistance in case of a Soviet attack. He also wants financial aid sufficient to lift his regime out of bankruptcy and a free hand in dispensing it. He clearly believes his needs should be given priority; and why not, since obviously Spain is in a worse plight and its war preparations far behind those of France. Until these matters are settled, Franco is not likely to be hurried into commitments on air or naval bases, especially when his generals are said to feel particularly strongly on the subject of equality.

So far the American negotiators remain hard to sell. For what Washington is seeking, in spite of all the soft soap used on Franco, is a limited deal: dollars to be spent on specific improvements in communications, airfields, ports, and other facilities in return for the use of those facilities in case of war. Anything like a blank check is not in the picture. Not yet, at least. Apart from other considerations there are our allies to think about; it is not hard to imagine the effect upon France, at this moment asking for more than three times the amount in American defense contracts that it has been granted, if Franco's terms were to be met. There is also a clear realization in Washington of the yawning gulf represented by Spain's needs and its inefficient, corrupt, tyrannical government. The facts reported by the United States economic mission that accompanied our military mission to Spain last year substantiated the stories which have been sent out since the war by honest correspondents of all political shades. This issue of *The Nation* prints some recent contributions to the documentation, reminding us again through word and sardonic sketch of the nature of the regime to which we are committing dollars and arms.

People who pretend to judge American foreign policy in purely strategic terms are fond of likening our relations with Franco to those with Tito: two dictators, one Communist and one Fascist, but both necessary for the containment of Soviet power. The similarity is strictly superficial. Tito's Yugoslavia fought with unmatched courage and terrible losses on the Allied side in a war not yet expunged from our histories; today its army is large, well trained, and well led. Its government is energetic and full of zeal for the development of the country and the defense of its borders. To compare Yugoslavia with Franco's ramshackle regime, shorn of its axis but otherwise unchanged and unregenerate, is to put the Spanish dictatorship in an even worse light than when judged by itself. In terms of practical value, we believe our government is engaged in a bargaining operation out of which it will get little for its money.

"Cultural Attrition"

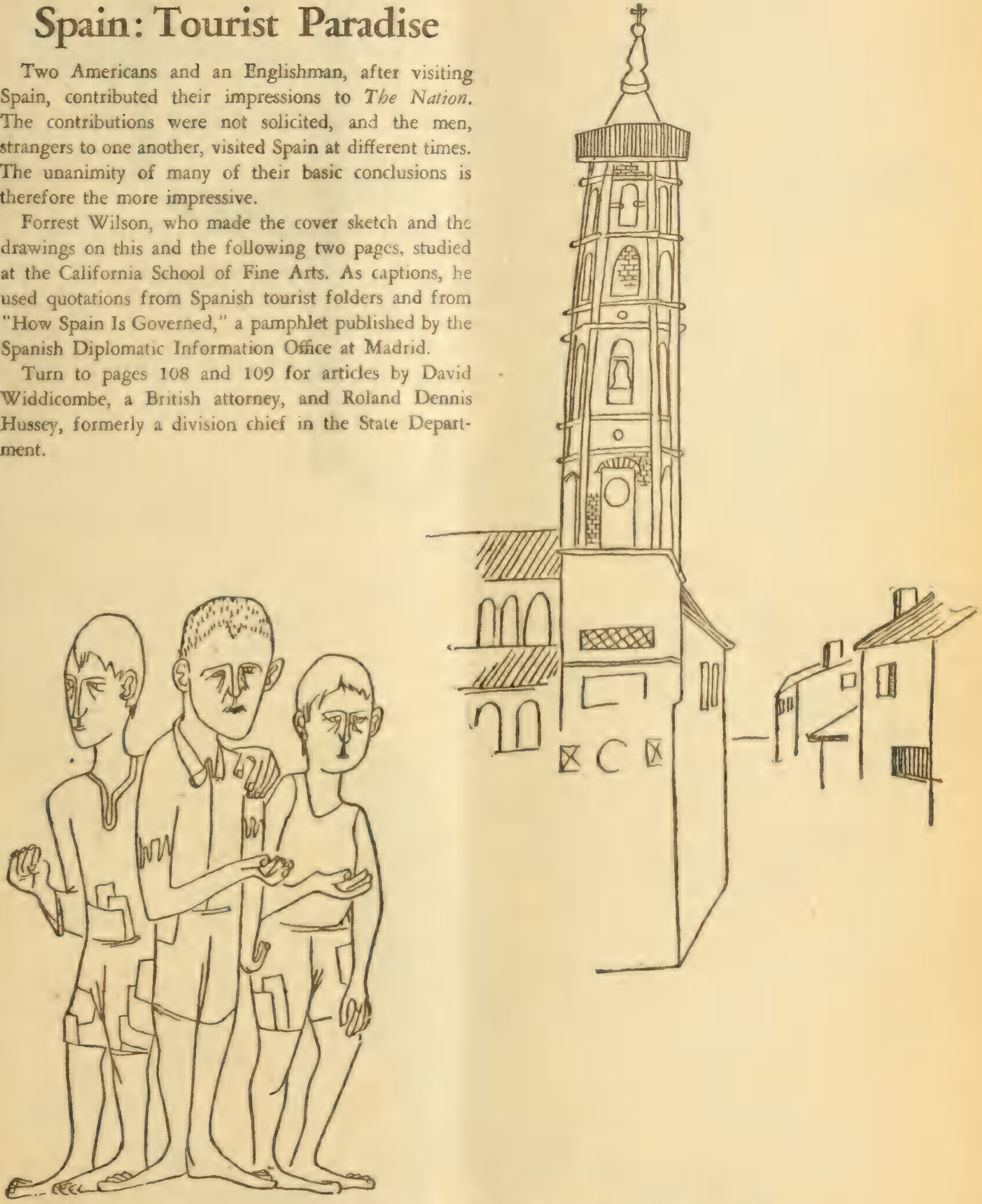
How are American music, opera, and the stage faring in these times of fabulous public expenditures on everything except culture? In next week's *Nation* Dr. Herbert Graf, stage director of the Metropolitan Opera Association and author of "Opera for the People," will discuss the state of American opera. In subsequent issues John H. Mueller, author of "The History of the American Symphony Orchestra," will deal with the American symphony, and Hallie Flanagan Davis, director of the Smith College Theater, will discuss the stage.

Spain: Tourist Paradise

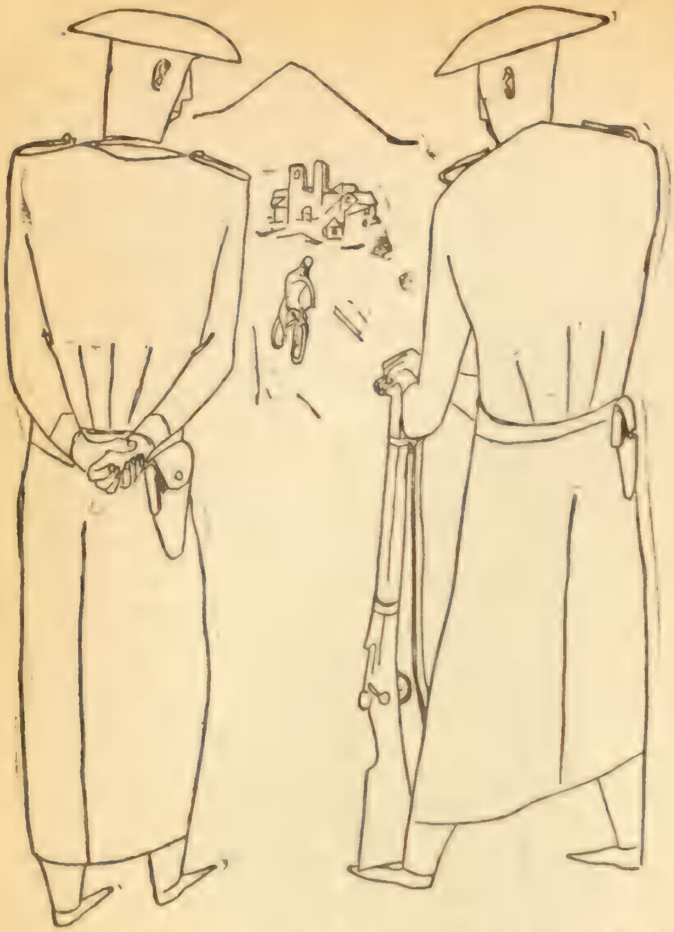
Two Americans and an Englishman, after visiting Spain, contributed their impressions to *The Nation*. The contributions were not solicited, and the men, strangers to one another, visited Spain at different times. The unanimity of many of their basic conclusions is therefore the more impressive.

Forrest Wilson, who made the cover sketch and the drawings on this and the following two pages, studied at the California School of Fine Arts. As captions, he used quotations from Spanish tourist folders and from "How Spain Is Governed," a pamphlet published by the Spanish Diplomatic Information Office at Madrid.

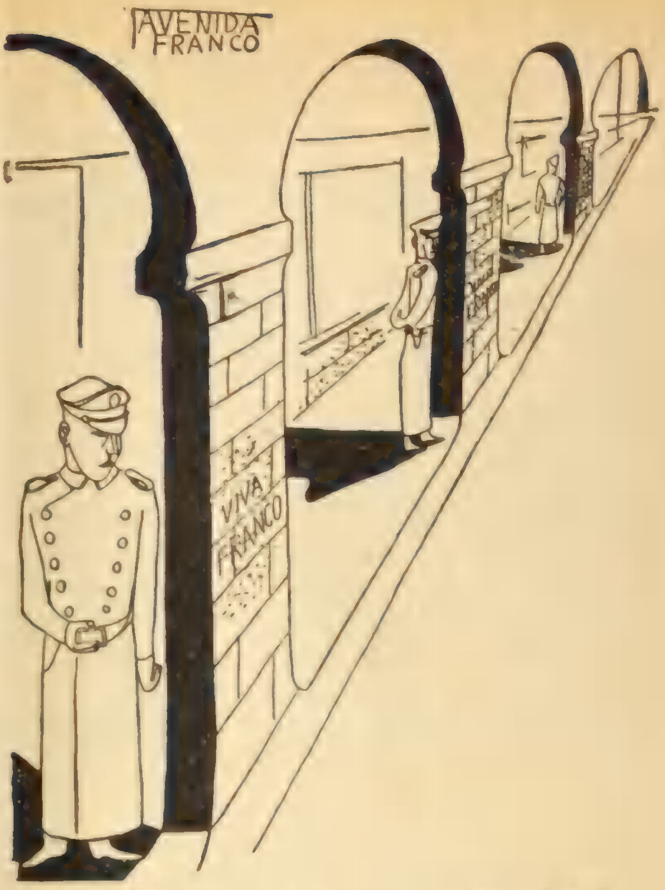
Turn to pages 108 and 109 for articles by David Widdicombe, a British attorney, and Roland Dennis Hussey, formerly a division chief in the State Department.



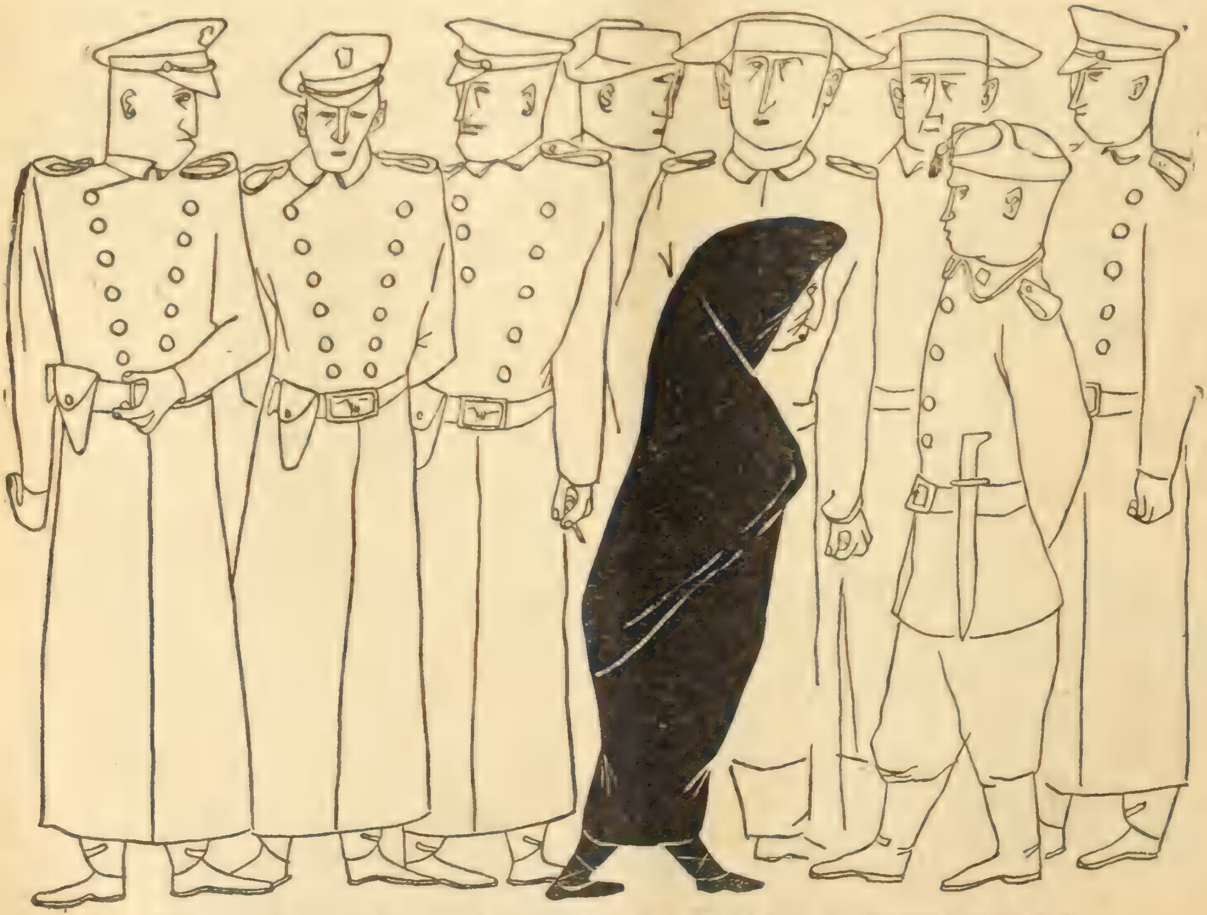
"Spain is particularly proud of its program for children's welfare."



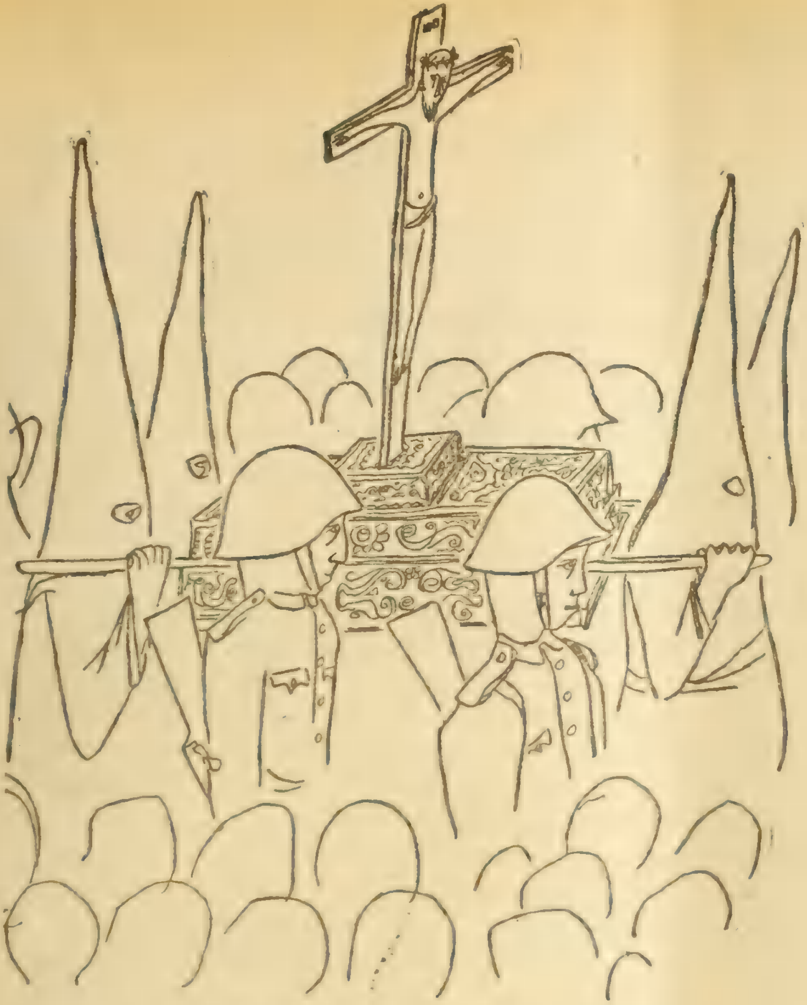
"Tourists are welcomed with . . . Spanish hospitality."


AVENIDA FRANCO
VIVA FRANCO

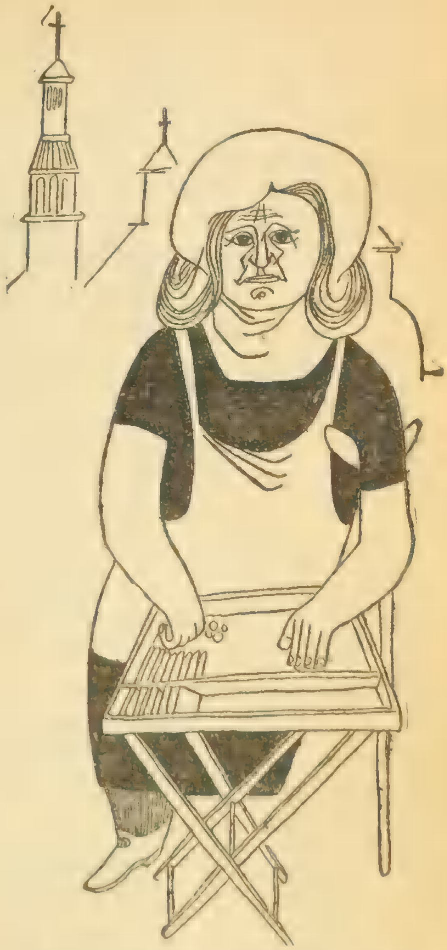
"Barcelona . . . gay atmosphere and fine shops."



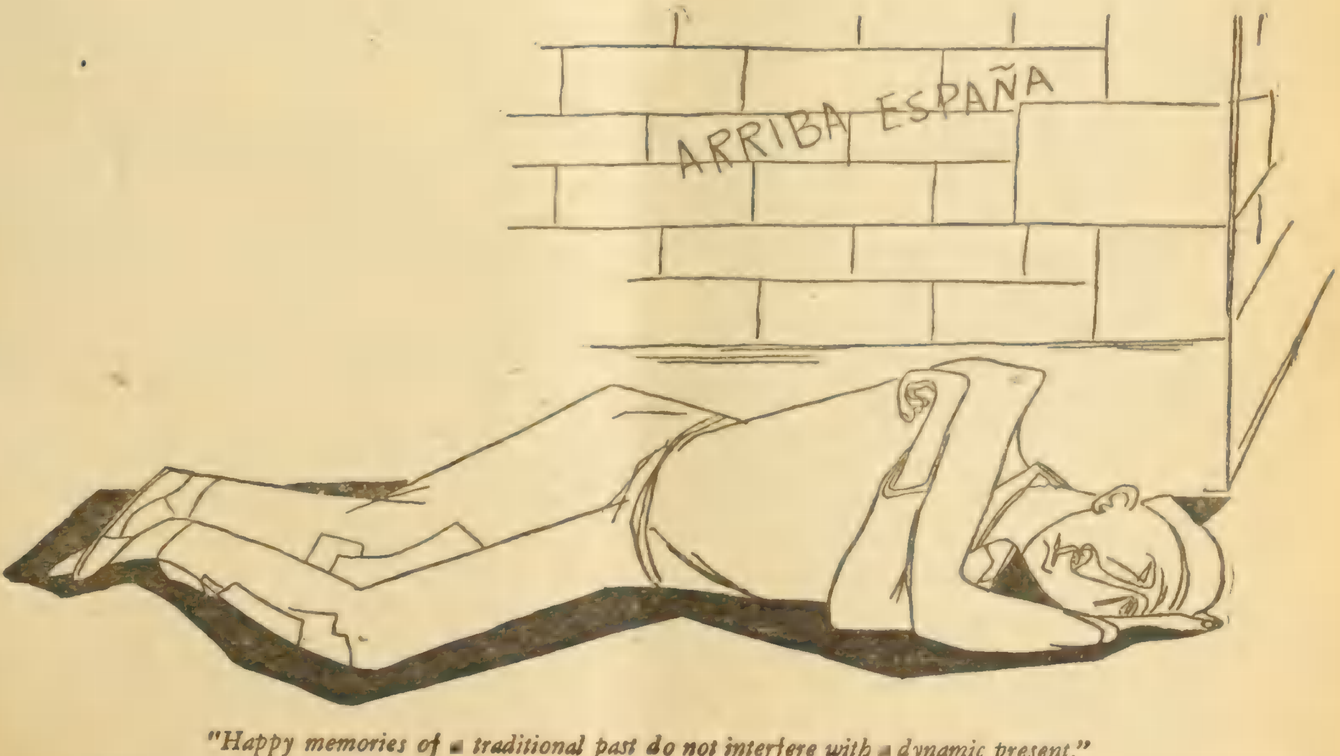
"Control of private life . . . by political police, would have no meaning in Spain."



"The colorful Holy Week processions . . ."



"Carmen, the cigarette girl . . ."



"Happy memories of a traditional past do not interfere with a dynamic present."

Justice in Barcelona

BY DAVID WIDDICOMBE

Barcelona

THE recent trial at Barcelona of twenty-seven political prisoners for activities against Franco aroused unusual interest outside Spain. Political trials are a common feature of Spanish life under Franco, and certain groups are consistently concerned about them and often try to send observers, but this case received much wider attention because the prisoners were charged, among other things, with participation in the Barcelona strikes of March and May, 1951. These strikes, of mixed political and economic origin, and the similar ones which were called in every large town in Catalonia and the Basque province were the first open acts of opposition since Franco's dictatorship was established twelve years ago.

When the court assembled on the hot Barcelona morning of July 2, there were present as observers, in addition to myself, lawyers from France, Belgium, and Italy, and American, British, and French consular officers. Usually in Spain political prisoners get short shrift; all too often the dreaded Ocaña jail is their home before and after the brief formalities of the trial. We expected therefore an example of extremely summary justice. The court was a military one, composed of five army officers in uniform, one of them a "judge advocate," or military lawyer, who was clearly the real power on the tribunal. It met in the massive headquarters building of the Military Government of Barcelona. The Spanish press made no mention of the trial until after it was over, when a brief statement of the prisoners' names and sentences appeared.

The indictment brought in against the prisoners was of such a sweeping character that defense seemed virtually impossible. According to a decree issued by Franco in 1943 persons are guilty of "military rebellion" who "put out false or tendentious notices . . . or hold meetings, conferences, or demonstrations . . . with the aim of causing public internal disorder, international conflicts, or the bringing into disrepute of the state, the army, or the authorities." The prosecution also relied on Article 289 of the Code of Military Justice, which provides imprisonment of from six months to twenty years for all who "from whatever motives commit acts which in any way help the rebels [that is, those guilty of military rebellion] even though such persons are not tied to or identified with the rebels." There can be little doubt that anyone who voices opposition to Franco is guilty of an offense under these laws.

The prisoners all had long Republican "records," which together with their more recent activities took an hour and a half to read out. The prosecution said Lopez Raimundo and a number of others were Communists, and that all were members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, a "popular-front" organization re-formed in 1948, which had been secretly printing and distributing two newspapers and other propaganda. Much of this propaganda was said to be "Communist in outlook, though other political views were also represented, all of them having in common opposition to the regime." Finally the prisoners were charged with the "revolutionary" activity of participation in the strikes of 1951. The essential facts were confirmed by the prisoners when their turn came to speak.

It is a disturbing experience to be an observer at a trial of this kind. One cannot but feel sympathy for persons whose only real offense has been to speak freely and oppose an established order, especially when their opposition is called forth by the appalling poverty of the masses in contrast to the wealth of the few. From the point of view of freedom of speech, there is of course not much to choose between Communist countries and Spain, and if the prisoners had been charged with communism, against which there is a separate law in Spain, one's sympathy would inevitably have been somewhat clouded. But the offense for which these men were being tried was opposition to Franco, and their particular beliefs mattered little. They represented the multitude of Spaniards who will never accept a regime like Franco's; their acts were testimony to the sufferings of the Spanish people. It was not Lopez Raimundo and his fellows who were on trial but the dictatorship.

The prisoners were brought into court handcuffed in pairs. Released and seated on a block of benches in the center of the court, they rubbed their wrists and talked quietly among themselves. The observers got out their notebooks. Next the "public" was admitted—a wave of wives, mothers, sisters, and sweethearts, with a sprinkling of men, filled in an instant the space at the back of the room. There they stood, straining on tiptoe to catch a glimpse of their men, waving, blowing kisses, and calling out names in a loud whisper. The prisoners turned in their seats and responded. All during the long hot sessions that packed mass of loyal humanity stood and

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listened to the drone of legal voices. To them our presence as observers meant much.

After the charges were read, the facts and the law were recited by a gum-chewing uniformed prosecutor lolling nonchalantly on a raised dais. The defense was ably conducted by eight lawyers of the prisoners' choosing. Each bravely shot his arrow at the sun. The court, they said, had no jurisdiction, the law of 1943 having been implicitly repealed by the introduction of a Civil Penal Code in 1945. The facts did not constitute the offense charged: there was no evidence of violence or terrorism. This claim was important as affecting the scale of penalties applicable and was not seriously challenged by the prosecution.

AT THIS point the atmosphere of the trial changed. So far the proceedings, instead of being of the cursory kind anticipated, had given the impression of an elaborate play staged by the Spanish authorities for the benefit of the observers. Now, however, the principal actors warmed to their parts. Encouraged perhaps by the presence of the observers, or inspired by the dignified bearing of the prisoners, or touched by the spectacle of the relatives, the eight defense lawyers spoke with an eloquence that brought a hush to the court. The opposition of their clients, they reiterated, was really directed against the economic conditions in which the Spanish people lived; freedom of speech could never be a crime; poverty and oppression were contrary to the Christian faith, and the prisoners should be released on religious grounds.

The lawyers' speeches were followed by brief ringing statements by the prisoners. Meanwhile the court was becoming extremely touchy. The prosecutor and the president interrupted frequently, and the limits of relevancy began to be strictly enforced.

Suddenly the trial was over. Twenty-four hours later the sentences were announced. Instead of the maximum penalty of twenty years' imprisonment asked for them by the prosecution, Raimundo and three others were sentenced to but three years. Four men were acquitted. The others got three years or less. And it is understood that all will be released in the near future, since they have spent one year in prison already and in addition will get the benefit of a two-year amnesty granted to mark the recent Eucharistic Congress at Barcelona.

It is hard not to see in this surprising result some sort of triumph for the widespread international interest in the trial. The fact is that Franco, hoping for more dollars and for admission to the United Nations, is at the moment extremely sensitive to foreign opinion. This, then, is the time for all who have the cause of liberty and justice at heart to speak up strongly against the evils, both political and economic, under which the Spanish people labor.

General Franco

Spain Revisited

BY ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

THE border seemed about the same as it was many years ago—a few more forms to be filled out, the buildings a little shabbier, a few more police agents in evidence, but the people still friendly in their grave, dignified way and the officials good-humoredly sardonic as they agreed that there were far too many papers to sign.

It is no wonder that junketing senators and generals unfamiliar with Spanish language and history, staying at de luxe hotels, learn so little about the country. American dollars can buy comfort in Spain as elsewhere. Unrepaired war damage is not in evidence on the main streets of the big cities, nor are beggars, and upper-class Spaniards are charming people whatever their views. As for the nearly feudal constitution of society, with the church, the nobles, and the military caste monopolizing land and privileges, who is to tell the visitor that even the few reforms made under the republic have been reversed?

The Franco regime is no longer strongly Falangist, and repression is perhaps milder in Spain than in some other police states—people occasionally dare to complain in public—but Falangist laws are still on the books, and the police are omnipresent. Professors in the

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The Land of $1 Bread

Madrid

Living is cheap in Spain for everyone but Spaniards. The ordinary Spanish worker—the equivalent of the American who earns $200 a month—earns here about 500 pesetas a month (approximately $10 at the free market rate). What does this mean in terms of the living standards of the two men and their families?

Bread in Spain costs about 2½ pesetas a pound. Thus the 500 peseta-a-month Spanish worker pays 1/200 of his monthly income for a pound (or ordinary loaf) of bread. If the $200-a-month American worker had to pay a similar proportion, bread would cost him $1 a loaf.

We can gauge the standard of living of the Spanish worker if we imagine an American, trying to support a family on $200 a month, being forced to pay the following prices:

Milk (1 quart)	$1.60	Socks (1 pr.)	$ 8.00
Eggs (1 doz.)	8.00	Shirt	48.00
Oranges (1 doz.)	5.00	Shoes	80.00
Meat (1 lb.)	8.00	Suit	200.00
Beer (1 bottle)	2.00	Movies	3.20

Such things as radios, washing-machines, and vacuum cleaners are altogether beyond the reach of the Spanish worker. As for automobiles, a small car of the Crosley type would cost him many years' earnings.—*John Nelson Hedrada, a resident of Madrid who has spent many years in the United States.*

universities deride Falangism privately, but no one can teach without membership in the proper Falangist organization. Newspapers publish only what is favorable to state or church. One can learn more about Spanish conditions from the better French newspapers than from any printed in Spain.

The once powerful labor unions have been transformed into "vertical" groupings whose function is not to represent the workers but to organize them to do the government's and the church's will. While I was in Madrid, wall posters all over the city exhorted members to listen to a forthcoming papal pronouncement on their duties. "Spanish unionism carries out the Pope's wishes by its deeds," said one.

Contrasting with the wealth of a few, the general poverty is nearly unbelievable. Industry, agriculture, and road and rail transportation are all in a bad state. There are perhaps a few more tractors than there were twenty years ago, since there were almost none then, but there are certainly fewer locomotives and automobiles. If you take half a dozen long rail trips you will probably be in at least one wreck. I had the experience on my second venture. As the car went off the rails, my neighbor groaned resignedly, "What? Again?"

The middle class has been terribly squeezed, and one cannot imagine how the poor exist. Wages range from ten to twenty-five pesetas a day, going as high as thirty-five for a very few. Just what that means in purchasing power is debatable, but even by Spanish official figures the average wage-earner can buy only half as much as he could before the civil war. And that was painfully little.

Corruption and inefficiency in politics and in military affairs, which a foreigner can know nothing about at first hand, were a bitter, taken-for-granted joke among the Spanish. Civil officials and army officers frequently had to have more than one job in order to live. It was common talk that last spring the government rationing service diverted a half-million head of cattle to Portugal and France, to the profit of its officials, and that the rationing service and the *sindicatos* were the main source of black-market supplies. The army, so far as I could judge from outside, was pathetic. The military parades on April 1, anniversary of the "liberation" of Madrid, when the army put its best foot forward, revealed such obsolete and worn-out matériel that they were plainly embarrassing to Spaniards who knew anything of the outside world.

MANY Spaniards, especially young people, know almost none of the facts of their own recent history. The politically dominant classes seem afflicted with a sort of national psychosis. A Spanish columnist writing from the United States for the widely read *Ya* coupled American Communists and the *Daily Worker* with the "rabbinical" New York *Times* as the chief opponents of better relations between the United States and the Franco regime.

It is doubtful whether any sector of society, even officials with good jobs, really likes Franco's rule. But the monarchists are split, partly through Franco's shrewd maneuvering, and most well-to-do people seem convinced that an effort to replace him would probably bring the accession of the Communists as the only group in Spain sufficiently cohesive to be able to fill a power vacuum. Republicans whom I knew from earlier days are apathetic and express their opinions on this subject chiefly by resigned shrugs. The few surviving labor leaders and the Catalan and Basque nationalists are the only likely sources of organized, non-Communist opposition. But there have been signs of unrest since 1945, and the wave of popular demonstrations that swept Spain last year from Barcelona to Madrid and the Basque country makes one wonder about the theory that there is no effective underground. Pamplona, like most of Navarre, was Franquist in the civil war, but it joined in the demonstrations.

American foreign policy is generally misunderstood. I doubt that a tenth of one per cent of the people have ever heard that the United States desires to end police states everywhere and to improve living standards as the best defense against Communist subversion. But they have all heard a great deal of American intentions to give military aid to anti-Communist governments. Americans, I think, are genuinely popular, except among the ultraconservatives, and Madrid's demonstration of welcome to Ambassador Griffis was probably spontaneous, but many people privately expressed fear even then that the Ambassador's early remarks foreshadowed the strengthening of Franco rather than of Spain.

Washington has by now obviously decided to support the dictatorship, a policy which to many Americans must seem shameful and costly. Even from the strictly military point of view, which appears to be dominating American policy at present, the decision makes little sense. If Franco would consent to fight at all in a European war, he would not have much to fight with at present, and it is doubtful whether Spanish pride could stomach an effective military mission. Moreover, any addition to Franco's military strength would tighten his domestic grip and discourage democratic forces not only in Spain but throughout Europe. If the Defense Department insists on preparing a base in Spain, the government should consider whether airfields and seaports and rail facilities could be arranged for on a straight construction-cost or rental basis which would benefit the Spanish economy without too much direct aid to the regime.

There are no simple answers to these implied questions about our Spanish policy Franco is probably no worse than others to whom we have snuggled up in our search for allies. But let us at least not deceive ourselves: we shall pay in more than dollars and cents for any aid we give to Franco. We shall not see a free people emerge in Spain, and unless we are smarter and more determined than we have been so far, we shall not succeed in preventing catastrophic upheaval there.

An Enemy of the People?

BY WILLIAM MANCHESTER

Fairmont, West Virginia

THE American Legion post in Fairmont, West Virginia, a hillside town seventy-five miles southwest of Pittsburgh, held an Americanism rally a year ago last March. Among those present was Dr. Luella Mundel, chairman of the Art Department of the state teachers' college in Fairmont. During the question period after the speeches Dr. Mundel asked several pointed questions and expressed resentment at the implication that college faculties are loaded with Communists. She thereby started a chain of events which included her own dismissal and that of the college president who defended her, six faculty resignations, a bitter split in the Legion post, and a twice-tried lawsuit. Charging that Mrs. Thelma Loudin, a townswoman and member of the state Board of Education, had called her a "poor security risk" and an "atheist," Dr. Mundel sued for slander. The second trial ended on July 16, when a jury of Mrs. Loudin's neighbors agreed with her attorney, United States Senator Matthew Mansfield Neely, that the defendant had only done her duty.

The testimony at this second trial bristled with contradictions which must be laid either to extraordinary misunderstandings or to perjury. The witnesses agreed on very little. It seems certain, however, that Fairmont State College has long suffered from a feud between Dr. George Hand, its president, and Mrs. Loudin, the local representative of the Board of Education, and that the Mundel case was a victory for Mrs. Loudin. Until last year Dr. Mundel took little interest in this fight. She did not know Mrs. Loudin, and apart from her duties as a department head, she saw Dr. Hand rarely. As her performance at the Legion rally indicates, she was no diplomat. She was inclined to be sharp in personal conversation, and even Hand thought she used poor judgment at times. Yet it is clear that she was devoted to her work. She thought politics dull; she was a registered Democrat, but she didn't even bother to vote in 1948. After her dismissal she joined the American Civil Liberties Union, but at the time of the Americanism rally she belonged only to a few professional organizations.

Five weeks after that event Dr. Hand and the Board of Education held their annual budget meeting in Charleston. Ordinarily Dr. Mundel's name would not have been introduced, but Mrs. Loudin, who had talked with the Legion commander, brought it up. What followed is a matter of dispute. At the second trial Mrs. Loudin, supported by the other board members, testified that she asked Dr. Hand if he thought Dr. Mundel was a good security risk, amended this to exclude any suggestion of communism, and then authorized him to investigate her abilities as a teacher. Dr. Hand says that Mrs. Loudin flatly labeled his art chairman a poor

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security risk and that he requested and was granted permission to investigate her as he saw fit.

In any event he asked the FBI to check her. The FBI did and reported nothing against her. Dr. Hand then interviewed students and faculty about her teaching abilities. Comments were favorable with one notable exception: a discontented subordinate of Dr. Mundel's attacked her in a letter to Mrs. Loudin. At the July meeting of the board Dr. Hand, disregarding this criticism, presented a report recommending that Dr. Mundel be retained with a raise in pay. The board said that this was not at all the kind of report it wanted and reversed him on all counts. Dr. Hand says Mrs. Loudin suggested Dr. Mundel was an atheist at this meeting, but Mrs. Loudin denies it; indeed, she and the rest of the board testified in court that they decided not to accept Hand's report because he had himself made unfavorable comments about the art teacher. Mrs. Loudin was asked on the stand to explain why the president should make such remarks about a person he was supporting. She replied that it was "strangely unaccountable"—which of course it is.

Dr. Mundel learned of her dismissal through the United Press, which reported she had been fired "for the good of the college." (No malice was intended, a board member blandly explained a year later; "everything we try to do is for the good of the school.") She wrote the board asking for a hearing, and her request was supported by a petition signed by 125 students. The request was denied, and the petition was not acknowledged.

Meanwhile Mrs. Loudin had given the subordinate's denunciatory letter to a local newspaper, which published it on August 15. According to sworn testimony, she informed a faculty member who contemplated a pro-Mundel petition that anyone who questioned the board "would do well to move along and move while the moving was good," and told a local woman that Dr. Mundel belonged to a "dangerous clique" at the college. Mrs. Loudin, also under oath, denied having made these statements.

CLAIMING that she was unable to find a job owing to the circumstances of her dismissal, Dr. Mundel filed suit in September, 1951. The case came up in the Marion County Court at Christmas, and the trial was a wild one. Senator Neely, a spellbinder of the Bryan school, demanded a return to the "old-fashioned Americanism of our forefathers" and relentlessly cross-examined Dr. Mundel about her religious faith until she fled from the courtroom in tears. This indirectly brought an end to the trial, for the following Sunday Fairmont's Episcopal minister told his congregation the trial was a "farce" comparable to the Inquisition. His remarks were published in the next morning's newspaper, and Neely demanded, and got, a mistrial. After it was granted, twenty-four Fairmont ministers issued a statement rebuking the Episcopalian.

In the six months that elapsed before the second trial Hand was summarily bounced, as was his college librarian, who had been conducting a fund-raising campaign for Dr. Mundel. Six faculty members resigned. Circumstances were therefore greatly altered when the court began to choose a jury on July 7 last—a date which prevented any decent newspaper coverage since all eyes were on Chicago. Officers of the local Legion provided Senator Neely with $2,500 from the post treasury for Mrs. Loudin's defense.

The plaintiff's testimony was much as it had been in December; Dr. Mundel herself, frail and bespectacled, sat as she had then, looking quietly into her lap while Senator Neely denounced her as an enemy of the people. The Senator answered defenders of academic freedom by comparing Dr. Mundel—or Mrs. P. H. D. Mundel, as he called her—to an incompetent milkmaid. A farmer has a right to fire a maid who can't milk, he said, and the Board of Education was therefore justified in firing the plaintiff. Mrs. Loudin firmly denied every charge against her, and her colleagues paraded to the stand to support the thesis that Hand was responsible for the whole mess. It turned out that she had little need of their support, for Judge J. Harper Meredith ruled that her statements as a board member were privileged, unless, of course, they were malicious. In his closing address Senator Neely said the question was whether schools should be operated by men and women of goodwill or by "agnostics, Socialists, and screwballs." The jury deliberated less than two hours and announced for the defendant.

On the Sunday after the trial two of Dr. Mundel's supporters hurriedly summoned police to her apartment. She had not answered their urgent knocking, and a strong odor was seeping into the hall. Forcing an entrance, the policemen found her in a gas-filled bathroom; the window was tightly shut and the door calked. No charges were brought, but after a night with friends she was accused of attacking her hostess with a letter opener. This time she was held in the Fairmont jail on charges of lunacy and assault, under constant supervision, until her sister arrived to take her home to Iowa. She has since been reported missing there.

The scars on Fairmont's civic pride remain. Morale at the college is shattered; the Legion membership is in an uproar over that $2,500; and the case has brought considerable unfavorable notice to Fairmont. Before the second trial a local columnist suggested that the city hire a press agent to counteract the impression it was a hotbed of bigotry—to which Dr. Mundel, then still good-humored, replied that perhaps the best way to avoid giving such an impression would be to be unbigoted.

Color Prejudice in Britain

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

A YOUNG Indonesian diplomat here went looking for lodgings recently. Over the telephone he learned that several rooming houses had accommodations, but when he appeared in person, he was informed that all the rooms had been taken. While his English is perfect, in looks he is unmistakably an Asian. Some of those who turned him away said they had no color prejudice themselves but were afraid of the reaction of their other boarders.

Thousands of Indian and African students have had similar experiences. Last year a contributor to the *New Statesman* decided to test the attitude of landladies. He and an African student went around separately to answer advertisements for vacant rooms. They found that about half the landladies they visited told the dark-skinned African all their rooms were occupied but subsequently told the white Briton they had vacancies.

Prejudice is also encountered in seeking employment. A Nigerian student I know wanted to earn some money as a clerk during the summer vacation. He went to a railway employment office where he knew there were vacancies. Two white-skinned applicants ahead of him were offered clerical jobs. They rejected them because they thought the pay too small. When the Nigerian's turn came, he was told there were no clerical jobs open but he could qualify as a sweeper cleaning out railway carriages. At a state employment bureau he was offered a job breaking stone on the roads. He finally did get a job as a clerk on the railways, but only after a Labor M. P. had intervened in his behalf.

This practice of referring people of color—as well as Irishmen—to "coolie" jobs is standard. A former employee at a state employment bureau says that the office has unwritten instructions to that effect. The Coventry Labor Exchange is one of the few which commit this color prejudice to writing. Answering my query on behalf of an Indian friend, the exchange replied that clerical jobs could be had in Coventry, "assuming that your friend is British (not colored)."

Many British people deny the existence of color prejudice in this country. When Dr. Ruth Landes, an American anthropologist, reported her findings on the subject to a group of professional British anthropologists, some claimed the problem was an imaginary one. If it is generally ignored, the reason is that only one in five hundred persons in Britain is colored and hardly anybody but landladies and employment officers has to face the question of how to treat them. Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld, a British psychologist, said recently: "Understand this, there are no 'Negroes' in Britain, no 'colored.' We just don't think that way. We think of men from Jamaica, from the Gold Coast, Barbados. A 'colored' man is merely someone we don't know how to place, like a stowaway."

The 100,000 non-white students and workers and the small minority of non-white business men residing in Britain find it difficult to join the mainstream of British life and lead a normal existence. Students get along best because they stay in an academic backwater or are protected by the semi-official British Council. Asian and African diplomats move largely in their own insulated circles. The unhappiest group are the unskilled from the West Indies or Africa, attracted here by exaggerated propaganda about welfare schemes in Britain and condemned by economic stringency and landladies' prejudices to live in colonies in London's slums.

A few individuals get a temporary glimpse of high society as its pampered pets. At West Indian and African clubs you find white women of better social standing than you would see in Negro clubs in New York, though you might find them in Paris.

Of course there is a tendency to exclude all foreign elements from the tight fabric of British social life. The Italians who contracted to come here as miners have learned that. The Bow Group, a Conservative research society which has been studying the difficulties of people of color, said in a report published on July 23: "The problems of these people are not intrinsically different from the problems of any people who come from abroad to work and study here, and who find it necessary to adjust themselves to a new way of life and to break down the social barrier with which the Englishman surrounds his castle." *The Times* challenged this editorially, saying that "the fact of being colored and, in the case of colonials, the sense of dependent status, are aggravating features."

The anti-American feeling built up here recently has a firm basis in the deep distaste of Britons for Americans who, despite a common language and similar cultural traditions, do not conform to British behavior patterns. Because of this attitude the almost 100,000 American air-force men have few contacts with the people.

The British authorities try to protect colonial students from unpleasant realities like prejudiced landladies because they want students to return to their native lands with a pleasant memory of Britain. They keep lists of available lodgings and have opened such hostels as Malaya Hall and the British Council Hostel at Hans Crescent. Also, they are well aware that the British Communists have long specialized in turning a sense of personal slight into antagonism to "British imperialism." In spite of their efforts, however, African students are listening attentively to Communist propaganda.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Crisis of Land and Water

CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE QUEST FOR PROSPERITY, 1919-1951. By Hedley V. Cooke. Harper and Brothers. $4.

AS LUCK would have it, Dr. Hedley V. Cooke's scholarly study of contemporary economic and social problems in the Middle East has gained an intense topicality through its publication during a week of revolution in Cairo and Tehran which terminated the reign of one monarch and brought the deposition of another appreciably nearer. Dr. Cooke, formerly United States consul in Palestine and Turkey and lately consultant to the Middle East Planning Staff of E. C. A., does not explore the labyrinthine palace politics of Egypt and Iran to their dead end, but he marshals the economic facts and social statistics that explain the flight of King Farouk and the dilemma of Mohammed Reza Shah. His book is an invaluable background aid toward the understanding of perennial crisis in the Middle East.

Dr. Cooke combines his own considerable first-hand experience of the Middle East over a period of seventeen years with a survey of governmental, intergovernmental, institutional, and commercial reports on planning and performance in the Middle East. To these he adds a somewhat eclectic choice of newspaper dispatches of variable weight. The result is a cumbersomely footnoted volume which nevertheless conveys a wealth of information and provides flashes of illuminating insight.

Land and water emerge in Dr. Cooke's thesis as the dominant economic factors throughout the greater part of the Middle East. The quest for oil is of secondary importance. Indigenous populations have only indirectly, if at all, benefited from its discovery or exploitation. Agricultural crisis in the region is the product of obsolete forms of land tenure and ownership of water rights, which in turn dictate the most primitive forms of cultivation. With the conspicuous exceptions of Turkey and Israel, where customary economic patterns have been dissolved by internal revolution or pressure of immigration, of Jordan, which has enjoyed the benefit of almost-dedicated British tutelage, and of Saudi Arabia, which under Ibn Saud has taken the first steps relatively forward from a nomadic tribal to a settled feudal society, the Middle East is stagnating in the hands of oligarchies of landowners. Only a revolution in agricultural ownership and techniques can break the vicious circle of poverty, illiteracy, and disease to which the region has been condemned for the past two thousand years. It is questionable whether this revolution can be imposed from the outside by orderly means.

These are Dr. Cooke's implied rather than explicit conclusions. He recounts the failure of planning schemes, like those for the utilization of the waters of the River Litani and Lake Yammouneh in Lebanon or for the exploitation of the agricultural resources of the Jezireh province in Syria, which have been stalemated by government lethargy and corruption. Time and again he draws attention to the absence of a native capitalism in countries where landlords would rather be money lenders to their own tenants at 200 per cent interest than engage in the risks of industrial development.

Dr. Cooke demonstrates that the standard of living in at least half the countries of the Middle East is lower today than it was at the close of the First World War. His case history of Egypt horrifies by its sheer baldness of fact: the Egyptian fellah has an average annual income of $54.75; 90 per cent of the population suffers from trachoma, 75 per cent from schistosomiasis, and at least 40 per cent from hookworm. The death rate is the highest in the world, and yet, so precarious is the balance between bare subsistence and famine for the bulk of the population, any improvement in health standards might create abnormal population pressures on available natural resources and further worsen conditions of life.

In the darkness of these somber facts "The Quest for Prosperity," which Dr. Cooke has chosen as the subtitle for his book, has a savagely ironic ring. He does, however, allow the reader occasional gleams of hope. "Israel's success," he claims, "in altering part of the face of the Middle East has been a potent stimulus to the other nations from the double viewpoint of rivalry and showing what could be done with limited resources." On the other hand, he points out that the Arab states are still unconvinced that Israel has come to stay in the Middle East and are banking on its eventual economic collapse.

Dr. Cooke is undismayed by the overwhelming obstacles to a political and psychological solution of economic crisis in the Middle East. He thinks economic-aid programs for Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen should be limited in scope until there is a change in political climate in those countries. He urges, however, a direct approach in Iran, where the prestige of the Point Four program is in jeopardy; in Iraq, where American and European technical aid in the rehabilitation of the Tigris-Euphrates basin offers almost limitless possibilities of development; and in Turkey, which has made considerable economic advance under the E. C. A. Jordan, he believes, could be the scene of a model Point Four experiment which might provide an example and stimulus for specifically Arab countries. Israel's needs, he suggests, are largely limited to investment capital.

The region's oil resources, too, Dr. Cooke suggests, might be made to play a more constructive role in general economic development. The British-protected Sheikdoms of Kuwait, Bahrein, and Quatar, with a total population of little more than 250,000, enjoy surplus revenues of at least $160,000,000 a year, which could be devoted in whole or part to financing a Middle East Development Board. It would be pleasant to think that this is a possibility. Unhappily, there are no current indications in the Middle East that regional altruism has replaced parochial selfishness as the basis of policy.

JACK WINOCOUR

Friendly Exchange

ROOSEVELT AND DANIELS. A FRIENDSHIP IN POLITICS. Edited with an Introduction by Carroll Kilpatrick. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THIS slim, intelligently edited volume contains the exchange of correspondence between F. D. R. and Josephus Daniels. The two men had met each other in the Democratic National Convention of 1912. They had worked together in Wilson's Administration, maintained occasional contacts in the 1920's, and resumed their closer relationship when Daniels became ambassador to Mexico in 1933. But they were never really close friends. Although the passing years of their collaboration established between them certain bonds of respect and understanding, the differences of age, of background, and of point of view were too great ever effectively to be bridged.

The letters here collected do not therefore reflect any personal intimacy. Nor do they expose any hitherto unknown facts about the three decades of political activity in which the two men were prominently involved. The letters have value rather for sporadic flashes that, here and there, reveal the diversity of the forces of liberalism that drew together first in the New Freedom and then in the New Deal.

Daniels was heir to the agrarian radicalism that had earlier burst forth in the Populist movement and that, in 1912, still had vitality in North Carolina and in some of the other Southern states. Roosevelt, on the other hand, was swayed by reforming sentiments of the Northern progressives, for whom reform meant primarily honesty and efficiency in government. Although F. D. R. worked effectively as assistant to Secretary of the Navy Daniels in the years that followed, the New Yorker was rather unsympathetic to his superior. There was, indeed, a touch of contempt in his references to Daniels's "faith in human nature and civilization and similar idealistic nonsense."

Years later, when Roosevelt was himself charged with the responsibility for the conduct of the government in the succession of crises after 1932, he was much more responsive to appeals to faith in human nature. These ideals no longer seemed nonsense and he was far more tolerant of those earlier liberals who, like Daniels, had been swayed by them. The growing comprehension of what those ideals meant may have been nurtured by personal misfortunes and by political setbacks through the 1920's. But more important, it sprang from the changes after 1933 in the very nature of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Glimpses of the operation of those changes make the letters in this book interesting and useful.

OSCAR HANDLIN

The Wayward Universe

THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE. By George Gamow. The Viking Press. $3.75.

LAST year an English astronomer turned upside down the snug, comfortable universe given to the lay scientist by Jeans, Eddington, and Gamow. Hoyle's thin, crackling book, "The Nature of the Universe," dismissed these stalwarts of cosmogony with the high-handedness either of genius or unpardonable impudence; or maybe both. Undoubtedly, Hoyle brought forward a whole new vision of existence which, for all its demands upon the imagination, was marvelously convincing. And now Gamow—"Good old Gamow!" as loyal enthusiasts of his will cry—has made his answer, and for many put the wayward universe back on its own two feet.

Hoyle insists that the universe is eternal, whereas traditional cosmogony insists that the universe is a child no more than a few billion years old. Superficially, it seems absurd to say that the universe came into being at any single time and never existed before—and even more so to say, as Gamow does, that the basic materials of the universe were all created within the space of one hour! But Hoyle's belief in the permanence of the universe is challenged by the following fact: the galaxies are all known to be in rapid flight from one another, and if Hoyle were correct, our Milky Way would be easily the only visible occupant of the night skies. Where, then, do the surrounding galaxies come from? Hoyle replies that the heavens are replenished by new galaxies through the gift of creation: hydrogen, the predominant and most fundamental source of matter, is produced, literally magically, out of nothingness. This concept, without any foreseeable proof and ridiculously too convenient, is still a possibility worth considering. Even Gamow concedes:

> To compensate fully for expansion not more is required than the production of one new hydrogen atom per gallon of expanding space once every 250 million years, so the creative genie would not overstrain himself doing the job.

But where, Gamow wants to know, are the sources for the atoms of heavier elements? It takes a good deal more than hydrogen to make a universe. Hoyle maintains that these missing particles are fashioned in the inconceivably hot temperatures of certain stars, which then explode and hurl these particles into space. Gamow characterizes this idea as "artificial and unreal," and demonstrates that it cannot possibly explain "the observed abundances of chemical elements."

Gamow finds at least a dozen inferential points to jeopardize the position of Hoyle and his followers. For example, Hoyle does not recognize an

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ageing process in the galaxies; they simply vanish into space, and new galaxies emerge to fill the gap. However, the more distant a galaxy, the more red it appears to observers; this intensified color is due to the presence of increasing numbers of stars called "red giants." The only conclusion is that galaxies, whose age may be partly measured by their distance (the ones Gamow refers to are observed *as they were* 300 million years ago), do undergo a fundamental change. This study of galactic growth fully supports the principles of conservative cosmogony.

Gamow likewise emphasizes the impermanence of many atoms. These atoms suffer from what is called radioactive decay, and if they were "formed too far back in time, they would by now have decayed completely and disappeared." The age of certain radioactive elements is at most a few billion years—further evidence that the universe is of relatively recent origin.

Gamow carefully explains that masses of stars in a galaxy, owing to "gravitational interaction with other stars," are little by little dispersed. Since "the average life of such stellar clusters must be between 1 billion and 10 billion years," and "since there are still several hundred such clusters in our system, the Milky Way, its age cannot be greater than a few billion years." Again and again Gamow finds corroborative evidence for the theory that matter and its embodiments are all a modern outgrowth.

His book, however, is by no means confined to a controversy over his own views vs. Hoyle's. The most gratifying feature of "The Creation of the Universe," in fact, is that it gives general coverage of all current thought in cosmogony. It includes, for example, a notion as delicious to the imagination as one by the Swedish astronomer Charlier, who describes our "universe" as in reality a single super-gigantic galaxy of which the real universe contains an indefinite number.

Gamow is not as instantly readable as Hoyle, although his style is often glib where it should be serious; but on the whole he has given us a thorough and exciting work, the best thus far available. The technical and mathematical passages will make the book useful even to the scientist.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Books in Brief

MORNING, WINTER, AND NIGHT. By John Nairne Michaelson. Sloane. $3. A bluntly and tenderly told reminiscence of juvenile love in rural Ohio at the turn of the century, written under a pseudonym by a prominent non-literary artist as a first novel. It has moments of genuine beauty and pathos, but while it is plausible that these twelve-year-old farm children used Anglo-Saxon words to describe the organs and the act of sex, it is much more difficult to accept as a natural truth that they regularly engaged in mature sexual relations at that time and in that milieu, or that those relations could attain the intensity of adult or even adolescent emotional involvements. It seems odd, but if the three children had been only five years older, the tragic triangle might very well have been extraordinarily affecting; even as it stands, it bears comparison with the novels of Europeans like Radiguet and Rossi who have dealt so poignantly with the emotional agonies of the very young.

THE DEADWEIGHT. By Wayland Hilton-Young. Scribner's. $2.50. "The Deadweight" is a very uneven first novel, convincingly terrifying in some places and pointlessly searching in others. It is reminiscent of William Sansom, and, for that matter, of Italo Svevo, concerned as Mr. Hilton-Young is to show how the obsession which infects his heroine runs its dread course. Anna Emerson is convinced, for no good reason, that she is responsible for her mother's bad second marriage and for the death of her fiancé, and that she is bound to destroy anyone she loves. The most impressive fact about the writing is that Anna does manage to turn her sick fancies into mental and emotional catastrophe. Her brooding on events which have never occurred succeeds in destroying her own present. Unhappily she is such a bore that the two hundred pages devoted to her decline and fall turn into a tour de force; the novelist has done admirably what he set out to do, but has it been worth doing it with Anna? The prose is very literary, often reading as if it had been "influenced"—and all at the same time—by "Ulysses," "Three Lives," and the early novels of Henry Green. Fortunately this murky density is relieved on occasion by writing that is direct and *un*influenced. Then, with fine economy of detail, the sights and sounds and some of the feeling of life in post-war England do come alive.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS. By George Dangerfield. Harcourt, Brace. $6. Mr. Dangerfield's study covers the eventful second and third decades of the nineteenth century. These were the years of the momentous transition between Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. The book traces that change through a succession of sketches of critical incidents between the War of 1812 and the election of Andrew Jackson. Mr. Dangerfield writes with wit and understanding, and enlivens the work with sprightly portraits of the main characters,—J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Calhoun. But no unifying interpretative theme ties the whole together, perhaps because the author's view of the subject is predominantly political and the basic changes of the period came in other areas.

THE BURIED LIFE. By Gordon N. Ray. Harvard. $2.75. The editor of the four-volume "Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray" here brings certain new bits of biographical evidence to bear upon a critical problem: why did Thackeray, who began with a detached, cynical, almost brutal manner, later develop that "sentimentality" which his contemporaries admired and so many moderns have been offended by? Mr. Ray's thesis is that all Thackeray's major characters are based upon actual people and that the "sentimentality," though no doubt encouraged by the taste of the times, was primarily the result of his own experience as the husband of an emotionally undeveloped woman who soon relapsed into a neurotic childishness. She furnished the model for Amelia in "Vanity Fair," and the coldness with which Amelia is finally dismissed reflects Thackeray's final disillusion with the wife whom he had tried to love. In a word Thackeray seems to overestimate the domestic virtues even in their feebler manifestations because he himself had tried to find them all-sufficient. Whatever one may think of this thesis, Mr. Ray manages to cast many biographical side lights on various aspects of Thackeray's work. The book is expanded from lectures given before the Lowell Institute.

RUNAWAY STAR: AN APPRECIATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By Robert A. Hume. Cornell University Press. $3.75. Robert A. Hume's appreciation is testimony that he enjoyed reading and rereading Henry Adams. In it there are fresh insights into Adams's writings and acute characterization of phases of his life. After placing the man and the work and giving a rapid runover of the chronology, the author moves on to discuss the books. He gives major space, and his best pages, to the "History," the "Mont-St.-Michel," and the "Education." It is all to the good to be reminded that Adams was a first-rate writer as well as a remarkable man. But Hume looks at Henry Adams almost entirely from hindsight. His Adams is too cool, just as if he had made himself up as he went along so that in the end he would fit into Hume's image of the man who wrote the "Education." The book gives little of the sense of the violence of events that helped shape him, little of his struggles, hardly any of the agony that made, or unmade, him. He appears almost entirely in a minor key. Sadness but not anger; that is the Adams of "Runaway Star." There is always value, however, in a very personal reading of a man. Much that Hume says is just and, besides being just, stimulates thought on the subject. • The book helps rescue Adams from the silent propriety of the forgotten. He should be argued over. All his pertinence then comes into view.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE only pastime that seems to bewitch citizens lately is game-playing —quiz programs, gambling, big-time athletics—and so to please the customers Hollywood has glutted theaters with sports films. The latest crop ("Pat and Mike," "The Ring," 'The Winning Team") proves that the industry continues its childish treatment of golf, tennis, and the like by concentrating on success, casting unspectacular athletes, and using stationary camera set-ups on games that thrive on split-second relationships of movements that are a mixture of technique, personality, and accident. Of the above-mentioned films "Pat and Mike" is a Hepburn-Tracy starrer apparently created to prove that Hepburn is in a class with the Marbles and Didricksons. (With her cautiously orthodox form, Hepburn is not an explosive, highly individualized athlete whose games one enjoys watching in a two-hour film.) The second film, "The Ring," is an unpretentious job built around the novel twist of a young Mexican fighter who does nothing but lose to the rankest small-club lightweights. "The Winning Team" is about the reprobate pitcher, Grover Alexander, as rendered by a lamb-like actor, Ronald Reagan.

"Pat and Mike" is an almost charming fairy story about two subjects that give most sports writers the creeps—a female athlete and the more mercenary type of language-mangling, underworld-haunting manager. Its chief trouble is that it is packed with such long-drawn-out scenes as golfers lining up for crucial putts and carefully tapping a ball that is predestined by the script either to drop in or not to. These scenes are supposed to have you on the edge of your seat, but they look so well rehearsed and are so lacking in the unpredictable that the spectator loses interest. At one point only does Hepburn display some spontaneous sport activity: when she bangs out about six balls in one continuous blur of swinging. The story, by the Kanins, is geared to the suave, exquisite by-play of the two stars, who have done their act—the frisky, spinsterish woman in love with a lackadaisical wolfish fat man—so often they are like a romantic version of the Hope-Crosby team. Both teams depend a lot on charming the customer by acting as though they were charmed to death with each other's talents, but Hepburn and her partner tend to curdle their performance by behaving like elderly bobbysoxers who have just been necking in the rumble seat.

"The Ring" follows the dismal career of a young Mexican from a bar-room brawl by Mexican baiters to the moment a year later when he tosses his boxing togs into a neighborhood incinerator. Between the two points is an unkempt yarn that depicts a good deal of the painful effort, misdirected wilfulness, daydreaming, and heartache that go into the athletic record of a character who shouldn't be an athlete. The movie is worked out mostly with a counter-attack technique that uses all sorts of conventional movie situations but simply turns them inside out. The hero (Manuel Ruis) loses his girls and his friends when he takes up fighting; he falls in with a flashy manager who handles him with prudence and kindness; his first fight is with a poignantly untalented youngster rather than a broken-down pug; his ring earnings are offered to but turned down by his impoverished parents; he gives up fighting and then makes an inglorious

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comeback. The movie would seem more unique if it were not so apparent that the directors and actors were reversing clichés wherever they traveled. Well worth seeing for such episodes as dreary bus trips to small California fight towns, the educational depiction of a trainer's chores, the tired routine that goes on after a losing fight. The film misses a lot of punch because of an amateurish, petulant performance by its star and certain glaring mistakes: the youth is supposed to be a welterweight, but he is usually put in the ring with someone too heavy or too light for his division.

Although "Shadow in the Sky"—not a sports film—is feeble-minded on its main subject of a war psychosis, it is needle-sharp on the ambivalent behavior of kindly, primly sensitive middle-brows trying to be nice to deranged war veterans. The movie, a low-budgeted M-G-M job from the pen of the studio's most talented scripter, Ben Maddow, often looks like an ad for a surburban housing development—it is set in the clean bungalow section used in "The Next Voice" with the same wholesome couple, James Whitmore and Nancy Davis, whose acting is as standard and square as the décor. The story —whether or not an occasionally daft brother of Miss Davis should be taken out of the demoralizing atmosphere of a veterans' hospital and allowed to hallucinate under Davis's tables—pays only a stereotyped nod to the cause and character of the brother's (Ralph Meeker) illness. Somewhat like the hero of "Blind Alley," Meeker is a rugged type with a rain phobia: he turns to quivering protoplasm at the first unfavorable weather report and rushes for the protection of the nearest table. Meeker performs this business as though he were having a hard time with an embarrassingly silly parlor game, and afterward he starts shrieking with Whitmore about some vague trouble the two of them had in the war on a South Pacific isle during a rainy season. If you can make any sense out of their drivel, you have the key to Meeker's psychosis. The rest of the film is confined to nice people being catty to each other in ordinary situations, and doing it so that it is almost imperceptible—a rare accomplishment for an M-G-M movie.

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RECORD NOTES

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Bach: Passacaglia and Fugue; Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (Victor); an effective performance of Respighi's vulgar transcription.

Bartok: Divertimento for String Orchestra; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Victor); powerfully and elegantly entertaining music; good performance.

Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 29 ("Hammerklavier"); Petri (Columbia); performance entirely lacking in physical and stylistic energy.

Symphony No. 6 ("Pastorale"); Steinberg with Pittsburgh (Capitol); good performance by an inferior orchestra.

Brahms: Piano Quintet in F Minor; Chigi Quartet with Lorenzi (London); piano excellent, strings a bit pallid; recording very muffled.

Quartet No. 2 in A Minor; Hollywood Quartet (Capitol); a good, occasionally melodramatic performance; recording a bit shrill, noisy surfaces.

Schicksalslied; Monteux with San Francisco Symphony and Stanford University Chorus (Victor); chorus sings an abominable English translation with inappropriately collegiate tone and style.

Symphony No: 1; Weingartner with London Symphony (Columbia); Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); Van Beinum with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); all good performances, Weingartner's the best, Ormandy's the best recorded.

Symphony No. 2; Weingartner with London Symphony (Columbia); excellent performance, acceptable dubbing of old 78's.

Symphony No. 3; Weingartner with London Philharmonic (Columbia); excellent performance; recording the best of these reissues.

Symphony No. 4; Weingartner with London Symphony (Columbia); excellent performance; acceptable dubbing.

Cherubini: Quartet No. 1 and Fugal Suite in D Major; Aeolian Quartet with Adeney (Lyrichord); uninteresting music in a poor performance.

Debussy: Sonata No. 3 for piano and violin; Heifetz and Bey (Victor); fair performance.

Moussorgsky: "Night on Bald Mountain," Polonaise from "Boris Godunov," Entr'acte and Persian Dances from "Khovantchina"; Ludwig with Berlin Philharmonic (Urania); fair performance; recording sharp.

Mozart: Symphony No. 31 ("Paris"); Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Victor); performance pretty brutal throughout, especially in the slow movement.

Respighi: Sonata in B minor for violin and piano; Heifetz and Bey (Victor); million-dollar marshmallow, both music and performance.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Ballet Music from "Snow Maiden"; Ludwig with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania); poor music, fair performance, recording sharp.

Schubert: Symphony No. 2; Steinberg with Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol); good performance by an inferior orchestra.

Symphony No. 8 ("Unfinished"); Steinberg with Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol); good performance by an inferior orchestra.

Verdi: Requiem Mass; Kaye, Pirazzini, Sinimberghi, and Beuf, with Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Ricci (Urania); poor performance. recording badly balanced with soloists much too prominent.

"Otello"; Sarri, La Pollo, Serra, with the Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Paoletti (Urania); a fair performance in general, except for a very poor Desdemona, characteristic vulgarities in the other soloists; recording sharp.

"Soirée Française": a song recital of Chabrier, Debussy, Satie, and Poulenc, performed by Bernac and Poulenc (Columbia); music for the most part undistinguished; Poulenc's songs show his familiar salon instinct refined to elegant chic rather than to any real distinction; Bernac's performance mannered and insecure, occasionally embarrassing.

Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries; Pro Musica Antiqua under Cape (EMS); an excellent selection in superb performances.

Music of India, from "The River"; from the sound-track of the film (Polymusic); impressive music and performances to my inexpert ears.

[Mr. Haggin's regular column on music and records will be resumed next week.]

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Where Community Action Failed to Help

Dear Sirs: I have just read your fine issue of June 28, 1952, How Free Is Free? It is a real contribution to the fight, in which many of us are engaged, to retain the freedom of our thoughts. However, I noted that in The Bigots and the Professionals, Vern Countryman said: "Only concentrated community action forced the hospital trustees to reconsider their decision." Many of your readers have construed the statement to mean that Dr. Abowitz, Dr. Pennes, and I have been reinstated on the staff of the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital. That is not true.

In spite of concentrated community pressure and in spite of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council's reaffirmation that personnel of Jewish institutions should not be subjected to discrimination because of political beliefs—as distinguished from political action to overthrow the government—the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital Board of Trustees has remained silent.

Los Angeles RICHARD W. LIPPMAN

Petrillo at Prades

Dear Sirs: Having myself just returned from the Casals Festival at Prades, I was pleased to find your periodical giving the occasion the appreciative comment it deserved.

One depressing piece of news made the concerts even more precious. I refer to the Petrillo action affecting foreign recordings by American artists. While the festival had a heart-warming international character, the cold fact is that our own Columbia records made it financially possible. Whether there will be a festival at all next year has now become questionable. I know that all music lovers and admirers of Casals join with me in hoping that special arrangements can be made with Petrillo to permit another Prades next year.

New York LILLIAN LEVY

Evita: Power Behind Peron

Dear Sirs: I deem it my moral duty to reveal Eva Perón's true character to the readers of *The Nation,* which has always done so much to spread the truth about the Argentine. The biographers of this woman will be inclined to stress the surprising and picturesque aspects of her life. It is easy to visualize her as a fairy-tale Cinderella and to talk of her charms, her elegance, her glamour, her jewels and fur coats. But this heroine of a best-selling novel is not the Eva Perón whom the Argentines know.

To thousands of people here she was a woman who exercised a sinister influence on the regime and was responsible for acts and decisions which brought about the moral and material bankruptcy of the Argentine.

Eva Perón was the brain and will of the gangsters who surround her husband. It was she who invented the thousand and one tricks used to defraud the public treasury, who robbed workers and employers alike under the pretext of founding a permanent social-aid fund. This fund, known as the Eva Perón Foundation, has actually been the foundation of one of the largest private fortunes of our time.

Also—and this is something more serious—Eva Perón was the inspirer and accomplice of her husband in his policy of subjugating the unions. It was she who invented the demagogic slogans and the philosophy of crude feudalistic paternalism which confused and conquered the working masses. This policy has set back the evolution of proletarian consciousness in the Argentine for many years.

There was something even worse: Eva Perón represented the spirit of vengeance, of unscrupulous violence, of cold and implacable terror, which has condemned thousands of Argentines to hunger, exile, prison, torture, and death. To her are due the first persecutions of artists, intellectuals, and politicians, whom she had hated since the days when she was an unsuccessful actress. A mere order from her was enough to doom these people to starvation.

It was she who, with the easy and condescending cooperation of her husband, attacked the unions, overcame the resistance of the old leaders, used the police to break up strikes, and filled the jails with hundreds of militant workers.

Her political crimes have been so great that there is no need to enter into her private life in order to see her as she lived and governed. That aspect of her life would provide material for a different kind of novel. But her private conduct had political repercussions, for she did not know how to treat with proper respect the man who, in addition to being her husband, was the President of his country. She extolled the General in her public speeches, but in the circle of their intimates she treated him with a remarkable absence of esteem.

She had a talent for simulating before the masses ideals, fervors, and passions which she did not feel. All that really interested her was money and power. She was a force; but it was a primitive force, created and motivated by evil. Upon her tomb the Argentines would write—if they could: "Love was unknown to her."

Buenos Aires FERMIN GONZALEZ

[Fermin Gonzalez is the pseudonym of a distinguished Argentine journalist and former political leader.]

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The Hiss Appeal: A Biased Judge

Dear Sirs: As a Christian, Republican, and American I wish to protest against the rejection of Alger Hiss's appeal. Judge Goddard should have disqualified himself from deciding the case of a man whom he had long previously judged guilty. His conduct of the hearing was tyrannical and emotional; his refusal to hear witnesses or subpoena vital evidence smacks more of someone fearing to uncover the truth than of an impartial public servant.

Hayesville, Ohio ROGER N. PARVIES

The Ballot: A Way Out

Dear Sirs: Confronted with the fact that there is no longer any real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties and that their program doesn't offer a solution to the problems before this country today, I have switched my allegiance to the Progressive Party.

The Progressive Party is against the bipartisan foreign policy. The people need not choose among candidates, measuring in each case: how much or how little war does this man want? how much peace? with what restrictions? The Progressive Party candidates are against war, and for peace, honest dealings among nations, and unobstructed trade. . . .

The Progressives have stood out against anti-Communists. How many Communist adherents they have I do not know. They could have gained in popularity and "security" by abjuring them but have preferred to be smeared rather than to smear. . . .

Their organization has the advantage of being young and poor. This keeps it free from the dictatorship of seniority and wealth, from gold diggers and place seekers. . . .

It has good candidates for office, "none but the brave," who are informed, skilful, democratically minded, and bold. They are men of experience with the hopefulness of people who have sensed, like Bill Pomeroy, "a temper in the air of social change and development."

It has a good journal of opinion and information, staggering under financial difficulties but always presenting expertly the front and back-stage movements of our time. . . . The *Guardian's* circulation is cruelly limited. People who want its information very much do not dare to accept it in the mail, because reading it leaves them open to imputations of disloyalty. . . .

Because the rank and file of the Progressive Party are under persecution, they know what is going on today. They know all about freedom of assembly, as they search, with one rebuff after another, for a hall in which to hold a meeting, as friends withdraw their support because of a husband's business or a wife's occupation. They know about freedom of speech, of association, of residence. Today intimidation is far more widespread than in 1948 when it seriously reduced the Wallace vote. In fact, you cannot with good conscience blame any man with a family or any woman with dependents for not joining the Progressive Party. All you can hope for is that thousands who feel under constraint about present-day conditions will feel free to vote constructively in November. For the great merit of the Progressive Party is that it affords an opportunity to make a change in the personnel and policies of our government by ballot. We must all be alarmed as we think what other forms of change might take place as the tensions in our society grow stronger. . . . Our one defense against chaos or a fascist-style society lies in the continuance of free elections. Intimidation and corruption are strong, but the secret ballot offers a way out.

Palo Alto, Cal. ALICE HILL BYRNE

That Special Issue

Dear Sirs: Your special issue of June 28 (How Free Is Free?) constitutes a carefully documented report to the nation. So compelling is its mass of facts that the widest possible use should be made for them. Implicit in the nature of the articles is a call to action.

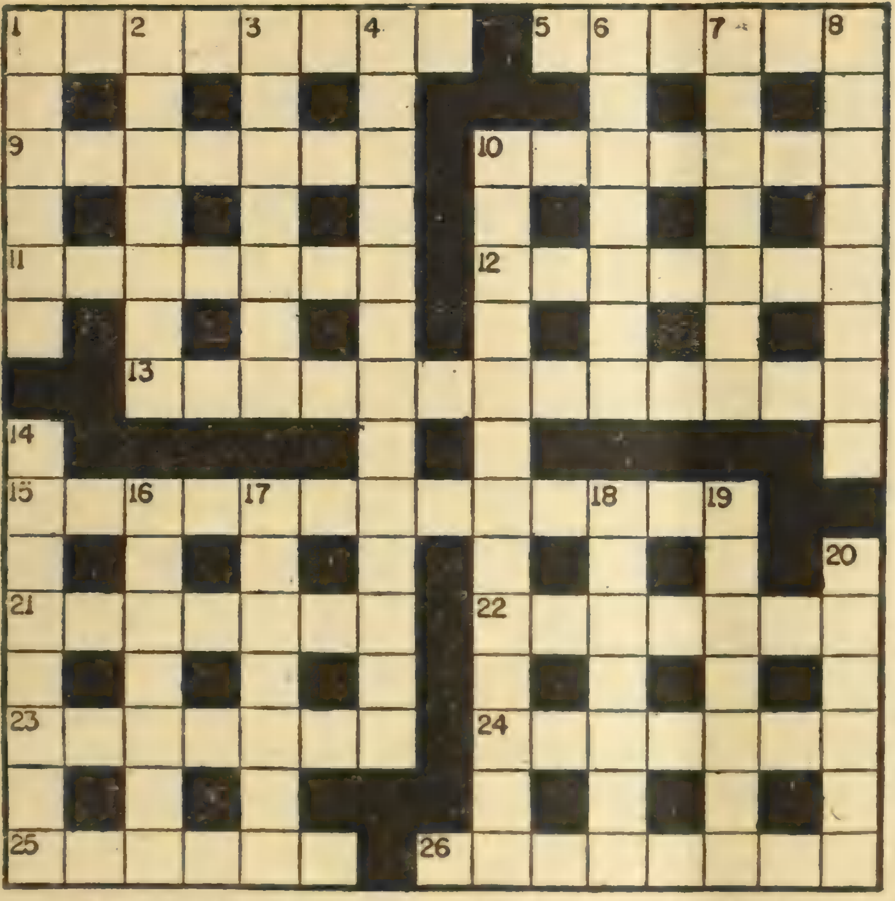
I suggest that clubs dedicated to the preservation of our liberties be established. The first textbook might well be this number of *The Nation.*

Brooklyn FELIX SPER

CORRECTION: In the issue of June 7 Joseph C. Harsch was identified as Paris correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* and as having covered Eisenhower from the time he first took up his duties as Supreme Commander of NATO. Mr. Harsch has never served as the Paris correspondent of the *Christain Science Monitor* nor was he in Europe during the greater part of Eisenhower's tenure as Supreme Commander. —EDITORS THE NATION.

Crossword Puzzle No. 477

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Drags around his broken but useful kitchen helpers. (8)
5 Duct; otherwise its pitch might make you 7. (6)
9 She was [illegible] gifted woman, but her opening day was unfortunate. (7)
10 Veins, perhaps, but not in the sense that 5 might be vein. (7)
11 Certainly not found at the bottom of the trunk. (What [illegible] peculiar place to go for [illegible] rock!) (7)
12 Bad on both sides of the capital of Washington? (Evidently Shakespeare wasn't feeling well.) (3-4)
13 Damage marks the weapons or sailors' implements. (13)
15 Placing mustard, for example as essential parts of the course. (7, 6)
21 Train, perhaps, to do the light fantastic? (7)
22 Broken as a drum takes part in the raid. (7)
23 Island extract. (7)
24 Exit passage, or summary thereof? (7)
25 It has its point when allowed to come to [illegible] boil. (6)
26 Sects and accompanying figures. (8)

DOWN

1 Posted in out-of-the-way stations. (6)
2 "Truth is [illegible] impossible to be soiled by any outward touch [illegible] the —." (Milton) (7)
3 Does one catch the rest of the perch? (7)
4 Wrestling club? The hold might be due to [illegible] fluke. (9, 4)
6 If you can make your own, it's either atavism or good muscular control, but useful in cold weather. (7)
7 See 5 across. (7)
8 Certainly no sign of "tilt"; in fact, no inclination at all. (8)
10 Does it need the best modern oil to make it slip? (5, 8)
14 Sort of puts on airs for a top-flight kind of maid. (8)
16 Dry in the 30's? (7)
17 Even the disobedient sometimes obeys this. (7)
18 Wandering like a rodent entrapped by the Red. (7)
19 A lizard might come out [illegible] I run a different way. (7)
20 They might be expected to put us in our place. (6)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 476

ACROSS:—1 OUTGROWING; 6 SHAD; 10 PANACEA; 11 GEHENNA; 12 GOOD NIGHT NURSE; 14 AUSPICES; 15 EDITOR; 16 and 21 down CREDIT UNIONS; 18 SAPREMIA; 22 FORTUNE TELLERS; 25 INDITED; 26 BAYS· 27 ASPERSIONS.

DOWN:—1 OPPUGNANCY; 2 TENDONS; 3 RECONCILIATION; 4 WRANGLE; 5 NEGATE; 7 HANDSET; 8 and 24 DEAD AS A DODO; [illegible] SHOULDER BLADES; 13 BROADSIDES; 17 EXOGAMY; 19 ASTRIDE; 20 MAESTRO; 23 BARB.

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THE *Nation*

August 16, 1952

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Letters to the Editors

The Mormons and the Negro

Dear Sirs: Dr. Lowry Nelson's article, Mormons and the Negro, in your issue of May 24, grossly misrepresented the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Man is a dual being, spirit and body. The spirit in the form of man had a conscious existence as a child of God before mortal birth. One-third of God's children rebelled against Him and were ejected from Heaven (Revelation 12:4, 7), being denied a mortal body. These are followers of Satan. The Negro, contrary to Dr. Nelson's misrepresentation, was not neutral, nor in a "twilight zone between the Satanic hosts and . . . the hosts of Michael."

Dr. Nelson's erroneous ideas led him to this unfair statement: "Thus the blessings of the Mormon church cannot be extended to anyone with Negro 'blood'." The following facts are given in refutation.

1. The Negro may become a member of the church by baptism and thereby receive a remission of sins.
2. The Negro member may partake of the sacrament or communion—a blessing of the church.
3. In the Mormon church the priesthood is conferred on *all* worthy males, unlike other Christian churches. The Negro, because of action in the premortal life, may not receive the priesthood in mortality; therefore only limited activity is possible to him.
4. Latter Day Saints believe that after the resurrection of *all* mankind, assignments according to faith and works are made to four kingdoms, the highest being the celestial. It is possible for the faithful to become Sons of God (I John 3:1-3; Romans 8:13-17). In the ultimate and final purpose of God, this does not exclude the Negro. In the future life the Negro will "possess the priesthood, and receive all the blessings which we are now entitled to."
5. Everyone will have the privilege of hearing and accepting the Gospel, if not here, in the spirit world (I Peter 3:19-21; 4:6). Gospel ordinances (baptism, etc.) are performed vicariously in Latter Day Saints temples for the dead (I Corinthians 15:29; Hebrews 11:39, 40). The Negro member is entitled to have these ordinances performed in behalf of his deceased relatives.
6. Every child dying before the age of accountability, eight years, is saved in the Celestial Kingdom. This *includes* the Negro child.

Because we are all children of God, *including the Negro,* we should be interested in the social and economic welfare of the Negro. The Prophet Joseph Smith said, "Had I anything to do with the Negro, I would confine them by strict law to their own species, and put them on a national equalization." This would exclude marriage of whites with Negroes.

Latter Day Saints believe that everyone receives his place in the world, as to race and color, because of the exercise of free agency in the pre-earth life. Everyone accepted his earth status, including the Negro as to the priesthood. Therefore, the Mormon teaching is in accord with justice, contrary to what Dr. Nelson wrote. Acceptance of these teachings is based upon the extent to which a member accepts the revealed word of God, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

ROY W. DOXEY,
Assistant Professor of Religion,
Brigham Young University

Provo, Utah

Path to Peace: Force or Negotiation?

Dear Sirs: The Society of Friends, on the occasion of its 300th anniversary, is reminding us, by way of a movie called "A Time for Greatness," of the terrible risk the United States is running by pursuing a foreign policy based almost exclusively on force. The picture points out that "we are becoming brutalized," and that "operation killer" and "operation strangle" are now part of our daily vocabulary. The Friends say that the American people, having adopted a policy of force and containment of communism in 1947, have driven from their minds any thought of an approach to peace through negotiation and the application of human values. They are alarmed at our total dependence on armaments, which they bluntly state are no remedy for an insecure world.

By circulating their film, based on their widely distributed pamphlet "Steps to Peace," the Friends put before our eyes what we must forget if we are to commit ourselves to an out-and-out-armament race—the ugly record of human suffering during World War II. Since the early days of retreat in Korea newsreels of civilian carnage have disappeared from neighborhood screens. The Friends jolt us back to our senses.

The great trouble with the Truman Doctrine is that the United States has renounced negotiation with the Soviet Union as a path to peace. We have put all our chips on the board and bet on war. Force negates bargaining, horse-trading, give-and-take at the international level. What to us is containment is encirclement to the Russians. What is rearmament for defense to Americans is preparation for a new war to the people of Europe. Such are the preachments of the peace sect which possesses a history of liberalism from its birth and was first among North American organizations to decry slavery in 1688.

In 1952 the Friends officially believe that the Soviet Union also has a real stake in peace. They patiently recall that Panmunjom has brought agreement along with deadlock, that the United Nations has victories as well as vetoes to its credit. With pictures they show us plainly that in trying to stop communism in Korea we have destroyed Korea. Every American voter should have the chance to see their motion picture. Afterward, many will look about in alarm for a major political party with some alternative to current United States foreign policy.

ROBERT J. KLEIN

New York

Smeared for Promoting "The Nation"

Dear Sirs: Many thanks to you for the special civil-liberties issue. In my opinion the only holy warfare is the type waged by the publishers of *The Nation.*

I have been labeled a Communist by people who have seen your magazine on the stand of the store which I manage. I have been classified as "un-American" for having offered for sale Jerome Davis's new book "Peace, War, and You."

If the perusal, or the promotion, or the attempt to popularize such educational material be a subversive activity, then please, Mr. Adamic, in whatever "haven in the beyond" you may have found peace, reserve one small cloud for me.

Inclosed find a list of names and addresses with a check to cover the cost of twenty-five copies of How Free Is Free?

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Carthage, Mo.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · AUGUST 16, 1952 NUMBER 7

Del Vayos Cleared

After a hearing on Ellis Island the Immigration Department has officially lifted the "parole" under which J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* foreign editor, and his wife were readmitted into the United States last February upon their return from Europe. The decision established that there were no grounds for excluding Mr. and Mrs. del Vayo from this country and reaffirmed their legal right to be here.

Mr. del Vayo, who was foreign minister of Spain's last republican government, has been visiting Europe regularly since 1945 in his capacity as *The Nation's* foreign editor and as an accredited correspondent of the United Nations. Each time he was granted a reentry permit and readmitted without difficulty. Upon his return last February, however, he and his wife, despite their possession of validated reentry permits, were held on Ellis Island for three days. They were then released under the "parole" which the Immigration Department has now officially declared to be lifted.

The Shape of Things

Our Restless Allies

That things are going badly with NATO and with European defense plans generally, every day's dispatches bring more evidence to prove. The goals set at Lisbon are not being met. Even the present effort put forth by Britain and Western Europe, inadequate though it is, has created desperate economic strains which promise to get worse and already are producing political unrest and instability all the way from London to Rome. Germany is divided into several contending factions over rearmament and the issue of unity. Conscription riots have begun in Belgium. Pleven has told the defense chiefs in Washington that the failure to provide funds for the rebuilding of French defense industry will increase France's dependence on America and Europe's disequilibrium.

While these and related troubles are reported in the American press, their real effect is soft-pedaled. Press and public men alike tend to minimize them, and at the same time to accuse Europeans of asking too much and doing too little—a tendency stimulated by the demands of the political campaign. To get a more balanced understanding it is essential for Americans to know what Europe itself is thinking. One particularly important statement of a point of view which is spreading in Britain and Germany, as well as in France, appears on page 126 of this issue. The startling alternative M. Beuve-Méry presents—European neutrality or an Atlantic federation frankly under American control—may be challenged. But those who are shocked must find answers to the questions posed by the existing coalition of ostensibly equal states in which Washington can override the objections and fears of its allies but cannot and will not take responsibility for the consequences of doing so.

Realistic Reporting

By far the most effective regular commentary on European affairs is the weekly news analysis by Howard K. Smith over CBS. Every Sunday at 12:30 p. m. this brilliant and experienced observer interprets for Americans not only the results of Western policy but the opinions of Europe on this issue and other critical questions. The resulting picture is not a cheerful one, but its accuracy has been borne out by events. Last Sunday Mr. Smith revealed that his previous week's broadcast on the present state of NATO had been sharply assailed by Defense Secretary Lovett and Chief of Staff Omar Bradley. Lovett had called it "defeatist and irresponsible," while Bradley had dispatched a strong letter of protest. In excellent temper Mr. Smith announced that if his broadcast was wrong he apologized, and then went on to restate and carefully substantiate his original position.

The two commentaries are exactly the kind of reporting we believe this country needs if it is to base its policy on a realistic appraisal of facts. We do not question the right of our defense officials to disagree with Mr. Smith's interpretation, but we should consider it most unfortunate if their intervention should have the effect of limiting his freedom to broadcast the truth as he sees it.

Lesson for Liberals

The dismissal of James A. Wechsler from the television program "Starring the Editors" illustrates with dramatic clarity a fact often stressed by *The Nation*: repression moves by a logic of its own to engulf every

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Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

form of dissent from the particular orthodoxy that breeds it. Mr. Wechsler is a vehement anti-Communist, sharply critical of any individual or any brand of liberalism he considers less zealous in the cause. As editor of the New York *Post* he has shown scant sympathy for accused leftists who refused to recant or publicly "tell all" about their past associates and beliefs. But under his direction the *Post* has also rejected, and honorably opposed, the smear tactics of McCarthy and the excesses of government repression. Apparently it sensed no incongruity between its intolerance of conflicting views in the liberal ranks and its honest opposition to bigotry on the right.

Though precipitated by an article in the New York *Journal-American* "exposing" his long-acknowledged membership in the Young Communist League during his college days, the banning of Wechsler was obviously the result of the *Post's* strong stand against McCarthyism. Characteristically no account was taken of Wechsler's fifteen-year record of militant anti-communism. In fact, the action of the Grand Union Company, sponsors of "Starring the Editors," was so flagrant that the other members of the panel, including Edward B. Boyle who is news editor of the *Journal-American*, expressed their disapproval during the first broadcast after Wechsler's dismissal. This took courage, but we doubt that it will do much good. Far more effective would have been a refusal on the part of his colleagues to continue the program without him.

The first requisite for an effective response to the still spreading witch hunt is solidarity among its opponents and predestined victims. This has scarcely begun to emerge, but the unjust and ironic purging of Mr. Wechsler may serve to show a few people what is lacking among liberals—including the *Post's* editor.

The General's Albatross

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

GENERAL EISENHOWER now has a strategy for dealing with the troublesome issue of McCarthyism. He will give his backing to *all* Republicans, regardless of their stand on central issues; but this does not mean that he personally indorses "every single idea of every candidate." His decision is based on the assumption that it would be highly improper for him to repudiate McCarthy on the eve of the Wisconsin primary on September 9. Tradition dictates that a Presidential nominee should maintain a discreet policy of non-interference in state primaries. Those closest to the General infer, therefore, that he hopes Leonard F. Schmitt, who is opposing McCarthy in the Wisconsin primary, will win the Republican nomination and thereby dispose of the embarrassing issue of "McCarthyism."

But should McCarthy win, the General has another plan. He will attempt to dissociate himself from the Senator by making it quite clear, in a major speech delivered early in the campaign, that he is personally opposed to "smear" tactics and witch hunts. Moreover, he intends to avoid a personal appearance in Wisconsin. In these ways the General hopes to placate the Taftites and at the same time satisfy many independent voters who would like to see him repudiate McCarthy.

The plan may sound feasible; in reality it is politically unworkable as well as morally equivocal. Leonard F. Schmitt is an effective and militant campaigner, the type of candidate who is not only able but eager to battle it out with McCarthy in rough and realistic terms. Mr. Schmitt, however, was induced to enter the contest, at the last minute and at considerable personal sacrifice, only through the energetic intervention of General Eisenhower's backers. It is therefore apparent that Eisenhower is in part responsible for the presence of Mr. Schmitt in the campaign.

Yet it is now painfully clear that Schmitt faces enormous difficulties. His opponent has skilfully timed a surgical operation—which may or may not have something to do with a diaphragm distended by screaming "big lies" in the Senate—so as to upset the normal schedule of a pre-primary campaign. Joe is suddenly the silent candidate. His operation over, he has retired to the beautiful wooded resort area of northern Wisconsin, where he is comfortably inaccessible to press and radio and television. From this pleasant retreat Joe will doubtless issue communiqués from time to time in which his health will be described as "on the mend" but requiring more relaxation and rest; under no circumstances, his physicians will report, should the Senator attempt to campaign until after September 9. The Senator's headquarters may even report one or more "relapses" between now and September 9.

In the meantime Mr. Schmitt is confronted with a difficult moral dilemma: to conduct a "high level" and quite irrelevant campaign against the Senator, citing chivalry as the excuse for lack of candor, or to tear into Joe and invite the charge of being a poor sport. Our position would be that a bad Senator is not made any better by an operation on his diaphragm. In any case, Schmitt is badly in need of funds, particularly for television programs, and has only a short time in which to campaign.

Under these circumstances General Eisenhower's silence may well bring about the nomination of McCarthy. Is this what the General really wants? If McCarthy wins the Republican nomination by a heavy vote, he will be that much harder to defeat in November. And there is a great deal more at stake in the fight to deny McCarthy the nomination of the Republican Party than is generally imagined. A huge vote for him on September 9 will not only buttress his own position but be used to the disadvantage of Senator William Benton, who faces a hard fight for reelection in Connecticut. It will also have a bearing on the effort to name a Democrat to succeed the late Senator Brien McMahon in the same state. If Clare Boothe Luce should be the Republican Senatorial nominee, would the Luce publications abandon their campaign against McCarthyism or would they demand that General Eisenhower publicly repudiate McCarthy? With Senator Benton so prominently identified with the fight to unseat Joe, "McCarthyism" is bound to be a major issue in Connecticut as well as Wisconsin.

OBVIOUSLY Eisenhower is not charged with any responsibility to help Democratic nominees for the Senate in Connecticut. But he does have a responsibility for the long-range future of the Republican Party. He has said that he wants Republicans elected so that they can organize the Senate and the House; but McCarthy will not be of any assistance on this score. His presence in the Senate will impede, not further, the effort to organize a workable Republican majority. The Senator has been and will remain a divisive influence in the Republican Party. Without ideas or principles, McCarthy can no more unite the Republicans of Wisconsin than he can bring unity to the Republican Party nationally. He can only spread confusion. This, in fact, is his purpose, his mission. Thus he is more than an albatross around the neck of the General and the Republicans; he threatens from within the Republican Party's very existence.

By remaining silent or denouncing smear tactics without mentioning McCarthy, General Eisenhower has taken a position that will not serve to silence McCarthy after the September 9 primary; nor will it silence Senators Bricker, Kem, Jenner, and Dirksen. Their spirited defense against Governor Stevenson's sharp attack on McCarthyism will make McCarthyism an issue, willy-nilly. If the General remains silent, he will concede that there are in fact "two" Republican parties. And if he must repudiate McCarthy sooner or later—it is difficult to imagine his embracing McCarthyism under any circumstances—then it is much better that he do so now, when the repudiation might aid in removing McCarthyism as an issue.

Regardless of party preferences or other considerations, liberals and progressives throughout the country should give prompt aid to the campaign of Leonard F. Schmitt to win the Republican nomination in Wisconsin. They should, for example, aid the "Dollars for Decency" campaign in Wisconsin which has been organized to help Schmitt. This they can do by sending their dollars to Donald E. Semling, treasurer of Citizens for Schmitt for U. S. Senator Committee, Merrill, Wisconsin. They can also write or wire General Eisenhower or his representatives in their state, urging the General to repudiate McCarthy while there is still time for the repudiation to be effective. In this instance the tradition that a Presidential nominee should not intervene in a state primary of his party should be subordinated to the best interests of the country.

It is no more possible today to "steer clear" of McCarthy than it once was of Hamilton Fish or Rankin. Independent voters want to be assured of more than the General's personal attitude; they want McCarthy to be defeated. If the General fails them now, they will remember in November.

The Negro Vote: Ike or Adlai?

BY ARMISTEAD SCOTT PRIDE

Jefferson City, Missouri

IF THE word of Negro newspaper editors can be taken as gospel, the Republicans may get the short end of the Negro vote in November. In the first month after the conventions the Ike-Nixon team has come off second best in the headlines and editorials of the nation's 184 Negro newspapers—94 in the South, 78 in the North, 12 on the West Coast. All over the country the story is the same: the Democrats just have a little more to offer this time. If the Republicans have a good man, Dwight Eisenhower, so have the Democrats, Adlai Stevenson. Little can be said against either one. It is true that Ike's running-mate, Richard Nixon, has drawn no noticeable ire, while John Sparkman for Vice-President raises the Negro's hackles—he's from Alabama, isn't he? But some solid-thinking journals point out that died-in-the-wool Bible Belters like Hugo Black and Alben Barkley went to Washington and turned into fair liberals; so there may be hope for Alabama John, a "calculable" risk.

The chief target of the Negro editors' barbs is the Republican civil-rights plank, which just did not make the grade; accusations of "double-cross" in the engineering of it have also been heard. Roy Wilkins of the N. A. A. C. P. labeled it a "state's-rights" plank. There are apologists for it but no champions. The Democratic plank, praised by N. A. A. C. P. President Walter White as a "victory," is a stronger statement, say the editors.

The nation's largest Negro paper, the *Afro-American* (weekly circulation 205,000), an Atlantic Coast chain published at Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Newark, and Philadelphia, seems headed toward Stevenson, though it supported Dewey both times he ran. How else construe that black eight-column, two-line streamer carried on July 19, "Weak G. O. P. Rights Plank Appeals to Dixie Voters," and its editorial warning, "By being forthright the Democrats can still count on the support of the great masses of the people"? And what about its reminder on August 2 that Dixie votes were not needed to put Stevenson over and its expressed admiration for Stevenson as "an experienced administrator"?

The New Deal–Fair Deal Chicago *Defender*, third among Negro weeklies, stands firm, and its four strategically located affiliates—the Louisville *Defender*, the *Michigan Chronicle* (at Detroit), the New York *Age*, and the Tri-State *Defender* (at Memphis)—are unabashed Democratic converts. At least three officers of the Chicago paper have received Democratic appointments during the past year. To its post-convention streamer "Dixiecrats Bow, Eat Crow" the Chicago *Defender* added a photograph of Sparkman (no less!), and its lead editorial, headed "Democrats Slay the Dixie Dragon," was accompanied by a cartoon showing President Truman holding a scroll labeled "The Program of Roosevelt and Truman" in one hand and raising Stevenson's hand in victory with the other.

The newly acquired tabloid, the New York *Age*, played down the Republican convention and amply covered the Democratic. The same imbalance was apparent in the Detroit and Memphis papers. The Louisville *Defender* prefers the Democratic platform, but it cannot forget a blunt truth with which every Negro editor must reckon: "Since Negroes became two-party conscious it is no longer possible to presume a Negro's political affiliation."

It is safe to place the Pittsburgh *Courier*, second in circulation to the *Afro-American*, in the Eisenhower-Nixon camp. Its report that Governor Stevenson was to "campaign on a watered platform" went on the last page, while page one carried this banner: "Clark Undresses Democrats' Empty Civil-Rights Program: Lashes Southerners, Gullible Negroes." (John Clark is the *Courier's* political analyst.)

In Truman's home state the papers are coy. The traditionally Republican Kansas City *Call*, with a circulation of 35,000, whose general manager recently received a Truman appointment, finds Ike an attraction even if his platform is weak but applauds the Democrats' liberal oratory at Chicago. "It is to our advantage," it says noncommittally, "to make friends of

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everybody, even the Southerners, and together we will build a finer and more democratic America." At the Illinois end of the state the St. Louis *Argus* calls the Democrats' civil-rights plank a "big victory" but Sparkman a bad omen. In an editorial cartoon Stevenson clears a civil-rights high-jump bar that stops the Alabaman. The St. Louis *American* weighs two views: the short look gives the voter a choice between the Tweedledee Ike and Tweedledum Adlai; the long look, thanks to Senator Long's heresy and Barkley's swan song, foretells the end of the Dixiecrats.

Out West the Eisenhower forces will have an uphill pull to win over the three Los Angeles Negro papers. The *Tribune's* husband-wife team (publisher and editor) went as delegate-alternate to Chicago blowing loud on the Kefauver whistle. The *Sentinel*, for Dewey in 1948, has observed that another Republican defeat would mean that the party was "headed for extinction." The *California Eagle* announced, "G. O. P. Snubs Negroes in Bid to South," and titled its editorial "The G. O. P. Doesn't Want Us." Nevertheless, the *Eagle* fears that "Stevenson's managers were playing footsie with the Dixiecrats."

IN THE South, where Negro Republicans used to come a dime a dozen, there is little enthusiasm for the ticket. The foremost Southern Negro weekly, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, which was for Roosevelt in 1944 and for Dewey in 1948, expresses no choice. It approves of Nixon's youth but finds the Republican nominees captive to a platform of compromise. The Democrats' civil-rights plank is also inadequate, it says, and Sparkman is the big question mark for Negro voters. But it points to Hugo Black as a model for Sparkman. "Outside of their political environment," observes the Virginia weekly, "most Southerners are fair-minded." Several other papers feel the same way about Sparkman.

The South's sole Negro daily, the Atlanta *World*, guide of half a dozen papers that peddle its editorial position, hesitates between admiration for a "strong" Democratic civil-rights plank and a desire to see the South develop further a two-party system.

The two leading papers in Louisiana, the *Louisiana Weekly* of New Orleans and the *Sun* of Shreveport, have likewise clapped their hands over their mouths. The *Sun* sees Ike in a tough spot; the *Weekly* hopes "that the majority of Negro votes will go to the candidate whose personality appears to be sincere in regard to the welfare of *all people* of these United States."

The Houston *Informer*, which controls the Dallas *Express* and a small Southwestern chain, gives no indication that it has departed from its 1944-48 Democratic alliance. Its chief preoccupation at present is the "fallacy of the states'-rights argument" as it affects proposed federal F. E. P. C. action.

The Fair-Employment Planks

At both conventions the core of the fight over the civil-rights plank was the question of a compulsory Federal Fair Employment Practices Act. Here is how the issue was finally handled in the "operative" clauses of both planks:

REPUBLICAN

"[We favor] enacting federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices. Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy."

DEMOCRATIC

"We favor federal legislation effectively to secure . . . the rights to equal opportunity for employment."

Such papers as the San Antonio *Register*, the Dallas *Star-Post*, the Savannah *Herald*, the Greensboro (North Carolina) *Future Outlook*, the Baton Rouge *Weekly Leader*, the Miami *Times*, the Greenville (Mississippi) *Delta Leader*, and the Columbia (South Carolina) *Palmetto Leader* gave most space to the Democratic proceedings. Alone among the Arkansas weeklies, the *Arkansas Survey-Journal* of Little Rock declared editorially that "numerous Negro leaders in the state support Kefauver."

The Savannah *Tribune*, now in its seventy-seventh year, has become disillusioned with present-day platform promises. Two of its July 31 editorials—"Scraps of Paper" and "Democracy"—displayed mixed feelings: "Democracy loses no matter who wins if platform promises are not followed through or are repudiated."

Support for the party of Jefferson is offered by the *Oklahoma Eagle* of Tulsa, which describes the Republican civil-rights plank as clothed in "Mother Hubbard garb . . . that covers everything and touches nothing."

John McCray, South Carolina Negro Democratic organizer and editor of the Columbia *Lighthouse and Informer*, praises the Democratic ticket, and that goes, he says, for Sparkman, who sat tight in his convention seat at Philadelphia in 1948 when the Alabama delegation bolted on the civil-rights issue. "It's a pretty good slate," in McCray's opinion.

Among Negro weeklies the strongest Republican rooters are in the North, in places like Cleveland, New York, Boston, and Newark, but even they utter a few cat-calls. The New York *Amsterdam News*, while definitely Republican, keeps a critical eye on what the Ike zealots say and do. Eisenhower, avers the *News*, is "the choice of Republicans and Democrats," and if the five-star general needs any prompting, Dewey is always there to lend a "firm hand"

"Spineless" is the adjective applied to the Republican civil-rights plank by the able Cleveland *Call and Post,* but a bold banner proclaims: "Sparkman Nomination Will Lose Negro Vote for Democrats" and "Negro Democratic Leaders Weep over Veep." Those so-called social advances under the Democrats, the paper reminds its readers, actually came as the result of Supreme Court decisions.

A small Hamilton, Ohio, weekly, the *Butler County American,* traditionally for the party of Lincoln, points an accusing finger at Stevenson's Springfield cronies.

In Boston the *Chronicle* sees the weak Republican civil-rights plank as a costly drain on voting strength, and the *Guardian,* otherwise a G. O. P. ally, says the "G. O. P. Pussyfoots on Civil Rights." The convention, moaned the *Guardian* editorial writer, "smelled of the stockyards to me, and I am wondering if the Democrats would like to adopt a motherless child."

"I met Ike, I like Ike," declared the *New Jersey Herald News* editor, Oliver W. Brown, but added that Ike would find it a ticklish task to woo the Negro vote with the platform his party gave him. Negroes, he said, are disturbed by the extent of Southern influence in both parties.

For the time being the two Omaha weeklies, the *Star* and the *Guide,* and the Cleveland *Herald* are fence-sitters. The Kansas City (Kansas) *Plain Dealer,* leaning to Eisenhower, gives the Democrats the edge. The Indianapolis *Recorder* feels the same way. The veteran Des Moines weekly, the *Bystander,* devoted its between-conventions issue to the Progressives, quoting their Negro vice-presidential candidate as seeing "no hope" in the major parties.

The Republicans left the Negro voter "in the lurch," in the view of Cecil Newman's Twin City papers, the Minneapolis *Spokesman* and the St. Paul *Recorder.* The Democrats have a "worthy" standard-bearer, and their civil-rights plank is a "trifle stronger" than the G. O. P. could produce. As for Sparkman, well, say the Newman papers, "Negroes have voted for three Southerners in the past twenty years for Vice-President"—Garner, Truman, and Barkley. "Aside from Garner, the others have been more friendly to the Negro's progress."

Three months are bound to make some difference and resolve indecision. The bulk of these papers, even the confirmed party faithfuls, are Negro first and Democratic or Republican second. The Negro realizes he cannot win the civil-rights game in one election, but he has his eye on a trick or two. No one knows what his trump cards are better than the Negro editor.

The Case for a Neutral Europe

BY HUBERT BEUVE-MERY

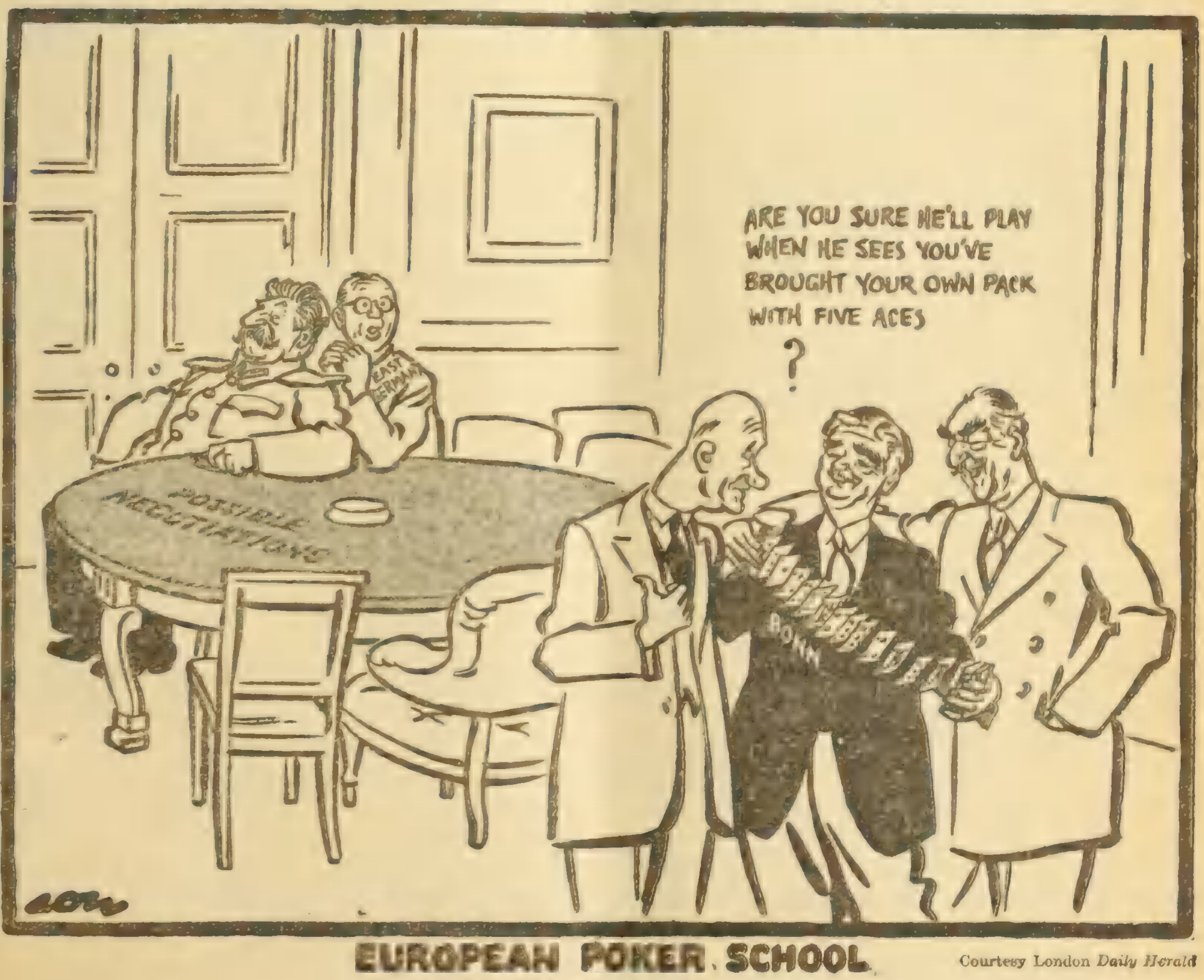
Hubert Beuve-Méry, director of Le Monde *of Paris, one of the great journalists to rise out of the French Resistance, is perhaps his country's foremost spokesman for "neutralism." His independent editorial policy resulted, last winter, in an attempt to remove him from* Le Monde's *directorship. But supported whole-heartedly by his staff and by a majority of the newspaper's stockholders, Beuve-Méry retained both his position and his independence.*

ON JUNE 28, 1919, less than eight months after Germany's capitulation, the peace treaty was solemnly signed at Versailles. Seven years later, on September 10, 1926, the Weimar Republic entered the League of Nations. Foreign Minister Stresemann, warmly greeted by Aristide Briand, told the Geneva assembly that "the total disarmament of Germany imposed by the Versailles treaty constitutes the first step toward general disarmament." Seven years passed again, and on October 15, 1933, Hitler quit Geneva, demanding an "equality of rights worthy of Germany" and asserting that "the German people are profoundly convinced that they were not responsible for the war." To an admiring world Hitler presented a National Socialist Germany that knew how to overpower the "red revolt" and prevent "the advance posts of a revolutionary Asiatic empire" from being established on the Rhine and the North Sea.

History repeats itself but never quite in the same manner. It does not look as if any peace treaty would follow the capitulation of May, 1945. However, by what the London *Times* was not afraid to call a "dramatic reversal of alliances" West Germany has been included willy-nilly in the European Defense Community and consequently in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The carefully prepared stages of the peace treaty and the disarmament agreements have been abandoned. This is indeed an acceleration of history.

What can be expected as a result of this development? At first glance the answer is likely to be: peace. But longer examination of the facts and their consequences permits one to reply with no less assurance: war. Whenever the armaments race acquires such a tempo that its burdens become insupportable, war can be predicted with considerable certainty. Before the recent agreements were signed at Bonn and Paris, such an outcome might still have been doubted. It was not certain that the Atlantic Pact would subvert the Marshall Plan, that the Schuman Plan would prepare a future "arsenal of the democracies," that the Pleven Plan—allowing originally for modest German units of four to five thousand men—would necessarily produce a new Wehrmacht. Our leaders seemed to be so sure of themselves, they pronounced the word "never" with such feeling, that any expression of skepticism appeared unpardonable prejudice. Meanwhile, each day brought new proof that the European initiatives could make no progress as long as they were adopted, sustained—and fatally oriented—by American diplomacy. How can you say "no" to the Americans? Will it not be enough to ask them once more for guaranties? Guaranties do not particularly inconvenience strong powers when they grant them, and they permit weaker powers to console themselves with illusions.

As soon as the agreements were signed they were used by the United States to block new discussions with the Russians. The situation is tragically clear. At the expense of essential tasks—reconstruction, reorganization of the army, development of Africa—France has poured more wealth down the Indo-Chinese drain than it has received under the Marshall Plan—and to no purpose. (General Eisenhower, for whose profound honesty we cannot be too grateful, recently reminded the voters of Indianapolis that the war in Indo-China will cost France this year more than one and one-half billion dollars. In four years France's share of Marshall Plan funds has amounted to two and one-half billion dollars.) The extreme weakness of France in Europe has been exploited by the United States as an argument for the rebirth of the German army; the Russians have used this in turn as the excuse for a vigorous call to arms in East Germany. But West Germany cannot raise an army rapidly without the help of old Nazi cadres and of officers sympathetic to the Nazi regime. In Europe, Nazis, Fascists, Falangists, and the old Vichy militia are considered to be the most trustworthy supporters of the West. In Asia, the United States, the champion of democratic liberties, must enlist under its banner such figures as Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Bao Dai.


ARE YOU SURE HE'LL PLAY WHEN HE SEES YOU'VE BROUGHT YOUR OWN PACK WITH FIVE ACES
?
EAST GERMANY
POSSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS
BONN
LOW

EUROPEAN POKER SCHOOL

Courtesy London *Daily Herald*

No wonder the average European, who must reconstruct a decent world for himself on the bloody ruins of the fascist regimes, makes no secret of his confusion. He suspects that the means employed by the West threaten the ends sought at least as much as they assure them, and he feels that they make a real Franco-German reconciliation more difficult. Under such circumstances, how can Europeans be expected to sacrifice bravely their goods, their lives, and the lives of their children? Whether we like it or not, the problem we face in continental Europe, and most particularly in the matter of Franco-German relations, is moral, social, economic, and political before it is military.

Since the Americans often lack vision and prudence and the Europeans public spirit and political firmness, the situation becomes more absurd every day. The Americans are weary of giving so much attention and money to ungrateful peoples unwilling to defend themselves. Europe is annoyed at always being treated as a debtor by a benefactor who subjects it to the risk of total destruction. A divided Germany is asked to raise two fratricidal armies. France bleeds in the Far East for the common cause and must plead against Washington at The Hague in defense of the very legitimacy of its presence in Morocco. France has even permitted an American army to establish itself in Morocco. General de Gaulle, therefore, recently felt justified in protesting against "a sort of protectorate" which does not even protect. Furthermore, while the United States controls the greater part of the world's riches, it is reluctant to distribute them freely and maintains and even raises tariff walls that prevent Europeans from acquiring the dollars they need. Such are some of the troublesome aspects of a coalition that is trying to prepare for the most terrible of wars.

ELEMENTARY common sense demands that we do not linger in such a dangerous situation. If there is really a threat of aggression, if the European front is indeed a sector of the common front, worth as much as Korea and to be defended at any price, the Americans should send thirty or forty divisions across the Atlantic. But because such troops are likely to get the impression that they are in conquered countries, because it is futile to argue about our sovereignty when we are not even capable of defending it, because the Presidential election in the United States appears more important to Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians than the choice of their own chiefs of state, the logical conclusion to be drawn is that we should organize around Washington a real Atlantic federation. Local liberties would be preserved to the extent they have been in Texas or New Mexico. The sacrifices demanded under the plan for federation—particularly the liquidation of colonial possessions, so bitterly disputed today—would be compensated by a more equitable distribution of the risks and expenses. If the risks in a certain geographical area could not be equalized completely, at least the conscription laws and the cost of reconstruction could be the same for everybody. In cases of partial or total invasion by the enemy, it would be understood that territories to be recovered should not enjoy an immunity similar to that granted certain industrial establishments in World War II.

It will be said that this is a mad idea, or a farce in bad taste. In fact, an American, Clarence Streit, has been for a long time the most resolute apostle of Atlantic Union, and several dozen United States Senators and Representatives and several hundred other prominent Americans have been working five years for its realization. Whoever rejects the idea of a federal union with the United States is forced to consider alternative projects for the organization of a free and independent Europe.

"Bravo!" cries Mr. Taft, "we won't have to beg for bayonets in France or Germany; let Europe develop its own Monroe Doctrine." Unfortunately, Europe can no longer apply a Monroe Doctrine to Africa or Asia Minor, as the United States has done in South America. Europe cannot even hold out against Soviet aggression and will be unable to do so for a long time. Accordingly, Europe—with England probably excluded—should be neutralized. It should be sufficiently armed not to be a freely offered victim, and sufficiently disarmed to bar offensive action and the sacrifice of social progress and economic stability to military strength. To induce the Russians to accept and even guarantee this neutrality, Moscow should be assured that Europe and its immediate dependencies will not furnish bases or other aid against an aggression thus made inconceivable. At the same time Washington could be assured that the Europeans, firmly on guard against any extension of the cold war, are by no means inclined to move into the opposite camp. A Europe that could show the morale of the Finns and Norwegians, the public spirit of the English, and the defensive power of the Swedes or Swiss would really have nothing to fear from the Russians—especially if Moscow plainly understood that aggression on its part would bring into play the American guaranty and unleash world war.

A neutral Europe strikes many Europeans as a crazier and even more dangerous solution than organic union with the United States. In their view, the aggressiveness and drive for expansion of the Russians are self-evident and the source of all the trouble. But while only a blind or dishonest person can deny that the Soviet Union seizes every opportunity to increase its influence in the world, it must also be stated that Russia did not attack Greece after the failure of General Markos, or Berlin at the time of the air lift, or Yugoslavia after its resounding secession, and has not crossed Iran's open frontier. Even in Korea it is quite probable that nothing would have happened if the Americans, two years before war began, had not critically weakened their position by giving free rein to the swaggering Syngman Rhee. Like utter simpletons, Europeans, out of fear of war, appear inclined to dash headlong into war.

While a puerile exchange of notes between East and West continues, a mechanism has been set in motion whose acceleration will not be easy to control. If the West would restore the *status quo ante* in Germany, it might devise a statute of control similar to that imposed on Austria, which would represent very modest but none the less real progress. But could this be achieved without the meeting of the Big Four or Five proposed recently by President Auriol—a meeting that the American elections make very improbable for the next few months? Western middle and upper classes are much more likely to favor the rearmament of Germany today just as they once approved of Munich, and for the same reasons. At that time, so the argument went, it was better to help Germany, even a Nazi Germany, whatever the price asked, since sooner or later Moscow had to be fought. To weaken Germany would strengthen communism. Today, people still labor under the illusion that the rearmament of Germany is the only way to stop Moscow, and anyone who dares to doubt this is pilloried. Let us hope that the same causes do not produce the same effects.

Our Three-Penny Opera

BY HERBERT GRAF

THE balance sheets of the leading opera companies of America and Europe offer ample proof that "grand opera," if artistically produced, is a money-losing proposition. In Europe yearly government subsidies for the major opera companies in recent seasons have ranged from $350,000 for municipal theaters like that in Zurich, to approximately $500,000 for La Scala in Milan, the Teatro dell'Opera in Rome, and Covent Garden in London, to about $750,000 for the two opera houses in Vienna. The opera in Paris and the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires receive more than $1,000,000 a year from their governments. Even opera houses in smaller European cities enjoy subsidies which arouse the envy of American opera companies. Opera is well anchored in European cultural life and accordingly is guaranteed government support.

In the United States, opera, originally imported and sponsored by wealthy society, has not yet become an organic part of the community, nor has it found an organic form of civic sponsorship. Even the Metropolitan Opera, which has the advantage of national prestige and wider sources of income than any other opera company in this country, rests on an insecure financial foundation. In the foreword to the official Statement of Operations for the 1950-51 season George A. Sloan, chairman of the association's board of directors, expressed the hope that by the repeal of the federal admissions tax, which amounted to around $550,000 in that season, the deficit could be reduced to manageable proportions. His hope was vain, for only six months later General Manager Rudolf Bing stated that for the 1951-52 season a deficit of more than $300,000 must be expected—over and above the amount due to become available after the repeal of the admissions tax. Since the successful 1951 drive for $750,000 rules out further public fund-raising campaigns for some time, the financial situation of the Metropolitan continues to be serious.

The other major opera companies are in varying degree in a similar situation. Their number is pitifully small; only five companies in this country give more than thirty performances a year at their home site—the Metropolitan, the New York City Opera Company, Salmaggi's Opera in New York, the Cincinnati Summer Opera, and the San Francisco Opera (listed in order of the number of performances). And those familiar with their operations know the severe limitations most of them have to apply in order to continue even this modest existence—forgoing new productions, rehearsals, and modern repertoire.

On the other side of the ledger, opera is undoubtedly becoming more popular throughout the country. Proof of this is provided by the record attendance at the Metropolitan (93 per cent during the 1950-51 season), the nation-wide appeal of its Saturday broadcasts (their audience is estimated to be between twelve and fourteen million), the success of other resident and traveling opera companies, and the emergence of civic opera companies. First among these last ranks the New York City Opera, which offers an interesting program with

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many new artists at prices up to $3.60. New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Fort Worth, Boston, and other large cities have similar civic organizations. One characteristic of this development not found in any other country is the emergence of numerous operatic "workshops," generally connected with universities and colleges but using a growing number of professional directors. Examples are the opera departments of Indiana University, the University of Southern California, and Columbia University in New York.

Further proof of opera's growing popularity is found in the trend of Broadway toward opera—witness the success of Menotti's "The Medium" and "The Consul." (Of course the Metropolitan Opera shows a similar trend toward Broadway in employing well-known stage directors like Margaret Webster, Alfred Lunt, and the British director, Tyrone Guthrie.) And finally one notes the success of the opera festivals held at Central City, Colorado, and elsewhere, the rating of the NBC series of televised opera versions, and the wide popular appeal of the operatic excerpts in "The Great Caruso," the full-length film version of "Traviata" ("The Lost One"), and the British-made "Tales of Hoffmann." To sum up, it is undeniable that Mr. and Mrs. America are showing increasing interest in opera.

BUT this new impetus to opera in the United States has not been matched by the growth of production methods and sponsorship. Except for workshops under educational and non-profit auspices, opera has not developed an organic connection with the American community. Some opera lovers dream of government subsidies along European lines; others are resigned to continued shoestring support. Would it not be more logical first to try to anchor opera more solidly in American life and then to seek new, indigenous methods of production and sponsorship?

What would these new methods be? Opera is still living an extravagant and isolated life. It requires a good-sized orchestra, a local stock company of singers, a chorus, and a ballet. It would profit by a wide dissemination through radio and television, greater interest on the part of schools, and association with light opera.

Let us imagine opera as part of a single civic musical project. Let us suppose that men representing the local orchestra, choir, music school, dance groups, light opera, and radio and television companies would unite on a common musical policy of which opera would be one important part. Let us suppose that this group, together with representatives of business, labor, and the enlightened public, would draw up a plan for all-year-round civic musical activity. First on the program would be a six months' symphony season, in which opera would be included, running from the middle of October to the middle of April. In the next two weeks there would be a spring festival presenting all the local musical talent and guest artists. Following a period of preparation in June, a season of light opera and summer concerts would be organized for July and August. Then, after a brief vacation, preparations would start for the new winter season. All this activity would be combined with year-round radio and television programs transmitting opera, ballet, and concerts. Such a project would provide the local orchestra, chorus, ballet, and stock company of singers with all-year employment. Thus the unions involved would be inclined to accept reasonable terms. There might be a tie-up with a local music school and with the educational program of the city, county, and state.

With such a goal, the board of directors of the whole project, representing the various interests involved, would proceed to plan the building of a modern Civic Music Center—or better still, a Civic Center combining the musical, dramatic, and pictorial arts. The center would contain at least one large auditorium for "grand opera," popular attractions, and mass-meetings; a theater for legitimate plays and smaller operas; a lecture and chamber-music hall; rehearsal halls; recording rooms; studios and offices which could be rented; school facilities; and so on. It is not an unreasonable assumption that the city would be willing to furnish the site and also take an active part in raising the funds for the building—we know that the auditorium of the University of Minnesota is used by the Minneapolis Symphony for a token fee and the Civic War Memorial Opera House by the San Francisco Opera Association. The building would ultimately become the property of the city, county, or state. Tax exemption for its non-profit activities could be claimed under the new law, and actual official financial support is conceivable. In return for certain public services such as school performances, this very thing has happened for the San Francisco, Philadelphia, and North Carolina orchestras as well as for the Guild Opera Company in Los Angeles.

Commercial participation of local trade organizations, chambers of commerce, clubs, unions, and radio and television stations—which would profit greatly from the existence of a local musical stock company—would provide additional sources of income. And last but not least, the generosity of American cultural foundations and public-minded individuals could surely be counted on to help. Through such combined efforts opera would become an organic part of the American community and entitled to claim civic support—not in the form of the sumptuous subsidies granted to European opera but in fulfilment of a genuine new sense of the community's responsibility for the cultural property of its citizens.

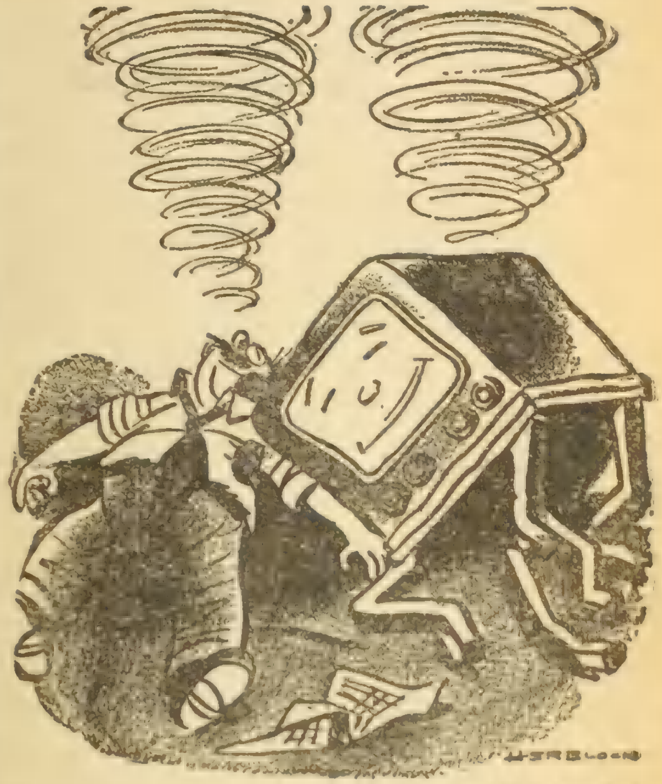
Window on the Smoke-filled Room

BY DOUGLAS FOSTER

I AM far from being an expert on politics. As a veteran, a recent college graduate, and head of a family of five, I am naturally politically conscious in this election year, but I have had no direct contact with political organizations and have only a vague idea of the way political machines are built or how they operate at national nominating conventions. Thus watching the Republican and Democratic conventions on television this year was literally an eye-opener for me. Since I approached the proceedings with no preconceptions of steam rollers or phony drafts, I believe it is significant that what I saw convinced me that Republicans and Democrats alike were simply doing their best to camouflage steam rollers to look like band wagons and phony drafts to look like spontaneous calls to service, all for the benefit of the television audience.

To its credit, the television industry took seriously its responsibility to present to its vast audience not merely the surface trimmings of both conventions—the speeches on the platform, the demonstrations and roll-call votes on the floor—but as much as possible of the important committee activities, the backstage maneuvering, and even the caucuses of the delegations. For me the educational value of such thorough coverage was tremendous. I had known for some time that power politics was the basis of international relations, but I was unaware, before television brought the nominating conventions into my living-room, of the extent to which power politics is also the *modus operandi* of domestic affairs. At the Republican convention, for example, it clearly made no difference what issues were involved in the battle for contested delegations. All the speeches in the Credentials Committee and on the floor of the convention were a complete waste of time, since nobody cared who was legally entitled to sit in the convention. The Eisenhower supporters voted for pro-Eisenhower delegations and the Taft supporters voted for pro-Taft delegations. It was simply a struggle for power between the two factions.

I learned a great deal, too, about parliamentary procedure and its vital importance as an instrument of tactics. I was impressed with the enormous importance of the convention chairman, and particularly with his power to recognize or not recognize would-be speakers, so ruthlessly exercised at crucial moments in the Democratic convention by the thoroughly experienced Sam Rayburn of Texas. I found myself wondering how often the Speaker of the House might have killed legislation in Congress by just such nifty gavel work as he displayed in the convention hall.



Courtesy Washington *Post*

It took me a long time to figure out in whose interest Rayburn was so ably wielding his gavel. Not until late Friday night, when the Democrats' third ballot got under way, did the parliamentary maneuvering begin to make sense to me. When Averell Harriman threw his support to Governor Stevenson, I caught a glimpse for the first time of one of the strings in this vast marionette show. Then, when the Michigan delegation was being polled, it seemed to me that the puppeteer had appeared among his creatures. Rarely have I sensed the unfolding of a secret plot so plainly as during those minutes of near-silence when the camera silently followed big Jim Farley as he stalked from delegation to delegation, passing "the word." All the meaning of the Democratic convention, and of the Republican as well, was expressed in this dramatic sequence. Suddenly it became quite clear to me that there had never been any possibility of nominating anyone but Stevenson. The convention was a gigantic example of that proverbially American phenomenon, "the fix."

The seeds of disgust implanted in me during the early days of the Republican convention came to sickening

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DOUGLAS FOSTER is the pseudonym of a free-lance writer in New York.

fruition in that third ballot of the Democrats. I wanted to jump to the rostrum and scream, "Hoax! Hoax! Hoax!" for all the world to hear. I felt robbed of my birthright. But I suppose in reality I was robbed only of my illusions.

YES, watching the conventions on television was an illuminating experience. In my anger at the visible process of fooling the people I almost forgot the ironic fact that the convention nominees were probably the best candidates of each party. I could not forgive America this fatuous exhibition of phoniness. Politics was only play-acting after all, not reality. The climaxes were carefully plotted; the eloquence was thoroughly rehearsed; the dénouement was inevitable from the start.

And yet there were moments when the drama, if not real, was exciting. If the defeat of Robert Taft lacked the qualities of tragedy, there was nevertheless a certain grandeur in his desperate struggle for power, a struggle which had its practical culmination in the rhetorical flights of Senator Dirksen as he defended the pro-Taft delegation from Georgia. With magnificent skill, which even his most violent opponents could not but admire, the Illinois Senator fashioned a giant bubble of apparent truth to which for a few moments the whole convention, perhaps the whole nation, gave hypnotized attention. And then young Senator Eastvold of Washington stepped to the rostrum and calmly punctured the bubble.

Of the set speeches at the Democratic convention the best were those of Alben Barkley and Mrs. Roosevelt. But there were some utterances that affected me more. There were the hoarse desperate shouts for recognition from Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois on Thursday night, when the Kefauver-Harriman coalition was clamoring for adjournment. There was the moment of Rayburn's greatest triumph, when he squelched the coalition's attempt to appeal a point of order and insisted the motion to adjourn could be "laid upon the table." Most spine-chilling of all was Jim Farley's decisive tour of the convention floor which I mentioned above.

Perhaps my reaction to the televised conventions was extreme. The press saw events in Chicago in a different light, particularly the matter of Stevenson's nomination. Even such a pro-Eisenhower newspaper as the New York *Times* insists on the genuineness of the draft-Stevenson movement. But after all the stage-managing and manipulation I witnessed I am not convinced. Nor do I share the general opinion that Stevenson seemed uneasy and unwilling in his acceptance speech. To me his was just the kind of false modesty best calculated to perpetuate the myth of a draft. When the New York *Times* comments that this was "the first true draft of a nominee since the Republicans named James Garfield in 1880," I remember the two weeks of play-acting at Chicago and smile in cynical disbelief.

Perhaps my whole memory of the conventions is colored by pernicious images of bosses garnering votes with gestures of their little fingers. Perhaps the Eisenhower band wagon had other attractions than long-anticipated spoils for power-hungry young Republicans. Perhaps the antics of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and the Young Turks at the Democratic sessions were more than theatrical posturing. But I shall have to be confronted with a great mass of evidence before I can erase from my mind the doubts about American democracy raised by my participation through television in this year's nominating conventions.

Will We Gag Italian Films?

BY HENRY BRILL

Rome

ALTHOUGH the Supreme Court decision in "The Miracle" case was a severe defeat for the forces of censorship in the United States, certain well-organized pressure groups have not abandoned the attempt to impose their own rigid moral codes upon the American public. With the will, the power, and the money, they may be expected to go into action if freedom of ideas raises its head on the screen. It is doubtful, in fact, whether the decision on "The Miracle" will affect Hollywood at all. The American movie industry is controlled entirely by New York financial interests, as was made clear in the final instalment of Lillian Ross's brilliant article in the *New Yorker* about the filming of "The Red Badge of Courage." Hollywood has adopted, therefore, as everyone should know by now, voluntary self-censorship and is resolved to make movies which will offend no single pressure group and will be money-makers if nothing else.

Films produced abroad, however, are in a different category. Distributors with the courage and determination of Joseph Burstyn, who alone fought the pressure groups right to the Supreme Court and defeated them, can continue to import foreign films without fear that

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HENRY BRILL, European correspondent for several American publications, was in Rome recently for talks with Italian film executives.

they will be banned on "sacrilegious grounds." With this assurance, the Italian film industry, which produced Rossellini's "The Miracle," is trying to crash the American market in a big way. The results to date have been encouraging. A few weeks ago Leonard Goldenson of United Paramount Theaters, which controls 800-odd theaters in forty states, told representatives of Italian film companies that his firm was interested in handling their product. If other large distributors follow suit, the Italian industry, which produces about 120 films a year, will be able to compete with Hollywood in first-run movie houses all over the country.

The implications are clear: since Italian films with English dialogue dubbed in are more or less free of direct censorship, Italian producers must be induced to impose indirect censorship—that is, adhere to a production code of their own. And that is precisely the goal of a new campaign by the American Catholic Legion of Decency. If the campaign succeeds, it will be impossible for the Italians to keep on making such first-rate but controversial films as "The Bicycle Thief," "Paisan," and "The Miracle."

Beyond Comment

The House debated an amendment prohibiting the flying of any flag except Old Glory at any United States military installation. It was intended specifically to ban display of the United Nations flag, but when Congressman Rivers of South Carolina asked whether it would not also prohibit the flying of the Confederate flag, the amendment's sponsor admitted it would. The amendment was defeated sixty-four to two.—*From the Philadelphia* Bulletin.

A newly married youth, requesting [draft] reclassification, cited Deuteronomy 24:5, which reads: "When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one year and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken." The board refused to grant the request on the grounds that the Selective Service laws must take precedence.—*From the Los Angeles* Times.

[The Nation *will pay $2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.*]

TWO American priests arrived in Rome late last month. One was the Very Reverend Monsignor John J. McClafferty, dean of the Catholic University in Washington. Until four years ago Monsignor McClafferty was head of the Legion of Decency, and he is still a dominating influence in it. The present head is his former assistant, Monsignor Patrick J. Masterson. McClafferty stated very clearly in Rome that he was there as a tourist. His companion was Father Joseph Mahoney of Jersey City. The two priests were guided about the city by John Perdicari, Italian correspondent for *Film Daily*, an important American trade paper. Local representatives of the Hollywood film companies seem to stand in considerable awe of Mr. Perdicari.

On July 24 Perdicari, Monsignor McClafferty, and Father Mahoney held a half-hour conference with Eitel Monaco, head of the National Association of Italian Film Producers and of Italian Films Export. At this meeting Monsignor McClafferty proposed to Monaco, who has the backing of the Italian government, that the Italian industry, in order to "avoid past errors," should either have an American "adviser," permanently stationed in Italy, to warn Italian producers against "infringements of the American moral code" or send an Italian to the United States for orientation who on his return would act in such a capacity. Monaco was receptive to the first alternative but told McClafferty that Italian producers and directors, who are unused to controls of any kind, would have to be carefully handled—they would not tolerate any kind of censorship. McClafferty replied that no question of censorship was involved. "We feel," he said, "that by approaching the producer before a film is actually made we can point out to him certain things which are unacceptable to Americans." Perdicari added that such an adviser would of course work hand in hand with Catholic Action. Monaco then said that on this basis something could doubtless be worked out and that the matter would be settled when the Italian film executives went to New York in October for the Italian Film Week scheduled to be held at the Little Carnegie Theater.

The American priests were escorted on a grand tour of Cinecittà, Rome's largest movie studio. They also saw a special preview of Rossellini's latest film, "Europe '51." Perdicari explained to them that "beautiful" as the picture was, several things would have to be changed. "There is a scene," he said, "where a baby is shown naked and that will have to be cut. And the part of the priest will have to be rewritten in order to bring out the strength of the character. In the movie as it is now he has only a few lines and emerges as a weak rather than a forceful character."

It will be interesting to see whether the Italian film industry will meet this challenge or knuckle under like Hollywood. The church knows that the answer to the Supreme Court decision against direct censorship is what might be termed preventive censorship—that is, preventing an objectionable film from being made in the first place. Monsignor McClafferty has said, "We have certain moral codes in America which differ from those of, say, Japan or Italy. These moral codes must be defended and enforced." He evidently is unaware that the views of American Catholics do not necessarily reflect the views of all Americans.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I HAVE just returned from a trip by rail to California and back, and I can report that the country between is still there—a fact which air travelers and certified New Yorkers may easily overlook. I grew up in the wide open spaces, but I haven't crossed the country for a good many years, and even to me its extent and variety had a little ceased to be real. It all came back, however, the minute I left New York, and I found myself thinking that a roomette was a good deal like a sheep camp except that it's smaller, it has no cook-stove, and the view is far more limited. If the comparison seems arbitrary, let me add that I'm perhaps the only "New York intellectual" who at the age of three all but drowned in a sheep-dip hole on the summer range in Wyoming. Or it may have been Idaho.

AT CHICAGO I transferred to a regular Pullman on the California Zephyr, and the view was wider and higher. This is the train which has "vista domes" and is scheduled to catch all the best scenery, meaning mountains, by daylight, speeding over the flat spaces by dark. As I bedded down the first night I felt a little apologetic toward my Mormon great-grandparents who crossed the plains some hundred years ago at somewhat less than ninety miles an hour; the next night, stopping in Salt Lake City only fifteen minutes made me feel more than ever like a renegade. But at least I had a precedent in a grandfather who also passed up Utah and joined the gold rush. He later came back, to be sure, but he was never any better than a Jack Mormon. And then, too, I had a rendezvous with another forbear, my own father, who went overland to California in the late sixties. He also doubled back—the hard way. He drove a mule team, hauling freight, over the Sierras. He probably took the Donner Pass route, and the Zephyr dives through Feather River Canyon, but it was near enough—and no doubt like enough still—to make me see, far down at the bottom of the canyon, an odd conveyance making its way along the river's edge.

I WENT DIRECTLY to Carmel of the fabulous coastline, and I discovered, among other things, that the pioneer spirit is still alive, though its practitioners are usually called bohemians. Artists and kindred souls can no longer afford to live in Carmel and have moved farther into the wilderness, down the coast and up the canyons. (Considering the general disrepute of artists it is amazing with what regularity the bourgeoisie flocks to and takes over, by force of superior means, the sites that artists have spied out in the first place.) I attended a picnic at one of the farthest outposts. There are no modern conveniences (including high rents), but the view is magnificent. We were perched on the very edge of the Pacific, and the next big landfall West was made even more imminent by the presence of a young couple who had recently arrived from Hawaii in a thirty-six-foot boat. After lunch we repaired to a shack furnished with a fine collection of records and a grand piano and enjoyed a concert of Couperin and other long hairs by a composer in residence.

Robinson Jeffers still stands in Carmel proper. So does his tower, commanding the only large and "unimproved" open space in the immediate vicinity. It is pleasant to come upon. On the other hand, since this bit of coast was bound to be built up—and building has mushroomed since the war—one is glad to observe that the houses, mostly flat-roofed and modern, looking smaller than they actually are, overhung with trees and banked with flowers, range from beautiful to inoffensive; that they nestle rather than jut, and like the battened-down Cape Codders at 'Sconset, are more at one than at odds with the sea- and landscape. The only trouble is that there are too many of them.

I GOT A LIFT from Carmel to San Francisco. We had lunch under redwoods in the Big Basin, caromed over a skyline drive past dry gold upland meadows bordered with green trees, paid a call or two at Stanford on its flat sun-drenched plain, and brought up on one of the lesser hills of San Francisco in time for dinner. San Francisco, I was told, has been on a painting spree, the colors are white or pastel, and the city looks as if it had been freshly scrubbed and dressed for a summer party. But what gives it its antic air, of course, is those roller-coaster hills which make you laugh as you gasp. There must be tall tales about them—I could almost swear that I myself saw a car that kept going, by stages one block high, right up and up into the sky. Their summits look more like continental divides than a continental divide ever does—it is usually a plateau. The sight, endlessly repeated, of automobiles poised against the sky one instant and utterly gone the next is somehow very satisfying to the comic sense. And the cable cars, looking like antique toys, provide the final fillip, confirming the visitor's impression that the whole layout is a charming and wonderfully imaginative stage set, of which the lighting is particularly fine. The air conditioning is fine too, though I struck "hot" weather. It was seventy-five, not counting the breeze.

I was quartered in Marin County—on the side of a steep green hill facing Mt. Tamalpais—so we had to cross the Golden Gate Bridge to get to the city. Its color, as everybody knows, is a deep red-orange. The paint, I take it, is the sort that is used to keep metal from rusting. So even the color is functional, but at least to my taste it serves one function that the functionalists sometimes overlook (I'm thinking of some of those chairs). It is handsome, especially when the girders are wreathed with wisps of fog and the sky is blue above.

THE EARTHQUAKES began while I was still near Carmel, and I was in on the first and worst shock unawares. One morning at five the prolonged rattling of a door woke me up. I decided the wind must be blowing pretty hard, stuffed a bit of paper where it would do the most good, and went back to bed. At breakfast my host propounded the theory that raccoons had been about. Only later did I discover that I had been dealing with an earthquake. As it happened, that first shock blocked two tunnels on my route to the East and I traveled by bus from Bakersfield to Barstow—which gave me a complete view of the ruined buildings of Tehachapi. We didn't stop, but in passing I saw at least one indication that morale was unimpaired—a hand-lettered sign on a heap of rubble reading, "Vern's Auto Works. Now located at" —I didn't catch the address.

ON THE TRAIN from the Grand Canyon to Santa Fe I fell in with an Englishwoman. She told me she sometimes wrote articles for the South African press, and her remarks and questions made it apparent that she was incubating a piece on the country we were passing through. She said, among other things, that in country like this, in South Africa, one would see zebras and even wildebeests roaming about. I must say it made me look at the terrain with new eyes. A few more such remarks and I pressed upon her a booklet provided by the Santa Fe Railroad containing notes, dull but relevant, on the states and towns along the right of way. She was grateful and became immediately absorbed—while I reflected on the abandon and confidence with which all of us journalists write pieces on the basis of one passage through. I hope the facts in the booklet didn't undermine her impressions—as they have a way of doing. I hope also that it got round to noting that somebody did try introducing camels into the Southwest at one time—that would compensate a little for the lack of zebras and wildebeests. I should like to see her report for the South African papers. I daresay it will be no more superficial than these notes of mine, based on a passage from one high point to another, from the Front Range to the Wasatch to the Sierras—and back again by a different set of divides—which in retrospect turns out to be the track of an animal even more fantastic than the zebra. It's a combination of a kangaroo crossed with a mountain goat and its common name is tourist.

East of Europe

CONQUEST BY TERROR. By Leland Stowe. Random House. $3.50.

STALIN'S SATELLITES IN EUROPE. By Ygael Gluckstein. The Beacon Press. $4.50.

THE literature on Eastern Europe is singularly poor. Why that is so I do not know, for more information is available on the "people's democracies" than on any other segment of the Communist world. Yet with few exceptions books on this area are hasty, over-emotional, or obviously the product of unimaginative scissors-and-paste labor.

Of this season's crop of books on Eastern Europe perhaps the most noteworthy is Leland Stowe's "Conquest by Terror"—partly because Mr. Stowe is a capable reporter, partly because the book has had an enormous audience through condensation in *Reader's Digest* (under whose auspices it was written). The aim of this volume is to present a life-size portrait of the satellite states. Generally speaking, I think Mr. Stowe achieves his objective, for surely no one who has lived in Eastern Europe can deny the essential correctness of his picture of universal fear; of the ceaseless and exhausting labor speed-up; of the steady decline in living standards, the feverish militarization, and insensate propaganda.

Somehow, however, the portrait does not satisfy me. For one thing, "Conquest by Terror" seeks less to inform than to indict. Mr. Stowe appears to see himself as an apostle, come to warn mankind of the imminent peril. The world, he complains, has been ignoring his warnings. Some twenty years ago, a book he did on the Nazi menace sold but a few hundred copies. More recently, editors have been rejecting chapters of "Conquest by Terror" offered to them as articles. He takes the Western press to task for spotty and incompetent coverage of the satellite world, and suggests fairly openly that his volume is *the* work on the subject.

It is less the tone, however, than Mr. Stowe's research that bothers me. His material is excellent where he dips for it in Communist printed matter. With all its boasts and inventions, the satellite press remains the best guide to what ails the Communist state. But, unfortunately, much of Mr. Stowe's data also comes from what he describes as "hundreds of underground reports." I do not know what Mr. Stowe means by "underground." If it is a man named Istvan in Szeged, writing in pain and anger to his sister in Frankfurt, I am prepared to concede that there is an underground in the Communist countries. But if by "underground" he means organized, coordinated, home-bred groups, working on specific assignments, I think Mr. Stowe has allowed someone to mislead him. In fact, the very thoroughness of the machinery of terror which he describes in such detail should show why no large organized underground can exist in Eastern Europe. All that there can be is a vast pool of unrest—expressed sporadically in industrial sabotage, village opposition, or the murder of Communists, but at the same time shapeless, leaderless, and uncertain of itself.

Mr. Stowe employs his "underground reports" for some elaborate statistics. Thus he says that 350,000 Hungarian factory employees had been inducted nearly two years ago into a workers' militia, to be trained in infantry and guerrilla tactics and the like. I am assured by a Western observer who has just left Hungary after a long stay that this is not so. Unlike Czechoslo-

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vakia, Hungary simply has no Workers' Militia. Apparently Mr. Stowe himself is unsure, for in a table detailing the strength of internal-security forces he places a discreet question mark against the words "Workers' Militia." Further, he puts the strength of the Secret Police at 100,000, which is probably right; but he lists separately another 10,000 men as Frontier Guards. Surely, any underground should know that the Frontier Guards became a branch of the Secret Police early in 1951, and that the initials of the Secret Police have long been changed from AVO to AVH. Mr. Stowe's total for internal-security forces is 115,000. This is a reasonable figure, but how does it jibe with his own estimate of 350,000 Workers' Militia members?

There are other examples which I cannot cite for lack of space. In any case, what I am trying to do here is not to challenge all Mr. Stowe's facts but to indicate doubt, in my own mind, of the "underground" data he employs.

Finally, there is the matter of Mr. Stowe's approach to his problem. I feel that he is trying to reduce to statistical terms conditions which defy the adding machine. It is well, for instance, to report that the Hungarian "Ready for Work and Fight" Federation numbers upward of 400,000. Statistically, this would seem to support Mr. Stowe's warnings of the satellite menace. But having known scores of M. H. K. members, I do not see them as a threat to the West at all. Like the countless thousands of others, of whom Mr. Stowe writes himself, the people I know are fiercely pro-Western and anti-Russian. In any major crisis I would regard them—and most of the people in the mass organizations—as a liability to Moscow, not an asset. Nor do I think that Mr. Stowe's statistics are the most effective way to analyze the atmosphere of terror in the satellite world. Terror there is compounded of little things—of fear of a word unwisely uttered, of appearing lukewarm at a pro-Soviet rally, of being denounced by a co-worker at an office meeting. Fear is a by-product of the "peace campaign" carried out as if it were a savage battle, of the incessant propaganda that generates hysteria unlike any known in the West, of the terrifying reversals of policy, of "Social Controllers" who may be your neighbors detailed to watch your private life. To analyze this state, one has to be a psychologist, not a statistician.

I am not denying merit to Mr. Stowe's book. It deals with most phases of satellite life in a systematic manner. Where it is based on genuine Communist material, it is informative, persuasive, and a bit frightening. But I found his Messianic, five-alarm tone irritating, and many of his "underground" facts unconvincing.

Still, with all these reservations, Mr. Stowe's book is far superior to Mr. Gluckstein's. Mr. Gluckstein indicates he has sought to treat his subject with a scholar's detachment and tools. Yet his picture is hazy, partly because the material is often out of date—the preface itself is dated February, 1951—partly because he lacks self-discipline. This is a diffuse work, in which one stumbles, in amazement, on a two-page passage on the Japanese industrialization of Manchuria, or a two-page discourse on Arab feudalism, or a six-page quote from a U. N. document on the expulsion of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia back in 1945. Overloaded with quotes, the book does include an occasional choice morsel—such as Molotov's comments on the Nazi invasion of Poland—but it is hard work getting to it. The book was printed in England and sets some sort of record for typographical errors.

MARK GAYN

America to the South

THE STATE OF LATIN AMERICA. By Germán Arciniegas. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

THE value of Arciniegas' newest book depends on the man who reads it. For one it is the discovery that South American cities have been growing at a rate which gives them three out of five of the largest cities in the Western Hemisphere. Only New York and Chicago outrank them. For another it is the shock which the Argentine affair carries when set down in all its unsavory detail. For a third it is the author's attempt to present the South American nations not as picturesque survivals of colonial Spain, nor as unruly godsons of Uncle Sam, nor even as neglected good neighbors. These, says the author, are nations which are following their own cloudy stars toward destinies which concern us more than we care to admit, and it is time we kept closer watch on them.

This is not the first book which has been written with that last purpose in mind. The many books about South America which have appeared on lists for the past decade have been full of efforts to make the southern countries come alive in the northern mind, to rescue them from the amiable and anonymous confusion which used to surround the Balkan countries.

Arciniegas has succeeded better than some of his predecessors, perhaps for the reason that he is not a visiting journalist bound to see all, hear all, know all in a six weeks' trip. Scholar and diplomat, he has written books on earlier phases of South American history which should be read by anyone whose attention is caught by the present work. We recommend his book about the Germans in South America, and his "Knight of El Dorado." Both of them illumine his "State of Latin America" and deepen its meaning.

MILDRED ADAMS

A Private Government

THE GROUP BASIS OF POLITICS. By Earl Latham. Cornell University Press. $3.75.

AN UNDERSTANDING of American institutions requires a recognition of the great power that is vested in them. This seemingly self-evident proposition should hardly need repeating except that this simple basic fact is consistently ignored by apologists for "bigness," the latest of whom is David Lilienthal. Corporations and the superstructure of trade associations which they erect are in fact private governments wielding economic and political power and are aptly described with the terms commonly applied to public government. "Collectivism," "bureaucracy," "propaganda agency," "security," are as descriptive of the private economic states which characterize our economy as they are of the formal organizations of government.

In the most valuable chapter in this book Mr. Latham presents a detailed study in political terms of the Cement Institute—"a private government organized to protect an economic security of a preposterously cluttered script bent on making angels of the shake-down artists, grifters, and crackpots of skid row. It deals mainly with the endless ups and downs in the life of a swaggering fighter (rather well played by Ralph Meeker) who wants to be the biggest man on Bourbon Street, but even the author of "Moll Flanders" couldn't have dreamed up a more involved, melodramatic biography. The whole picture might have come off better if Director Raoul Walsh had tried to counter the plot's sensationalism (the hero runs out on a championship fight because he is afraid to show his stitched skull in public) with a more factual portrait of the street where jazz was born. As it is, he gives you soggy moments, overripened characters, and a swell assortment of such clichés as the nostalgic fighter wandering around the empty fight auditorium and the sawed-off scrounger pounding the change box on a telephone to save a dime (repeated five times for laughs). Then there are ill-advised moments with Louie Armstrong making faces in the style of the 1930's cinema Negro and Jack Teagarden so busy swinging and swaying that you wonder how he is able to blow his trombone. Leslie Caron makes a good-enough cabaret dancer (though she smiles even more than Eisenhower) who forgoes a ballet career to take care of her blind poppa, Kurt Kasznar, who piles up Teutonic dulness until it is knee-deep and sits in his easy-chair throne in the middle of the fight gym. Poppa has a super-hatred for Meeker, but warms up when Meeker hires his childhood friend, now a famous Minneapolis doctor, to save his sight. Gilbert Roland is a likable bar owner, if not a flexible screen player, who is also Meeker's manager, and who tries to take Meeker off the skids by giving him a fighter to manage and a job in his bar. As I was saying, Walsh and his crew should have been paid double time to work on a script as involved as this.

It's not news that newsreels have been going nowhere for years, but they outdid themselves in dulling the impact of the record-breakingest Olympic Games. One of the "musts" of photographing track and field events is to clarify the race if it takes every trick in the camera man's handbook (slow motion, stop camera, more than one camera set-up, etc.). The two-seconds screen time allotted to each event neither showed anything about the individual performers nor gave a sense of the continuity and vastness of the affair, making you wonder why the filmers traveled all the way to Helsinki just for a blitzkrieg coverage. Even Paramount, most dedicated and serious of the newsreel concerns, did a good job of missing the point. The shot of Les Biffle's near-record broad jump, caught head-on from the ground, makes him look as if he were jumping all of six feet. Mathias was shown only in those decathalon events that took place around sunset, so that you got an illuminating glimpse of a lot of stadium shadow; the fantastic 100-meter dash (four runners hitting the tape simultaneously, with the chunky, barreling winner, Remigino, resembling no one else in sprinting history) seemed to have been glimpsed by a chance sparrow; Moore's hurdle journey was photographed from a distance that made it impossible to discern which one was Moore and what kind of hurdles he was taking. Except for some good work in the walkathon—which the newsreelers think is "funny"—sportscasting companies can now go back to filming bangtails and skiers with the happy knowledge that, in comparison, they made Leni Riefenstahl, the Nazi photographer of the Berlin Olympiad, seem like a camera genius.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

FRANK WALKER, the author of "Hugo Wolf" (Knopf, $6.50), is an English writer I don't remember encountering before, who has produced the most moving book about a composer since Turner's "Berlioz." Written with no heightening literary power like Turner's, presenting fact in exhaustive detail, Mr. Walker's book nevertheless moves us profoundly by what it tells us about Wolf's personality and behavior, his functioning as an artist, his terrible end, and about the devotion and loyalty of some of the people he became involved with. (Moving too, in Mr. Walker's introductory acknowledgments, is what he says about the attitudes and behavior he encountered in Austria during a nine-month stay immediately after the war—"from the sympathy and encouragement of those who became my dearest friends to the disinterested enthusiasm of the library officials who, with open sores on their hands from the cold, searched for and found for me the Wolf manuscripts in the cellars where they had been deposited for safety.")

The contents of the book might be said to be epitomized in three extraordinary photographs. One is of Frau Melanie Köchert, "an extremely handsome woman, with a high clear brow and the most wonderful liquid brown eyes," who looks out at us with the sadness, the compassion, and the quiet strength of the woman whose destiny it was, says Mr. Walker, "to stand beside Wolf for twenty years, to encourage and console him in his struggle for self-expression and for recognition, to rejoice with him in his creative ecstasies, and then to watch him, for five long years, die by inches in a mental home. Throughout his creative life she watched over his material and spiritual welfare with unending benevolence and devotion, and, when the dark hours came, she never left him. Unfalteringly she drank the bitter cup to the dregs and, some time after his death, brought to an end her own life, which had lost all its meaning."

We understand this when we look at the two other photographs. One is of Wolf in 1889, at the age of twenty-nine, at the time of the first great efflorescence of his powers, and at the point when they had in one year pro-

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duced the Mörike, Eichendorff, and Goethe songs; and in the extraordinary eyes which stare out at us from the sensitive face and watchfully cocked head there is the suffering that is written all over the shockingly altered face in the photograph taken six years later. We see in these photographs the man who was driven by inner conflicts to behavior such as he describes in a letter of grief-stricken apology to his beloved brother-in-law Josef Strasser: ". . . Pity me, for now I know with certainty that it is my fate to wound all those who love me and whom I love . . . What would I not give to have done for you that little service, to have acted as godparent to your child! And believe me, at heart I was wholly agreeable, but there whispered in my ear a devil (and I harbor legions in me) that I should not do it, because that would hurt you . . ." And this man the Köcherts and other devoted friends saw too, understood, and continued to love. In addition to which—but I think this counted for less—they recognized, as Mr. Walker says, "that genius is not to be judged by the standards of normality."

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In his discussion of Wolf's music Mr. Walker is not only perceptive but surprisingly discriminating and objective: one doesn't expect someone whose feeling about Wolf and his music has led him to devote many years to writing a book about them to hear in the Keller songs "a rather disappointing group of compositions," or to observe that the Brahms setting which Wolf ridiculed "is atrocious, but is Wolf's own setting so very much better?" Nevertheless I would say he doesn't carry his discrimination far enough. In the relation of the music to the poem—among other things the placing of the words for emphasis in the musical progression that illuminates their every subtlety of meaning and emotion—Wolf's song is almost always remarkable. But one has to make the distinction that Shaw made when he observed that Gounod's "Faust" was "a true musical creation, whereas Boito has only adapted the existing resources of orchestration and harmony very ably to his libretto. In short, Gounod has set music to 'Faust' and Boito has set 'Faust' to music." One has to distinguish between the songs of Wolf that state the poems effectively, period, and the ones that in addition are beautiful pieces of music.

Thus, of the four songs that are sung by the baritone Gerard Souzay on a London record, "In der Frühe" develops into one of the most beautiful of the Mörike songs; "Wer tat deinem Füsslein weh?" is an engaging scherzo; "Herr, was trägt der Boden hier?" is one of Wolf's most powerful pieces of declamation; but in "Wenn du zu den Blumen gehst"—which Mr. Walker pronounces lovely without qualification (except to mention Wolf's sacrifice of the natural accentuation of the words of the opening line for the sake of the even musical flow he wants for expressive effect)—the lovely musical phrase that begins each stanza loses itself in a tangle of vocal and instrumental counterpoint that turns and twists with the words but is not attractive as music.

The Wolf songs are on a record with Schumann's "Dichterliebe" cycle. In these songs too the relation of the music to Heine's poems is remarkable (Wolf continued what Schumann began); in addition they move on the highest level of musical creation and constitute one of the great monuments of the literature.

Souzay uses his beautiful voice with superb expressive effect; and Jacqueline Bonneau's playing of the piano parts is very good, except for what strikes my ear as excessively short staccatos in "Ich hab' im Traum geweinet." In his notes on the envelope Martin Cooper speaks of the importance of the piano parts in these songs; but the recording engineer apparently thinks otherwise: at times the piano is outweighed or obscured by the voice. Mr. Cooper also speaks of the important relation of the music to the words; nevertheless London doesn't supply them (and I can't make out many of the words as they are sung). After the rubbish on most record envelopes I appreciate something as good as Mr. Cooper's notes on this one; nevertheless I contend that if it had to be notes *or* texts it should have been texts.

CONTRIBUTORS

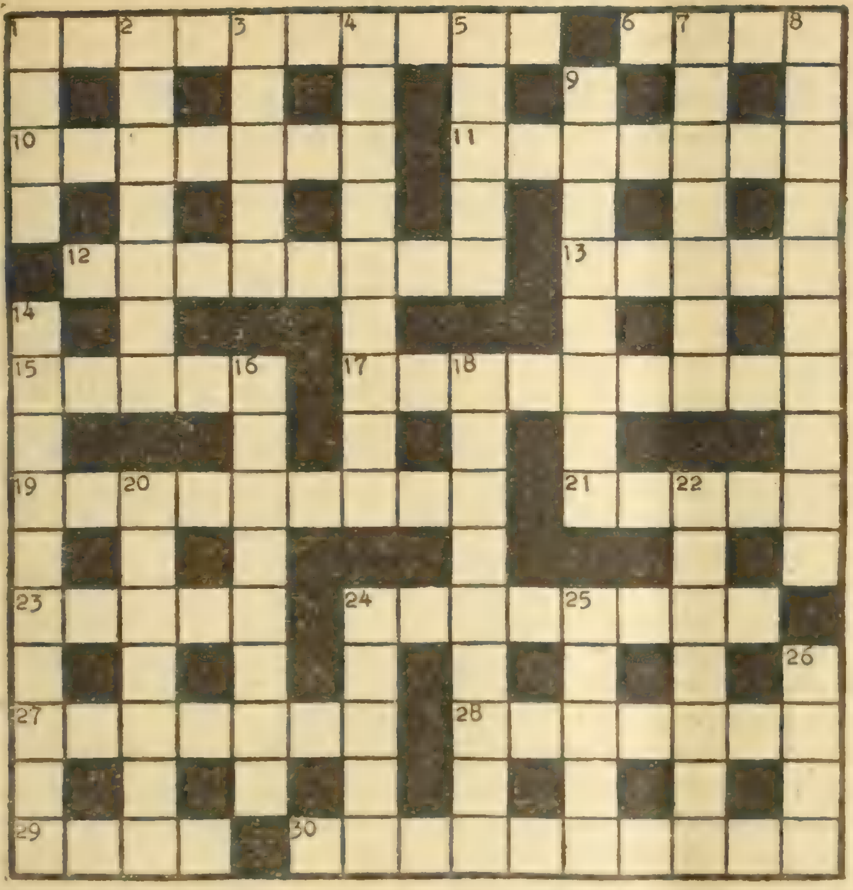
MARK GAYN, author of "Japan Diary," has spent the last five years in Europe.

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spanish and Hispano-American culture.

DONALD H. RIDDLE is assistant professor of political science at Hamilton College.

Crossword Puzzle No. 478

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where [illegible] good sock might be indicative of a predicament. (3, 2, 1, 4)
6 Proving the picture shows a colossal production? (4)
10 Skelton's McPug always seems to have one, even if he doesn't wear it. (7)
11 See 22 down.
12 Stand and pump a broken set in it. (8)
13 See 22 down.
See 22 down.
[illegible]oys of the air, in the '20's. (9)
19 What Burns' Saturday Night hero got stuck with? (6, 3)
21 Board of progress, to be congenial. (3, 2)
23 The law was changed, and so forth, about 501. (5)
24 Roughly, the best idea should be taken care of immediately. (8)
27 Just the type to cook if you want to get confused. (7)
28 and 16 down. To find out which of the kids will be monitor? (7, 8)
29 Proving the eagle-eyed has a song in his heart. (4)
30 They might tell about places to look at [illegible] torn-up street. (10)

DOWN

1 See 26 down.
2 Proving that men in the wrong are bound to make trouble. (7)
3 The answer is simple. (5)
4 Certainly not a heavy cruiser. (9)
5 If you know of an honest person, she's one in [illegible] thousand and fifty! (5)
7 What some do to create [illegible] class uprising? (7)
[illegible] Containing this is compromising in the extreme! (10)
9 Being a gay Lothario is not very important. (8)
14 If you eat one, it doesn't necessarily mean you've been trespassing. (7, 3)
16 See 28 across.
18 Long before the forbidden fruit! (9)
20 Hunt this game while young. (7)
22, 15, 11 and 13 across. Pan on the Saloon Deck? (3, 4, 2, 3, 7, 5)
24 Does it make the mouth water? Quite the opposite. (5)
25 Put out 495 less than 23. (5)
26 and 1 down. Looks like an assayer—unattractive! (8)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 477

ACROSS:—1 DISHRAGS; 5 VESSEL; 9 PANDORA; 10 STREAKS; 11 TREETOP; 12 ILL-WILL; 13 MARLINESPIKES; 15 PUTTING GREENS; 21 TRIPPER; 22 MARAUDS; 23 INSULIN; 24 OUTLINE; 25 STYLET; 26 DESCANTS.

DOWN:—1 DEPOTS; [illegible] SUNBEAM; [illegible] ROOSTER; 4 GRAPPLING IRON; 6 EARFLAP; 7 SEASICK; [illegible] LISTLESS; 10 SLIDE TROMBONE; 14 UPSTAIRS; 16 THIRSTY; 17 IMPULSE; 18 ERRATIC; 19 SAURIAN; 20 USHERS.

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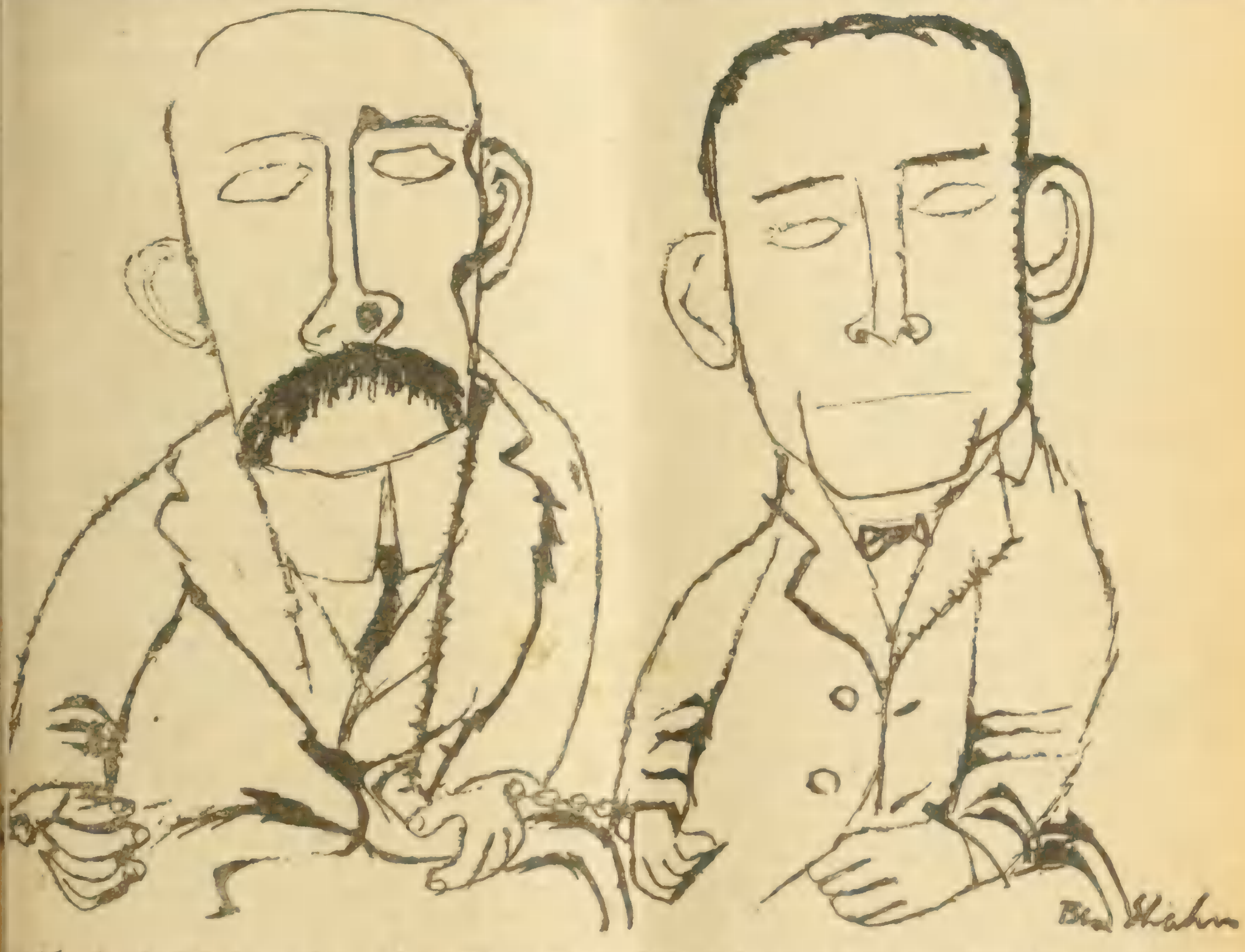

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o us—that agony is our triumph."—
Bartolomeo Vanzetti

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Tennessee's Verdict

Memphis, Tenn.

TENNESSEE voters, still burning from accusations that Tennessee did not act like a Southern state in the Democratic National Convention, came out in record numbers on August 7 to tell the nation it was all a horrible mistake. Governor Browning, who as chairman of the state delegation cast the vote against seating the Virginia delegation, was roundly defeated for renomination by Frank Clement, thirty-two-year-old commander of the American Legion of Tennessee and ex-FBI man.

After the convention there was a deafening outcry, especially from enemies of Browning, that the famous vote had not expressed the wishes of the people of the state. Members of the delegation replied that most Tennesseeans had wanted to see their favorite son, Estes Kefauver, nominated, and in pursuit of that end it was necessary to vote against seating representatives of the Southern Dixiecrats. It was Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana, they maintained, that had not acted like Southerners, when they refused to sign the loyalty oath. Why should a state be allowed to participate in the Democratic convention if it would afterward do everything possible to get the Democratic nominee defeated? Many of the Tennessee delegates, along with other true Southern Democrats, had felt that those three states wanted to leave the way open for another Dixiecrat revolt if Russell did not get the nomination, and they were not going to let them get away with it.

However, the average Tennesseean was unhappy about the part the state had played at the convention. Perhaps if Kefauver had won, it would have been different. But he hadn't, and Tennessee had found itself in strange company—the Northern liberals and the Democratic "left." This hurt the conservative soul of Tennessee, and on primary day it tried to save face.

Actually, the results reflected the problems and paradoxes of Tennessee at the present time. Tennessee is a Southern state and usually tries to act like one, but its increasing industrialization, together with TVA and Oak Ridge, have had a decidedly liberalizing effect. In certain sections Tennessee is far ahead of the rest of the South and even of much of the nation. Although little is being said about it, Tennessee is making progress in eliminating racial prejudice, partly no doubt as the result of the many federal-government offices in the state. Many Northern plants have discovered to their surprise that Southern whites and Negroes will work amicably together for the same wages, especially if the wages are good, and will pull together in their unions. Private Negro housing subdivisions in Memphis compare favorably with white subdivisions. Inter-racial groups are working on all kinds of projects throughout the state. There is a marked liberal undertow in Tennessee, though it is seldom mentioned. Nevertheless, Tennessee is part of the South and wants to remain part of the South. Even the liberal element dislikes too much publicity about its successes and is every bit as resentful of "Northern" interference as the non-liberals. Gordon Browning slipped up and had to go.

However, this does not mean that the election was a conservative landslide. The eighty-three-year-old Senator McKellar, in spite of the support of his good friend Boss Crump, was defeated for the first time in forty years, by the much more progressive Albert Gore. At long last Tennessee voted in favor of a limited constitutional convention to amend its ancient constitution. In Boss Crump's town of Memphis, where there have been charges of voting irregularities for years, the people voted to buy voting machines. The fact that Frank Clement had Crump's blessing does not mean that Crump has a hand-picked Governor. Tennesseeans were mad at Browning and wanted to give him a spanking, and Mr. Crump agreed.

The Volunteer State may be confused enough to elect a conservative Governor and two liberal Senators, but it doesn't want to be associated with any carpetbaggers or scalawags. If Gordon Browning wasn't a scalawag, he shouldn't have put himself in the position to be called one. Tennesseeans just don't like to see their Governor too closely associated with Northerners. They would rather lead the South than follow the North.

MARY MOSTERT

[*Mary Mostert is* The Nation's *correspondent in Memphis.*]

Never Say Dies!

Austin, Texas

WHEN former Representative Martin Dies of Lufkin, Texas, won a temporary seat in Congress as Congressman-at-large from Texas, his comment was that it proved that Texans agreed with him. A more likely explanation is the pulling value of a well-known name. Dies got 49.93 per cent of the 1,227,468 votes cast for the office—128,927 Texans who went to the polls didn't think the matter important enough to indicate their choice.

So far as is known, Dies made no campaign speeches and put up no placards. Nor did any of the other six candidates except Herb Petry, Jr., who made one radio speech, referring to Dies as "a warmed-over Joe McCarthy." Petry had been president of Lions International but was otherwise obscure.

Dies did get a good advance build-up by toying with the idea of running for the United States Senate seat held by Tom Connally. For months he had been frequently mentioned in the papers as a possible Senate candidate.

If the voters of Texas were indorsing Dies's ideas, they must have learned of them through a process of political osmosis. Texans vaguely remembered that Dies had been against communism. Few persons outside some civic clubs where he had spoken had any idea what he had thought about other public issues since his retirement from Congress in 1945 because of poor health.

During the last session of the Texas legislature Dies lobbied successfully to prevent Congressional redistricting so the at-large seat would be available for his comeback. For a time former Representative Maury Maverick was in the contest but withdrew on his doctor's advice. That left Dies with only relatively unknown men against him.

STUART LONG

[*Stuart Long is an Austin newspaperman.*]

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 23, 1952 NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

Ike's "Peace" Program

We advise General Eisenhower to watch his words if he wants to wage his campaign, as he constantly says he does, on the paramount issue of peace. When he declared last week in Denver that "mere containment" was not enough and urged "the restoration of the captive nations of Europe" he came perilously close to advocating a war of liberation—although he described the policy as part of a "true program for peace." His pronouncement came after a visit from the bellicose Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, who conferred with Eisenhower and then issued a statement from his headquarters attacking as "immoral" the idea of a negotiated settlement with Russia. Later the General carefully dissociated himself from this view, but his own remarks had a similar slant even if they were more carefully phrased. For he knows that a program which aims at "restoring" Russia's satellites is a war program. It means rolling back Russian power rather than containing it; it means an anti-Communist crusade rather than a policy of defense such as General Eisenhower was supposedly implementing through the organization of NATO.

Taken together with the recent aggressive statements of Mr. Dulles, who might easily become Secretary of State if the Republicans should win, Eisenhower's pronouncement is doubly disturbing. Let's find out exactly what the General's policy means—peace or a war of liberation.

High Cost of Politics

Members of Congress shuddered in a most bipartisan manner at the President's disclosure that he was considering a special session on inflation, and Republicans promptly accused him of playing politics. Well, either somebody had better play realistic politics with prices, or prices are going to play havoc with politicians.

As a result of amendments to the Defense Production Act and the gradual application of formulas included in the act last year, food prices jumped an estimated 1.5 points between June 30 and July 15. Congress last June knocked out all price controls on fruits and vegetables; now the drought threatens potato and corn crops, as well as cotton yields. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer apparently thinks the price rise has reached its peak. But Ellis Arnall, retiring head of the Office of Price Stabilization, thinks otherwise—and after all, he is the man who is signing the price increases made mandatory under the new laws.

Since Governor Stevenson is becoming *de facto* head of the Democratic Party, the President presumably would not call a special session against the Governor's will. The Governor has already announced that he is keeping hands off; we think that he would have done better to have spoken up. The question is a simple one: if prices continue to rise, the voters have the right to expect action even if Congressmen do prefer to stay home and campaign for reelection. A special session could provide the Office of Price Stabilization with needed tools for the control of food prices, as well as restore federal rent controls, the absence of which threatens a second assault on living standards.

Landing Craft for What?

The recent transfer of fifty American landing craft to Japan makes one wonder for what purpose the craft are to be used. Have the Japanese plans for aggression? Fifty of the unarmed boats might enable them to conquer a couple of Ellis Islands, hardly more. Defensively? Landing craft are not exactly ideal for landing troops on attacking Soviet battleships, the only defensive role we can think of for them off-hand. Most likely they will be used to ferry the National Police Reserve to help crush popular uprisings. Roads and railroads can be dynamited; the sea is an indestructible highway around Japan.

This kind of planning fits in very well with other recent measures taken by the increasingly rightist Yoshida government against the threat of civil disorder. An example is the "anti-subversive" bill which empowers a five-man commission to dissolve any organization "when there is sufficient reason to recognize the apparent possibility that it will conduct a destructive activity in the future." This commission, from whose decisions there is no appeal to the courts, can also arbitrarily ban the printing and distributing of material that "advocates or justifies" acts considered to be sub-

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versive. No wonder liberal Japanese say this bill sets up another "thought police"!

It is difficult to reconcile the bill with the free-speech and free-assembly provisions of the Japanese constitution. But the Japanese constitution, like other similar documents, is extremely elastic. For instance, it specifically bans remilitarization; yet only last week Premier Yoshida admitted that the American-equipped 75,000-man National Police Reserve was "the cornerstone of Japan's new army."

McCarran and the Boy Scouts

SENATOR McCARRAN is upset over the attempt of subversive elements to "infiltrate" church choirs and the Boys Scouts. "I can conceive of fewer greater crimes," he says; but has the crime been proved?

In the wake of the Senator's "sensational" disclosures, the principals of several New York schools which are supposed to have sheltered the teen-age subversives managed to make themselves heard. One principal accused the chief informer, a young man who has just turned twenty, of having made "serious misstatements of fact" while he was still a student in a New York high school—statements which he subsequently retracted. Other principals pointed out that only a handful of students had been named and called attention to the self-evident fact that left-wing student movements have been virtually non-existent since World War II. Yet apparently no effort was made by the staff of the McCarran committee to verify the statements of its student informers or to hear from the principals before the reports were released.

Among the witnesses upon whose testimony Senator McCarran based his charges was Harvey M. Matusow, formerly an investigator for the Ohio Commission to Investigate Un-American Activities. According to this witness, 500 students at Antioch College "support Communist Party activities" and "6 per cent of 1,200 students" are members of the Young Progressives of America. Intrigued by the statistical patness of this testimony, *The Nation* checked the facts with Douglas McGregor, president of Antioch. It seems that last spring Matusow visited the campus, spent an evening or two in the local tavern, and returned to Columbus with a hair-raising tale about subversive activities at Antioch. At no time during this brief visit did Matusow interview Dr. McGregor, nor, so far as is known, did he speak to any member of the faculty or administrative staff. Although Dr. McGregor presented a detailed refutation of Matusow's charges at a public hearing of the Ohio Commission which was widely reported in the press, the McCarran committee has seen fit to give national prominence to the charges without giving Antioch officials a chance to refute them. Indeed, the staff of the committee failed to check the facts with Dr. McGregor before presenting Matusow as a witness in Washington. To be sure, the charges, as Dr. McGregor notes, are "too ridiculous for comment," but they reflect on the intelligence and training of a notably self-reliant student body, and they may well have damaged the reputation of a fine college.

If state commissions should guard against smears of this kind—the Ohio commission at least gave Antioch officials a chance to comment on the charges—a Congressional committee should be doubly circumspect, since its capacity to damage the reputations of individuals and institutions is much greater. Of greater moment in this instance than the possible damage to the reputations of the schools, teachers, and administrative officials involved is the injury to the reputations of a dozen or more teen-age youngsters whose names have now been entered in the government's official black list.

But the McCarran committee is interested in headlines, not facts. The committee's staff must be scraping the bottom of the smear barrel if it can come up with nothing more substantial than this latest hoax.

Revolt in the Middle East?

ALTHOUGH the two new dictatorships erected in the Middle East in recent weeks differ in many important ways, both represent conservative nationalist interests. In Egypt Major General Naguib, having demolished the power of the corrupt Palace clique, is now out to purge the political leaders whom he holds equally responsible for the graft that infested and undermined the army. Naguib's chief civilian support is to be found in the more solid middle-class elements which, having gained in numbers and influence since the war, object to seeing the country's wealth drained off in the pockets of the oligarchy—Palace and politicians alike. Whether party rule in Egypt will survive the army purge is doubtful.

Iran is a somewhat different story. Premier Mossadegh has been granted full dictatorial powers for six months after a brief unsuccessful resistance on the part of more conservative factions in the Senate. But the shrewd old leader is threatened from two sides. While his stubborn refusal to compromise in the oil dispute with Britain won him wide support, it has reduced the country to bankruptcy and the people to a state of poverty even more abject than formerly. This, in turn, has stimulated unrest and increased the power of the outlawed Tudeh (Communist) Party. Premier Mossadegh's position is therefore shaky and his popular backing is unreliable.

But granting all the differences, the dictatorships in Egypt and Iran face a common and ironic necessity. To "cleanse" the greedy ruling groups, to drive out the British—these are not enough. No longer can the ambitious political leaders depend upon fanatic nationalism to deflect the anger of people deprived of all the decencies of life. It is a most significant sign of the times that one of the first executive acts of both rulers was to propose land reforms to ease the burdens of the peasants. Mossadegh decreed the end of all feudal obligations and ordered landlords to turn back to individual peasants and peasant councils 20 per cent of the annual receipts from their estates. He has followed this with a still more drastic decree levying taxes up to 10 per cent on the value of large land holdings and other forms of real estate. Naguib issued a series of "draft laws" providing for the distribution of large estates among the poorest peasants. (The incredible poverty of Egypt's masses is dramatically described by Carolus in this issue of *The Nation.*) Whether these plans are sufficient and in time, remains to be seen. What cannot be ignored, however, is the fact that dictators Mossadegh and Naguib felt forced to promise reforms which, if carried out, would reduce the power and profits of their own principal backers. Their action offers an opportunity to the United States to throw its weight behind policies which might conceivably open the way for a democratic agrarian revolution in the Middle East. The chance may not be very good, but it is likely to be the last we shall have, especially in Iran. Revolution crowds on the heels of nationalism, and Russia is waiting at the back door with plans of its own and with a party set to carry them out.

CAMPAIGN NOTES

MOST NEWSPAPERS SUPPORTING GENERAL Eisenhower have been trying to generate some cheer and optimism in Republican ranks by pointing to the results of recent primaries in Arkansas and Missouri. These results, the Republican press contends, indicate a strong anti-Truman and, by implication, anti-Stevenson trend. But "Trumanism" was not a significant factor in either primary; the trend indicated by these elections is not against the Democrats but toward independent voting.

In Arkansas, Judge Francis A. Cherry, a political newcomer, carried sixty-seven of seventy-five counties, rolling up a majority of 100,000 votes in the run-off primary in which he defeated Governor Sid McMath. Wholly ignored by the professional politicians, he was regarded as a likely fifth-place contender in the first primary. But Judge Cherry is a "loyal" or "regular" Democrat and he did not campaign as an "anti-Truman" candidate. On most issues he is quite as progressive as

Governor McMath; for example, in several campaign speeches he indorsed the policy of admitting Negroes to the state university. In fact, neither civil rights nor "Trumanism" figured as issues in the campaign. For the most part, Judge Cherry talked about corruption in the state government, particularly in the Highway Department, and there was enough substance to his charges to make the issue a good one.

The notion that Governor McMath's defeat spells trouble for Stevenson is largely based on the fact that Senator John L. McClellan, one of President Truman's severest critics, indorsed Judge Cherry in the run-off primary. But the indorsement was an after-thought; in the first primary Senator McClellan supported another candidate. Since McMath had announced his intention of opposing Senator McClellan two years hence, the latter naturally jumped aboard the Cherry band wagon once the surprising results of the first primary were announced. There is every reason to believe, however, that Judge Cherry would have defeated Governor McMath without Senator McClellan's indorsement.

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AS A MATTER OF FACT JUDGE CHERRY'S USE of the new "talkathon" technique—a public forum in which the candidate sits before a radio or television studio audience and answers thousands of telephoned questions—was the decisive factor in his initial victory. On July 2 Judge Cherry answered more than 5,000 questions in a twenty-four-hour talkathon during which the telephones seldom stopped ringing, even at four o'clock in the morning. Somehow the Judge managed to stagger through the ordeal, interrupting his question-and-answer routine now and then to make appeals for campaign contributions. This particular talkathon cost about $3,000; the contributions totaled $7,500. The state-wide reactions were so favorable, in fact, that Judge Cherry promptly began to cancel personal appearances and to schedule more two-, four-, and eight-hour talkathons.

The talkathon technique is the copyrighted invention of Bob Venn, a radio and television director of Houck and Company, a Miami advertising agency. It was first used in its present form in the Florida gubernatorial primary last March. When Mr. Venn sells the talkathon idea, he supplies a crew of technicians, radio announcers, and public-relations wizards to put on the show. The candidate pays a fee for the service, but the profit to the agency comes from the standard 15 per cent commission on all advertisements placed in newspapers and time purchased on radio stations.

Right now Leonard Schmitt has just finished a twenty-five-hour political talkathon in his Wisconsin campaign to unseat Senator McCarthy. In this instance the fund drive run in conjunction with the question-and-answer session drew $1,492 in cash and $200 in pledges. While part of the success of the talkathon is doubtless due to its novelty, it is obviously a most ingenious device for enabling a candidate to establish a direct person-to-person relationship with thousands of voters and at the same time make his views known to a state-wide audience. If the talkathon helps Leonard Schmitt defeat McCarthy, some special award for outstanding public service will have to be made to the inventive Mr. Venn.

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ACHIEVED WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF A talkathon, W. Stuart Symington's victory over Attorney General J. E. (Buck) Taylor for the Democratic senatorial nomination in Missouri offers as little comfort to the Republicans as the results of the Arkansas primary. The President's support of Taylor—given to redeem a promise of support made in 1950—was purely perfunctory, and "Trumanism" was no more a factor in this primary than in the Arkansas run-off.

Mr. Symington's better than two-to-one majority is a striking illustration of the rising strength of the independent vote. By comparison with the small margin by which Senator Thomas C. Hennings won the Democratic nomination over a machine-supported candidate in 1950, Symington's plurality of more than 200,000 is truly impressive. It greatly increases the likelihood that Senator James P. Kem, renominated by the Republicans, will be defeated in November, and it marks a sound defeat for the city machines largely achieved with the aid of Republican and independent votes. It also represents a sharp repudiation of "smear" tactics. Mr. Symington, instead of attempting to answer a barrage of smears, campaigned on the issues and won.

The Callahan machine in St. Louis supported Mr. Symington but only because, fearful that it would lose control of the county, it sought to hitch-hike a free ride back into office. The voters of St. Louis showed a nice sense of discrimination by voting for Symington and against Sheriff Callahan. The Sheriff was not nominated.

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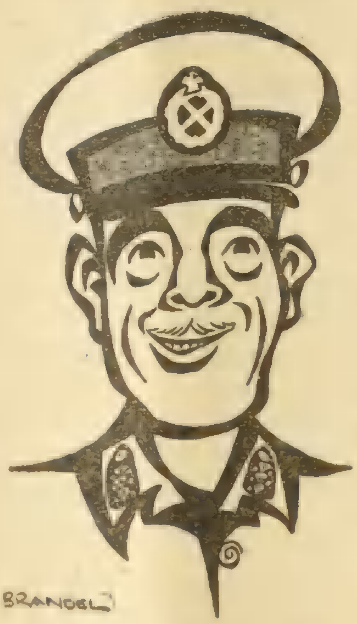
WISCONSIN'S PRIMARY ON SEPTEMBER 9 WILL give the country its first opportunity in several years to judge at first hand what the rank-and-file of Wisconsin voters think of Joe McCarthy. What many of Wisconsin's leading citizens—including mayors, labor leaders, churchmen, businessmen, and prominent university people—think of him will be revealed in next week's *Nation* through a symposium entitled Wisconsin Looks at McCarthy. Along with these comments, *The Nation* will print a timely analysis by William Gorham Rice, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin Law School, of the meaning of that new word in America's vocabulary—McCarthyism.

The Ten Plagues of Egypt

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

ONE day in the spring of 1944, when I was taking my usual walk through the streets of Cairo in the neighborhood of the Abdin royal palace, I witnessed the kind of sudden, noisy, and hysterical commotion that is possible only in the Orient. Hundreds of children and beggars, half-naked and covered with sores, were shouting and running after a camel, which was fleeing from its pursuers with gigantic steps. The iron railings of the palace stopped the beast in its tracks. Through the gate it could see the green shady lawns and the splashing fountains. The camel sniffed and snorted; then, hearing the cries of its tormentors, it took one leap over the royal gate and landed on the palace lawn. The amazed soldiers on guard kept back the crowd, which included the owner of the camel, a butcher whose slaughtering knife it had escaped.



General Naguib

King Farouk had witnessed the scene from a palace window and sent down an aide-de-camp to learn the cause. The officer reported to him and then returned to the gate and slipped into the rough hands of the butcher several soothing gold coins—more than twice the value of the camel. Afterward the King ordered the animal sent to a royal farm, with instructions to give it food and care for the rest of its life. If I had not seen this myself, I should have taken it for an episode from the Arabian Nights. The Egypt of today is in many respects like a tale from the days of Harun-al-Rashid; yet it lives among us and in our time. But how does it live?

Millions of workers and fellaheen, children and men and women of all ages, envied the camel. Food and shade to the end of its days—for 80 per cent of the Egyptian people that would spell heaven. The Mizraim of the Bible is still as the Bible described it three thousand years ago—a land of slavery and the ten plagues. Ninety-five per cent of the wealth of the country is in the hands of a thin stratum of pashas, landlords, bankers, and industrialists who with their families do not form 1 per cent of the population—not even half of 1 per cent. The Rockefellers, Morgans, and Fords may be rich; dozens of pashas on the Nile make a greater display of wealth. The richest of them was King Farouk, descendant of Albanian adventurers who came to Egypt with the Turks. Most of the Egyptian nobility of today are of Turkist descent and live in the luxury described in Oriental fairy tales.

The people, afflicted with all the ten plagues of the Bible, live, starve, sicken, and die in unimaginable misery. The police of a Western country would not permit pigs and goats to be kept in the huts of Egyptian villages. Egypt has a population of eighteen to twenty million; 58 per cent suffer from bilharziasis, the terrible eye disease which causes premature blindness. Sixty per cent of the children die before reaching the age of six. The Nile, the source of all life in a rainless country, is at the same time a source of death. It breeds a microbe which enters the blood through the skin and brings death in the course of a few years to the fellaheen, who cannot keep their bare feet out of it as it floods the thirsty land. Thirty years is the average expectancy of life in Egypt.

As for hospitals—a wealthy deputy of the Wafd Party whose son presented him with an ambulance for the use of the peasants on his property was accused in Parliament by his colleagues of "spoiling" the people. "Allah has rightly made mortality so high; we would all starve if it were not so." In the towns thousands of homeless, naked children are organized into bands of thieves and beggars. Just before the harvests the police catch them in the streets and sell them to the pashas for two Egyptian pounds apiece. The children know what is before them—starvation, the whip, and disease—and many are willing to lose an arm or a leg under a street car in order to escape transportation into slavery.

But in Egypt corruption is the crown of all evil. It rots the laws, the parties, the courts, the civil authorities, the army, the police, and the throne. In the winter of 1943-44 huge sums were collected from the urban middle class, that is from the foreigners, to aid the people of Upper Egypt, who were dying by the thousand of malaria and malnutrition. Little of this money reached those it was supposed to help. Even Prime Minister Nahas Pasha was accused in the press of having

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CAROLUS, known to readers of The Nation *as its correspondent in Germany, has spent much time in Egypt.*

Egypt's New Master

London

Ex-King Farouk miscalculated the degree to which General Naguib, Egypt's new "strong man," had become the spokesman of the younger army officers, who blamed Egypt's defeat by Israel in 1948 on corrupt senior generals and army contractors. Naguib's own bitterness was all the sharper because he was himself incorruptible.

Naguib was wounded three times during the war, and after its close was given command of a division on Israel's border. Correspondents who met him then did not take seriously his frank insistence that an anti-Palace revolt was needed. But his adoring junior officers believed his every word.

Matters approached a climax when the Officers' Club in Cairo, spurning Farouk's nominees, elected Naguib president. The King retaliated by closing down the club. When an irate army demanded that Naguib be appointed Minister of War, Farouk refused and maneuvered to appoint his young brother-in-law. Nine hours after this exhibition of nepotism, the army seized control of Cairo; three days later Farouk sailed into exile.

General Naguib received his military training under the British and gets along well with British army types. His is an honest and self-critical nationalism, unmarred by anti-foreign prejudice, and he has assured the British Foreign Office that reform, not revolution, is his aim. It is interesting that the first piece of important domestic legislation sponsored by Naguib should be a land-reform bill designed to break up all estates of more than 200 acres. ANDREW ROTH

kept 160,000 Egyptian pounds for his own use. Tons of drugs, especially quinine, given by America to aid Upper Egypt were stolen and sold on the black market. During the war Nahas's wife and brother-in-law acquired millions by selling sugar to Turkey—whence it went to Germany. So it is hardly surprising that the war against Israel was regarded as another method of enrichment. Princes, courtiers, officials, and generals made their fortunes from it. Farouk tried to cover up the scandal and to keep his most faithful companions out of jail. That was the ostensible reason for his fall.

The true cause lies much deeper. The social question is hammering at the gates of palaces and governments in Cairo, in Tehran, in Iraq, in Syria, in Jordan. Throughout the Middle East social and economic conditions can be compared only with those in France before 1789 or Russia before 1917. A grasping upper class, insignificant in number but holding all the country's wealth in its hands, faces millions wallowing in filth and misery. If the same conditions exist, the same causes, are not the same effects inevitable?

The Egyptian upper class has hitherto managed to evade the social question by turning it into a national question and diverting popular hatred to the foreigners. "The English and the Americans, the French and the Greeks, the Jews and Zionism—these are the causes of your misery. Get rid of them and you will have milk and honey." But this pretense carried its own dangers. One of the big pashas confessed to me in Cairo in 1945: "Bad times are coming for us. We should beg the English on our hands and knees to stay here. But it is too late. We have pushed nationalism too far. The people would tear us to pieces."

THE Tories in the British foreign and colonial offices were as blind as the pashas. Instead of forcing land and social reforms by allying themselves with the progressive elements of the great Wafd Party, the English continued to tie their power to the fate of the small upper class. This class and the Palace, in order to save themselves, threw the English to the wolves. Britain itself had blown the nationalist horn by founding the Arab League. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, war criminal and Hitler's ally, was brought to Cairo after the war with British help. Israel was to be offered as a wedding gift to Arab nationalism. The war in Palestine gave the English in Suez a breathing spell but proved a boomerang to them and to the pashas. The result of this adventure against Israel, which Farouk was still able to stop in time, was a sharpening of the social and economic crisis and a more rabid Egyptian nationalism. Demanding the Sudan as consolation for the lost war in Palestine, and also the evacuation of the Canal Zone, the people rose against the British. In Cairo on January 26, 1952, foreign hotels, stores, cinemas, banks, and clubs were burned to ashes. It was a foretaste of the horrors of a revolution brought about by a people 90 per cent illiterate, living and dying like animals.

The police did not try to help the foreigners on January 26, nor did the firemen, nor the government. In the evening, however, when vengeance against the foreigners was stilled, and there was nothing left to loot in foreign stores, the mob, obeying some whispered signal, started toward the royal palace. Then Farouk gave orders to the army to intervene. The affair provided Farouk with a welcome opportunity to get rid of his irreconcilable enemy, Nahas Pasha, and the Wafd government that he headed.

If the January 26 uprising had been nothing but a nationalist riot, the change of government would have meant no more than a shift of power within the Egyptian upper class such as has occurred often enough in recent years, and Farouk would still be sitting on his throne. Subsequent events have shown that the violence of that day was the thunder and lightning of a super-charged social atmosphere and that a greater explosion was in the making. When a disciplined army is affected by the passions of the people, it is a sure sign that conditions are ripe for a revolution. The officer corps had to revolt before Farouk could be driven out. When this happened, younger officers of middle-class origin replaced the supporters of the regime. The successful military coup within the popular revolutionary movement was backed by the small bourgeoisie, which had been carried along by the revolutionary current and is the chief bearer of the nationalist banner. This class has suffered severely from the financial and economic crisis through which the country is passing, and its national pride has been deeply wounded by the defeat in the Palestine war and the attending corruption. The upper class was so morally decadent and politically weak that it accepted the coup and willingly offered Farouk as a scapegoat.

But the pashas were wrong in thinking the King could take all their sins on his back and carry them with him into exile. The people are asking for more than a change of government. They want bread and land. Today the cry is for the division of the King's huge properties; tomorrow it will be for the division of all the land in Egypt. While it is true that Communist ideas are widely held by Egyptian students and intellectuals, and to a lesser extent by workers and peasants, Communist slogans were not needed to start the revolutionary ferment. For six years during the war the Berlin and Rome radios had promised land to the fellaheen, high wages to the workers, and high profits to the middle class when Hitler and Mussolini threw the English out of Egypt and Rommel made his triumphant entry into Cairo. Hitler and Mussolini have not come; but the English are reduced to holding the bastion of Suez. By ousting Farouk the pashas have only got rid of ballast. Even if yesterday's hero, Nahas Pasha, were to come back to power, supported by the Wafd Party, the army, and the nationalist small tradesmen organized in the Moslem Brotherhood, he would merely play the part of a Kerensky unless he quickly distributed the large estates and instituted a complete change in the social structure that would free the people from hunger and slavery.

The only place where Arab workers and peasants ever had schools and hospitals, hygiene and clean water, bread and clothing was in the former mandated territory of Palestine, and it was thanks to the Jewish inhabitants. Infant mortality was relatively low in Palestine, even for the Arab population. That is why first the mandated territory and later the state of Israel have been such a thorn in the flesh of the landowners of Egypt and other feudal Arab states.

Can McCarthy Win Again?

BY ROBERT H. FLEMING

Milwaukee

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY of Wisconsin has a better than even chance of being reelected in November. Two unusual factors make his success probable. One is that he has reversed his customary political techniques and thus thrown his enemies off balance; the other is that the opposition was optimistic too soon. No one in Wisconsin is quite certain how carefully McCarthy planned the change in his technique—which has been never to answer charges but always to make them. The fact remains that for months Wisconsin has seen very little of him, and now his aides report that he will be out of action for some weeks in consequence of a major operation.

Late in July the Senator entered Bethesda Naval Hospital for repair of a hernia in the large muscle separating the chest and abdominal cavities. His staff said he would not be able to talk for from six to eight weeks. But he left the hospital soon afterward and said he would recuperate in northern Wisconsin. Medical sources report that the operation was not necessary at this time, that he might safely have waited until Mid-November.

Now, either as an invalid or as a martyr, McCarthy can pace his campaign in an unexpected way. He can also avoid the legal entanglements that might have ensnared him. There is a long and growing list of them: Drew Pearson is suing McCarthy and others for $5,100,000; McCarthy is suing Senator Benton for $2,000,000; McCarthy is suing the Syracuse (New York) *Post-Standard* for $500,000; and Charles Davis, who was convicted of espionage in Switzerland, is demanding $100,000 from McCarthy because the latter disclaimed the alleged connection between them. The recitation is important only because McCarthy might have had continuous dates with attorneys and judges instead of with Wisconsin voters if he had not undergone surgery.

The same surgery was one cause of the optimism of the opposition. But this very optimism helped McCarthy by inducing seven men to run against him. The energy and the funds of the anti-McCarthy forces are thus being diffused. McCarthy will have five opponents in the primary on September 9. An even more favorable circumstance for him is that there are two candidates in the

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ROBERT H. FLEMING is a political reporter for the Milwaukee Journal.

Democratic primary. He profits from this situation because Wisconsin's election laws do not require party registration. Thus nominal Democrats, perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 of them, might go into the Republican primary to oppose McCarthy if there were no contest in their own party. Many may still do so, since the two Democratic candidates are about equally acceptable, though there is a measure of personal bitterness that will affect the vote.

The Democratic rivals are Henry S. Reuss and Thomas E. Fairchild. Reuss, convinced earlier than most that McCarthy could be beaten this fall, announced his candidacy last November and promptly began a state-wide campaign. Having the advantage of family wealth, he was able to give up his law practice for a year. He is making his third try for public office: in 1948 he ran second in a fifteen-man race for mayor of Milwaukee, and in 1950 he was his party's nominee for attorney general. He has had other training, too, that supports his ambition to serve in the Senate. After serving in the war as an infantry combat officer, he became deputy counsel for the Marshall Plan in Paris and later special prosecutor for an anti-corruption grand jury in Milwaukee.

Henry S. Reuss

Fairchild has not had such varied experience but has developed state-wide political strength. In 1948 he was elected attorney general, the first Democrat elected to a state office in sixteen years. Two years ago he ran for the United States Senate against Alexander Wiley, losing by 75,000 votes. One of Washington's wisest political observers predicted Wiley's election in these words: "Certainly he's a damned fool, but you can't say that on the radio and you can't say it in a newspaper advertisement, and if a man gets the damned-fool vote, he's well on the way to being elected."

Fairchild, along with some of his friends, reasoned that Wiley had fewer critics than McCarthy has and that Republicans with high moral standards may be seeking an alternative candidate. He made his decision just before the deadline for filing and took the Reuss group by complete surprise, since he had previously declared he would not run. He justified his action by saying he had become convinced that no one else could beat McCarthy. Unfortunately, the Reuss-Fairchild contest has divided the Wisconsin Democratic Party when it might have been solidly united for McCarthy's defeat.

The state Republican organization is strongly backing McCarthy. In July, Fred R. Zimmerman, a former governor seeking his tenth term as secretary of state, was denied the party's indorsement for reelection in part because he had said repeatedly that McCarthy should be beaten. Inquiry into the reasons for Republican support of McCarthy produces this explanation: McCarthy is a symbol. First of all, he defeated Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in 1946 and thus rid the conservative Republicans of the last La Follette. Then, in his crusade against alleged Communists in government service McCarthy was a slugging fighter against the Truman Administration. Wisconsin Republicans, like others, had been waiting for such a fighter.

The state leaders had not wanted Thomas E. Dewey in 1948 but had thought he would win. When he lost, they blamed him with a bitterness that still lasts and was behind the cheers with which they greeted Senator Dirksen's angry words about Dewey in the Republican convention. Wisconsin Republican leaders seldom discuss McCarthy's smear tactics, or his income-tax troubles, or the $10,000 he took from the Lustron Corporation. They don't defend McCarthy; they just swear by him.

They angrily denounce the one Republican rival who might upset McCarthy in the September primary—Len Schmitt, an upstate lawyer. Four other men are on the ballot but have given no sign of intending to wage a vigorous campaign. Schmitt, however, is serious. He is setting up his own amplifiers for dozens of street-corner appearances and preparing for radio "talkathons" in which he will spend twenty-five continuous hours bidding for wider recognition of his efforts. "One thing my tours of the state have shown me," he says, "is that there are thousands of people ready to confide that they are against McCarthy, even though they don't want to speak out publicly. They come around after I talk, shake hands, and promise their votes. If the September vote is large—and the Presidential campaign will stir up interest—a lot of people will do their bit against McCarthy in the solitude of the voting booths."

In four of the past five Presidential elections the state has been carried by the Democratic national ticket. Yet only in 1932 did Wisconsin elect a Democratic governor or senator. In one Milwaukee Congressional district Andrew J. Biemiller, a Democrat, won in 1944 and 1948 but lost to Charles Kersten, a Republican, in 1950. In all four elections Kersten's vote was approximately 70,000. Biemiller's ranged from 59,000 to 92,000. Wisconsin Democrats go to the polls in Presidential years. Never in Wisconsin history have they had a chance to decide a more important issue than the future of Joseph R. McCarthy.

The Broadcast Lovett Didn't Like

[During his regular Sunday broadcast from London on August 3, Howard K. Smith, chief of the CBS European Bureau, criticized NATO policy so sharply that Secretary of Defense Lovett took the unusual step of denouncing the broadcast at a Washington press conference and General Omar Bradley sent the radio commentator a letter of protest. In his next broadcast, on August 10, Mr. Smith took cognizance of the protests—and stood his ground. The Nation *herewith reprints the relevant portions of both broadcasts.]*

BROADCAST OF AUGUST 3

SOME years ago it was decided that the main objective of Western enterprise was the creation of an international armed force. That force was to be so strong that, if the worst happened, it could successfully defend the West against Communist attack . . . or, at best, it could be used as a basis from which to bargain for a general settlement of differences with the Communists and avoid war altogether. The creation of that force was called the first condition for the survival of our civilization; therefore, the best minds we have and the lion's share of our wealth were devoted to it.

Yet, for so lavishly endowed and all-important a project, the history of its realization has been one of the strangest records of lack of foresight in modern times. It has been a succession of miscalculations of both our defense needs and our ability to fulfil them—flagrant miscalculations straining Europe's national economics close to the point of breakdown, each forcing a downward readjustment of targets, spreading disillusionment.

One of the few fortunate aspects of this curious record is that no political party involved can make political capital out of it; no one nation in the pact can honestly blame any other. General Eisenhower has had as much to do with it as the Democratic Administration; the governments of Europe have miscalculated as badly as, if not worse than, the United States government.

The record began in 1949 when, after putting their heads together for many months, the international experts came out with the estimate that we would have to put 406 divisions in arms in order successfully to beat back the Russians. That ridiculously extravagant figure began immediately to dissolve like a lump of sugar in a cup of hot coffee. When, at the end of 1950, the Atlantic Pact leaders met in Brussels, they came out with what was called the "realistic" estimate of 96 divisions.

The passing months then went to work on that figure, wearing big holes of doubt in it. [To reassess needs and capacities] the so-called Three Wise Men were appointed. After many months, the Atlantic leaders met at the celebrated Lisbon conference early this year, mulled over the Wise Men's recommendations—then let it be known that rock bottom had been reached. The figure of 50 divisions was all that was necessary and attainable. . . .

The passing months have done their abrasive work once more. Europe, at least, has been jarred back into the realm of international realities. The immediate incitement for that sad verdict was the announcement both in France and in Britain—the two chief European partners in the Atlantic Pact—that their Lisbon commitments could not be honored. Exactly what has happened in France is not clear. With no previous warning the French called in reporters and announced that the Americans had agreed at Lisbon to give France great financial help for three years to come. America, they said, had now gone back on that promise. Secretary Acheson, at a press conference in Washington, gave a different version: America, he said, had made no such big commitments to France. Whatever the rights in the dispute, the fact is that France will not be able to fulfil her Lisbon commitments.

Before the House of Commons, Prime Minister Churchill announced a similar default by Britain. "There can be no assurance of lasting military strength," he said, "without a firm economic foundation. . . . We must divert our resources from defense to export goods. Not to make this diversion would mean a plunge into [national] bankruptcy." Mr. Churchill would not say how great the cut was to be, but since it is the second curtailment of the British arms program within one year, the Lisbon commitments are clearly impossible of fulfilment.

BROADCAST OF AUGUST 10

This week vigorous exception has been taken to [my] broadcast [of August 3] by Secretary of Defense Lovett and General Omar Bradley. In a press conference in Washington Secretary Lovett quoted from the broadcast, according to a report in the London papers, and then said that such reporting was unjustified, defeatist, and irresponsible. In particular, according to the papers here, he said he had no reason to doubt that Britain would meet her Lisbon obligations. I am to receive, I understand, a strong letter from General Bradley, accusing me of misrepresentation. General Bradley's main factual objection is, I gather, my assertion that the 'experts' first estimate of the number of divisions [needed] was the ridiculously high figure of 406. My source for the figure is my own notes from the period and an article in the *Reporter* of April 15 by one of America's best reporters [the author is Theodore H. White—Ed.]. If the fact is wrong, the responsibility is entirely my own for stating it. If my broadcast gave a false impression in general, I apologize for that.

Unfortunately, in reporting this week's news from Europe, I have no choice but to say that a main object of comment over here continues to be the flagrant miscalculation of the experts at Lisbon. In the hope of precluding charges that I am unjustified, defeatist, or irresponsible, I quote the remarks of the past few days in the most responsible organs available here.

In an article entitled What Has Happened to the North Atlantic Organization? the London *Economist* led off with these words: "It is only six months since the Atlantic Council met at Lisbon. Yet already its chief member governments seem to be moving away from the programs adopted there on the basis of expert advice. The Lisbon program is withering away." In an editorial entitled A Lament for Lisbon, the Manchester *Guardian* writes: "The Lisbon targets never looked like being attained. . . . Now the summer has brought a drought of hopes and the momentum of last year for building defense has been lost." And the London *Times* says: "The almost visionary objectives then set for the increase in European armed strength will not be reached within the time specified."

In the past two weeks in Belgium there have been riots, and yesterday a general strike, against a two-year term of conscription. [On August 13 the Belgium Cabinet in effect reduced the period of service from two years to twenty-one months.—Ed.] According to press reports, the Italian government told America's defense experts that Italy would need much more aid if she were to fulfil her commitments. Last week in Paris the office of French Defense Minister Pleven registered the same complaint, but rather more loudly, with American reporters. . . .

As originally conceived, the North Atlantic organization was to be something new in history—an amalgamation, an integration of armed services and defense plans. It was to be an international executive, able to receive information and give orders. In fact, however, this conception has not been realized. It has apparently not given information; it has no power, and apparently is being completely disregarded by its members. Last week, when Pleven found the program not functioning as he planned, he did not send up the street in Paris to ask the organization about it; he sent his courier to Washington to complain to the United States.

The North Atlantic Pact is tending to degenerate, if that is not too strong a word, into one more old-fashioned military alliance, the whole financed largely by the United States. If the original idea were being fulfilled, if NATO had positive motives of reorganizing the Western world, interest in it would presumably continue. But as it is a negative league, then whenever the Russian menace dies down a bit, interest in it falls and resistance to its burdens grows.

Future of the Symphony Orchestra

BY JOHN H. MUELLER

IN THE eyes of Europe the United States has long been a country of high technical enterprise but low cultural potential. Americans have accepted this estimate and have consistently resorted to importation from abroad to gratify their artistic requirements. The brilliant symphony orchestras of many American cities, among the best in the world, were in the past largely staffed with foreigners, and 90 per cent of the music they played was foreign.

At present various prophets of doom are proclaiming a general decline in the high culture of the whole Western world. On the American scene commentators have observed the growth of the moving-picture audience with its distressing regression to adolescence, the descent of the legitimate theater to the depths of "show business," and radio and television programs geared to the taste of the "mass mind." They also point out that our fine symphony orchestras, which have been among the most convincing examples of American cultural maturity, must literally pass the hat in order to survive. In this article I propose to examine the evidences of this supposed cultural attrition as it affects the American symphony orchestra and to assess their validity.

Some of the symptoms render a pessimistic diagnosis quite plausible. The necessitous circumstances of even the most strongly intrenched orchestras are not in doubt. The large orchestras earn only about 50 per cent of their budget at the box-office. A few are able to expand their earned income by recordings and radio contracts, but endowments and outright annual gifts are generally relied upon to make up deficits. There was a lush

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JOHN H. MUELLER is professor of sociology at Indiana University and author of "The History of the American Symphony Orchestra." This article is the second in a series of three on "Cultural Attrition." Next week Hallie Flanagan Davis will discuss the state of the theater in this country.

period when philanthropists, some of them musicians in their own right, emancipated the queen of the arts from the rigorous law of the market place; today intensive campaigns must be put on to collect gifts in chickenfeed lots. Much has been made of the recent windfall of the remitted 20 per cent federal admissions tax, but no one can live on windfalls.

More disturbing still is the public's supposed indifference to serious music. While Boston and Philadelphia, for example, enjoy a sold-out season, smaller orchestras are often forced to flood the city with "comps" to assure an audience of decent size. Nor do people show any real interest in musical "progress." Conductors and composers bemoan the desire of the audience to relax in the presence of music instead of accepting modern music as a challenging intellectual exercise.

No less ominous is the decline in the number of amateurs in orchestral music. This group constitutes not only a reservoir from which new professional performers emerge but the core of the aggressive supporters of orchestral concerts. With its contraction, the sources of support of our great orchestras may dry up. Whatever musical interest still exists among American youth is being diverted to non-orchestral outlets. The acceptance of women in orchestras has provided some new players but the current trend has not been checked.

The decrease of amateur interest, especially in the strings, has also lowered the earning power of symphony players, who have always relied on teaching to supplement their seasonal income from the orchestra. The Boston orchestra "never stops playing," but other orchestras cannot offer year-round contracts. Men engaged for a twenty-five-week season at $100 a week must either teach or seek radio work, institutional jobs, or other off-season employment.

WE HAVE built up the symphony orchestra into a mammoth organization with, in some cases, a million-dollar budget. Will it prove sufficiently flexible to meet the competition of the times? Or will it, like the dinosaur, bog down to extinction? Will it soon be relegated to the museum as too unwieldy and costly to endure in the modern workaday world?

I do not mean to give the impression that the symphony orchestra once enjoyed a golden age in which it was secure from all ills. There were a few brilliant years of spectacular audience support for Toscanini in New York, Stokowski in Philadelphia, and Koussevitzky in Boston. But the orchestras had their financial troubles even then, for music was not the only love of philanthropic multimillionaires. Nor was the American audience always eager to attend to Beethoven, Brahms, or Wagner. Fritz Scheel, a predecessor of Stokowski, once said he was thankful that the conductor turned his back to his audience and could not see how small it was—perhaps only 600 persons in an auditorium with 3,000 seats. In most cities, even then, a strenuous campaign by volunteer workers was necessary to sell subscriptions. Even in Boston, where cultural traditions were very strong, conductors lost their jobs for box-office as well as musical reasons.

As a matter of fact, one could easily argue that American musical culture is today near its peak instead of in serious decline. Orchestras have actually been increasing in strength and number every decade. In 1900 the New York Philharmonic was a weak cooperative organization, playing six to eight pairs a season, with tentative standards of performance. The Cincinnati orchestra, founded in 1895, had passed through several dark seasons; Chicago, after some critical years, was just beginning to acquire strength. In the modern sense the St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Minneapolis orchestras were not yet in existence; nor were San Francisco or Los Angeles. Hardly an orchestra was not closer to collapse in the early decades of this century than it is now. Only Boston was a going concern with the highest standards and plutocratic financial support. Today we have more than twenty major orchestras and some six hundred community orchestras more or less thriving. These grassroots community orchestras, organized and guided by the Symphony Orchestra League, are an important development. In addition to their primary cultural value, they provide the major orchestras with the broad base required for the training of personnel and conductors—much as the minor leagues serve the big ball clubs.

Not only are there today more orchestras, more concerts, and longer seasons than at any time in the past, but the programs are more progressive. The dissemination of musical intelligence has been widened first by the phonograph and then by radio. Already only a fraction of the audience for Beethoven's Fifth listens to it in the concert hall. The relative decline in concert-hall support does not indicate a decline in musical interest but a change in the vehicle of its gratification. Individual musicians deplore the mechanization of their art, but the profession's fear of technological displacement is unfounded. "Canned" music is in the same category as canned milk—it does not displace the "producer."

The Boston orchestra in the last seven seasons received about a million dollars from recordings alone and in addition profited from full concert-hall attendance. Unfortunately, not all orchestras have sufficient prestige for such recordings, and most of them feel that a revision in the distribution of record incomes is in order. They are convinced that the records make money when the orchestra does not; whether they themselves should go into the business of record distribution, as has been suggested, cannot here be debated. The long-run effect on the concert hall is still problematical. Will recordings whet the public appetite for live music or satiate it?

25 Years Since Sacco and Vanzetti

BY LOUIS JOUGHIN

SHORTLY after midnight on August 23, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were legally but unjustly put to death. This failure of law and justice to coincide in the most famous of American criminal cases caused the tensions and cleavages in our society to be seen with frightening clarity. It is therefore fitting that now, twenty-five years later, in a time of even greater division, we should recall this case—not sentimentally but with the greatest seriousness and sincerity.

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial revealed two serious defects in Massachusetts legal procedure and in that of the United States generally. First, procedure built on the idea of a trial as a contest between adversaries may yield a fair decision in a civil suit, where the opponents are approximately of equal strength, but may fail to do so in a criminal case, where one party is the government. The resources of investigation which the prosecutor commands, and his consequent control of evidence, place the defendant at a disadvantage. Second, the frequently contradictory testimony of expert witnesses bewilders the juror; he must make a decisive choice between authorities who have just been qualified as superior to him in knowledge. Both these impediments to fair criminal trials still exist, and the legal profession and the courts must be blamed for not having taken steps to remove them.

The case also gave ample proof that the American people in 1927 were capable of intense hostility toward dissident members of society and that a miscarriage of justice, no matter how flagrant, could not be averted if the victims were sufficiently detested. Have we come to our senses in 1952?

The evidence is mixed. Local police and prosecutors seem generally less inclined to "build a case," but wiretapping, seizure without warrant, and false arrest are still common. As for the courts, the conflicting trends in current decisions are too complex for summary analysis.

In the last two decades persecutory action has shifted from the station house and the courtroom of a Judge Thayer to the legislative hall. Congress has passed the Smith act, establishing mere "advocacy" as subversion; the McCarran act, establishing "guilt by association" in part through similarity of ideology; the 1952 Immigration Act, with its Damoclean threat to the security of the naturalized citizen. In its investigating committees Congress continues to examine witnesses with a freedom which would never be permitted to a prosecutor, while denying them the due process which should prevail in a quasi-judicial proceeding. Katzmann's merciless inquisition of Sacco about his patriotism has had its progeny.

Defects in legal procedure and the threat of a massive pathological hostility specifically link the twenties with the present. Sacco and Vanzetti, however, were philosophical anarchists. In fairness to them, and for our own completeness of understanding, we must assess the implications of their social credo.

Sacco and Vanzetti believed in the virtues of a simple society in which the minimum of authority or government yields the maximum of happiness to the individual; Vanzetti told the judge that the day would come when "your laws, institutions, and your false god are but a dim *remembering of a cursed past in which man was wolf to the man. . . .*" They did not offer a scheme for the integration of an infinitely complex industrial economy; they could not or would not reconcile their naive political ethics with the fact that government is the result of social living rather than the invention of the devil. Nevertheless, these men, particularly Vanzetti in his extraordinary letters, are not to be shrugged off.

First, the sophistication and humor of Vanzetti can help to turn us from feeble doctrinaire controversy. When we meet the noble irony of a man about to die, we should be less concerned about today's recantation by the latest anti-anti-anti-Quidnunc. Second, these men saw clearly the fundamentally childish paradox of American social behavior; they asked how long we will continue to mouth the idealism of brotherhood while expertly practicing the techniques of intensive competition. They recognized the simple arithmetic of the situation—if one man rises, another falls. Finally, these unschooled men possessed historical sense; they knew that no nation lives and rules supreme forever.

The example of intellectual and emotional self-discipline set by Sacco and Vanzetti gives important validation to their philosophy of life. If in 1952 we renew our acquaintance with the story and the thought of these men, Vanzetti's final hope will be fulfilled. A few hours before his execution he wrote: "What I wish more than all in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate may be understood in their real being and serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom—so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain."

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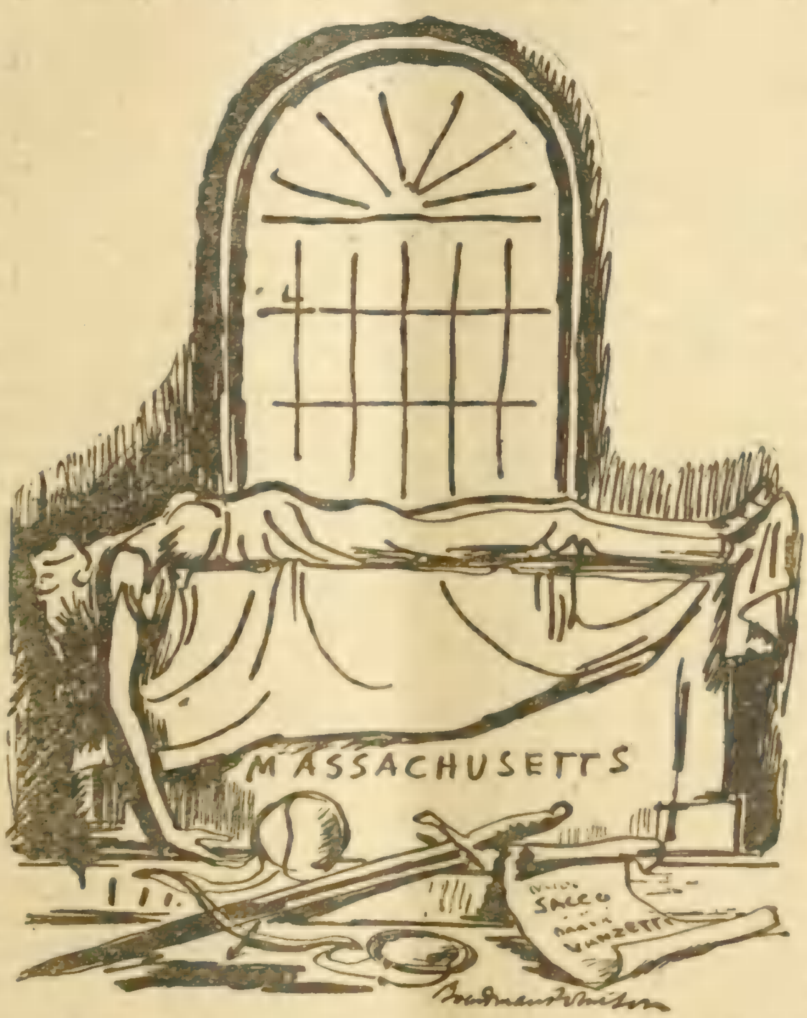
[*The following is extracted from an editorial by Oswald Garrison Villard in* The Nation *of August 31, 1927. The drawing by Boardman Robinson is from the same issue.*]

AS for Sacco and Vanzetti, for whom life's fitful fever has now run its course, why grieve for them? Their long agony is over, and they were philosophers and students of history enough to know that their sacrifice was worth more to the rationalizing of human life than would have been their release and their return to comparative obscurity. John Brown wrote just before his execution that he was "worth infinitely more to hang than for any other purpose." He spoke more truly than a Tory Southern colonel who, standing at the foot of the scaffold, looked at Brown's dangling body and said: "So perish all such enemies of Virginia! All such enemies of the Union! All such foes of the human race!"—two years later he was doing his best to destroy the Union. The very act which blots out the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti insures their eternity in any social history of the United States. The mere threat of their death produced an amazing international solidarity. When before have multitudes awaited with grief and rage in the Argentine, Japan, Yugoslavia, Italy, all over the world, news of the execution of two American "highwaymen"? When before did the second largest political party in Great Britain officially throw itself into the breach in an endeavor to save the lives of two "criminals"?



Whatever else may be said of Sacco and Vanzetti, there can be no doubt that the souls of these two men grew and broadened and gained in knowledge and strength while they were behind the bars. When men face death, many things are made clear to them; many scales drop from their eyes. We defy anyone to read Vanzetti's address to the court or Sacco's farewell to his son, and say that these were written by bloodstained hands. Alvan T. Fuller to save his life could pen no words like these. But assuming they were guilty, then here in all truth is complete proof of the possibility of the uplifting and redemption of the vilest wrongdoers. Vanzetti's extraordinary utterances have led many besides Heywood Broun to characterize him as one of the great men of the day. In the circle of those close to Governor Fuller we have heard words of profound admiration for Sacco for his courage and his consistency, and the wish that he could be known better and his mind enjoyed. And these men the world is asked to believe were cowardly assassins and robbers, these men who led blameless lives until they are said to have appeared with three confederates — never traced—in a Buick car never traced—to steal $16,000—never traced.

No, they may swallow this who will. To it we cannot bring our minds or our consciences. But innocent or guilty, these men made their mark. Their bearing in the face of death, their shining courage, their resignation, the range of their spirits—these are deathless things, and somehow or other the memory of them goes on in the hearts of men. No one can say what it all means or foretell where this case will end. But this is clear: This legal murder in Boston will profoundly and adversely affect the international relations of the United States and its moral standing throughout the world for at least a decade to come.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Perspective on China

REVOLUTION IN CHINA. By Charles Patrick Fitzgerald. Frederick A. Praeger. $4.50.

AMERICA has not yet adjusted itself to the vast revolution that is transforming China. Nearly three years after the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic we are still quarreling among ourselves about the blame for this massive event. C. P. Fitzgerald, a distinguished British historian writing in Australia, provides some useful perspective in a brilliantly written and provocative analysis, "Revolution in China." He is well known to specialists for his scholarly cultural history of China. His present book is written for everyone interested in contemporary international affairs. Although I disagree with many of his conclusions, it is refreshing to read someone who knows his modern China and is outside both the strident wrangle of American politics and the anti-Communist crusade.

Surprising as it may seem to some Senators, the revolution in China is primarily the concern of the Chinese people. It is happening to them. They, not the State Department or the Politburo, were the arbiters between the Communists and the Kuomintang. It is they who will suffer or benefit most from its results. Fitzgerald keeps our eye on the main scene—modern China in revolutionary change.

As he sees it, the Communist victory and program are only the latest phase of a massive cultural renovation that is adjusting China to the realities of the modern world. There were three main stages of this process during the past half-century: increasing anarchy while the pillars and bastions of the old order toppled; the search—often in blind alleys—for a new pattern of society; and the reappearance of the fundamental concepts behind the old Chinese social order in a form fitted to the modern world. The Communist regime represents the last of these stages.

Thus Fitzgerald sees communism in China fundamentally as a nativist movement reverting to the basic content of Chinese civilization while employing modern Western forms. This view is startling and provocative, but in my opinion dubious. It rests on a series of doubtful analogies. The old concept of a single world empire coterminous with civilization is equated with the modern Communist world. Confucian doctrine, a rigid orthodoxy which sought to harmonize all the activities of the human being and provide a code of ethics, of politics, and of every other activity, including economics, is shown to be similar in spirit to the all-embracing and rigid orthodoxy of Marxism. The Chinese principle of rule by an élite, steeped in this doctrine, is precedent for rule by the Communist élite. Authoritarian rule under the empire is equated with totalitarianism under the party. "In these old Chinese ideas, whether in their ancient form or new guise, there is no place for freedom as the West understands it, no place for salvation as the Christian understands it, and no place for individualism as the liberal would have it. But the old Chinese ideas fit very well into the new pattern."

But these analogies show similarities of approach, not of content. Particularly suspect is the equation of traditional Chinese authoritarianism with Communist totalitarianism. These are far apart. Autocratic the imperial government certainly was, and Confucianism was indeed intolerant of heterodoxy. But Chinese government never sought to regiment every aspect of Chinese social and economic life. Rather the contrary, government was content to preside over a society and economy which was left largely to operate itself. Large areas of individual and group life were outside the concern of the state. This is not totalitarianism, no matter how autocratic or despotic one or another ruler may have been. That artistic and intellectual life flourished under a tyrant of the eighth century or the eighteenth says nothing about the possibilities for artistic and intellectual creativity under a modern totalitarian regime.

Fitzgerald was cultural attaché of the British embassy in China from 1946 to 1950, when the Communist army swept from its scattered guerrilla areas and border regions to conquer the entire country. In his view the victory, which was final, depended upon the support of the peasantry and the educated class, those twin pillars upon which every Chinese government has rested.

He is deeply critical of the Kuomintang regime. A prisoner of its own past, the Kuomintang's policy was a medley of contradictions. It attempted to modernize China without interfering with the land system. It denied the practice of democracy while pretending to prepare the people for it. It proclaimed and taught nationalism, yet prior to 1937 it yielded step by step to the national enemy, Japan. Its fundamental weakness—the ultimate cause of the National government's downfall—was the failure to carry the revolution through to the villages. This lost it the peasantry, while the lack of an inspiring and really satisfying ideology lost it the educated class. Nationalism alone was not enough.

Fitzgerald tries faithfully to see things in Chinese terms and with historical detachment. However, it seems to me he is sometimes naive with regard to the Communist regime. He seems to reflect the 1950 era of the "common program" before the dictatorship really began to bite. I doubt if the "national capitalists" and small merchants are now as sympathetic toward the regime as he reports. And he is quite mistaken about the absence of a program of land collectivization. It is already cautiously under way, and the mutual-aid teams, cooperatives, and state farms are admitted steps in that direction.

China is now tied to Russia. Will this long be so or is there a chance of Titoism? While Titoism is unlikely, Fitzgerald believes that over the long run China will develop its own brand of communism and will rise to equal eminence with Russia in the Communist world. For the present the Russian alliance is unassailable. Communist China's interests in regard to Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia are more truly served by the alliance than by any other policy. So long as the United States is in fact allied with Japan, the real menace to China, the alliance with Russia is inevitable. Furthermore, according to Fitzgerald, most Chinese do not believe Russia threatens their country's integrity. He develops a strong case to show that Soviet Russia has not menaced China in any vital respect. In my opinion, however, this thesis requires an understatement of the real clash of interests in Manchuria and in Sinkiang, which Fitzgerald strangely neglects.

Fitzgerald is both sympathetic with and critical of American policy toward China. He sees us as victims of our conquest of Japan, with empire thrust upon us. We can neither retreat nor advance. To retreat would mean to abandon Japan, South Korea, and Indo-China to speedy Communist control or guidance. To advance would mean open war with China and therefore before long with Russia too. What is called "containing communism" by limited blockade, denial of recognition, refusal to admit the Peking government into the United Nations, protection of Formosa, and aid to France and Bao Dai in Indo-China only strengthens the regime in China. But war, whether ending in a "victory" for America or a stalemate, could not, in Fitzgerald's view, eliminate communism as an organized force in the broad land mass of Russia and China. It is here to stay. He offers no escape from this dilemma except the general formula of trying to reduce tension, bring China into the family of nations, and wait for hostility to cool off.

An important and controversial book for this election year.

C. MARTIN WILBUR

Inquiry as Tribute

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HARRY STACK SULLIVAN. Edited by Patrick Mullahy. Hermitage House. $3.50.

HARRY STACK SULLIVAN was a person who did not fear to question axioms. Basic assumptions of the medical profession, of scientific method, of Freudian orthodoxy, of the organization of mental hospitals, the distinction between curable and incurable mental disease, the relation between psychoanalyst and patient—none of these was too well established or too sacrosanct to be exempt from his searching inquiry. In the light of fresh evidence he did not hesitate to call into question not only theories but the faith upon which any particular theory ultimately rests.

It is fitting, therefore, that this volume, a symposium occasioned by Sullivan's tragic death, edited by his close associate and interpreter, should contain not primarily eulogy or a new system of axioms but inquiry, appraisal, and criticism. The attitude of the contributors is not that of disciples but of fellow-students engaged in joint investigation. Their papers are notable for being concerned not so much with attribution of credit and priority of discovery as with the ideas themselves.

Much of the material included in these essays is familiar to anyone who has followed Sullivan's published work. But quotations from Sullivan's unpublished manuscripts, particularly in the chapter by Mary J. White, and fresh implications drawn from Sullivan's concepts, for example by Leonard S. Cottrell, add significantly to our understanding of his quickening influence on his associates, the reason why *Psychiatry*, of which he was chief founder, is "the least sectarian of all scientific periodicals" and why his coworkers desire not the enshrining of his work but its continuing development in full stream of change.

Two of Sullivan's central concepts are elaborated in this volume: psychiatry as the study of inter-personal relations, and anxiety as crucial in the formation of character. Both came to focus in the kind of relation that he as analyst developed with patients. Psychoanalytic treatment he regarded as one form of personal relations, with all the overtones and complexities which inhere in any human relation. Sullivan was never hypnotized by the role of analyst as expert; always a theory was tested by the patient, not the other way around. The basic responsibility of the therapist, in Sullivan's view, was "the ever-present awareness of the need to convey respect for the patient and to maintain the patient's own self-esteem." Anything which, instead, increased anxiety and decreased self-respect was poor analytic practice. He was never interested in the question of "who was guilty" or in proving the therapist right. Any contact between analyst and patient must be an experience in building self-respect. "One could not imagine Sullivan saying to a patient, 'Well, we have had a trial analysis and psychoanalysis cannot be of use to you. Goodby.'"

His genuine sense of the importance of the total social situation and his humility about analytic knowledge extended beyond a particular therapeutic relation to the conduct of mental hospitals and to the building of theory. He believed that in a mental hospital the attitude of the administration and the entire staff is more important in effecting cure than the skill of a particular therapist. In building theory on the basis of clinical data Sullivan believed that the analyst should always keep awareness of himself as a significant part of the data: "The therapist has an inescapable involvement in all that goes on in the interview; and to the extent that he is unconscious or unwitting in his participation in the interview, to that extent he does not know what is happening."

Certain points sometimes misunderstood in Sullivan's writings are clarified in this volume. Clara Thompson says that Sullivan's use of the word "power" for the basic drive in men toward growth and maturation misrepresented his meaning. Cottrell points out that Sullivan in his emphasis on pre-verbal and non-verbal means of communication between persons never fell into the error of disparaging or minimizing the importance of language. "He loved words and their meaning and played with them creatively to our lasting debt." Like Edward Sapir, with whom he had worked, he was endlessly interested in exploring the possibilities of verbal symbolism, the characteristically human form of communication.

In one area where he might have been expected to question axioms Sullivan refrained from doing so—the institutional structure of contemporary liberal society. Gardner Murphy says of this anomaly:

> Sullivan states that fear is rather rare in the civilized world. But for whom is it rare? And where? Does not the psychiatrist with an inter-personal view also need a world view?
>
> The community . . . taboos the use of its institutions for the open-minded study of many of the very problems from which insecurity arises. . . . Sullivan deplores the attempt to find a solution "on the far side of chaos." But . . . no solution on the *near* side of chaos is sug-

gested. The attitude toward radical change as something fearful . . . is curious in a psychiatrist who dealt with getting patients to tear down their existing modes of operating in order to establish better modes.

The greatness of any thinker is measured in part by the extent to which his method offers the means of criticizing and enlarging his specific formulations. Sullivan's work will continue to grow as further inquiry uses his own methods to extend his conclusions.

HELEN M. LYND

The Facts of Economic Life

ECONOMIC FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By George Soule. William Sloane Associates. $6.

THIS new economic history of the American people is a tightly packed account of the changes in population, monetary usage, technology, foreign trade, living standards, and governmental functions which have marked our growth from colony to world power. No other economic history includes as much statistical information, presents it with as sure a command, or organizes it as simply and effectively around the central concepts of modern national-income accounting. Many teachers, including this one, will be grateful to Mr. Soule, will use his book as a reference, and will assign portions of it to their students. Every thoughtful reader will appreciate also its sustained tone of scientific impartiality. Although Mr. Soule says enough to imply that he favors a strong, democratic state devoted to the raising of living standards and the lessening of income inequality, he never distorts his narrative by unduly intruding these views.

Yet two reservations are unavoidable. In the first place, Mr. Soule's reliance on statistical materials leads him to summarize all American economic history before 1900 in 218 pages and to lavish 300 pages on the last half-century, a division reflecting the profusion of statistical data available in the later period rather than the comparative importance of the two time spans. It is always dangerously possible to think of the present as the product of the very recent past: Mr. Soule's approach does nothing to lessen this distortion of historical perspective. A second reservation arises from Mr. Soule's limitation of purpose. It is economic forces in which he is interested, and it is economic materials with which he largely deals. But can we understand even economic events unless they are cast in a broader matrix of political and social change? If at times this history reads like a succession of events in which causal links are missing, it may be because these links are to be found in areas little explored by Mr. Soule.

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Despite these criticisms, both the curious and the learned will find it profitable to read Mr. Soule. Though he is more successful with the twentieth than with earlier centuries, his book as a whole is a valuable document.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

The Art of Spain

SPANISH PAINTING: FROM THE CATALAN FRESCOS TO EL GRECO. Text by Jacques Lassaigne. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Skira. $15.

THIS is the first of a two-volume coverage of Spanish painting. The second, "From Velasquez to Picasso," is announced for the fall. The format is similar to the three Skira volumes on modern painting and the two on painting of the Italian Renaissance. As in them, the emphasis is placed on the color reproductions, of which there are seventy in this book; the text, provided with extensive notes and bibliographies and a map, develops a cursive survey of the field. My chief comment, therefore, is directed toward the color plates.

The flat tones and brilliant hues employed by the Romanesque painters are admirably suited to modern color reproduction, except for the problem of catching the texture of painting on plaster, which can hardly be solved on paper with a high gloss. The first plate, however, with a frontal figure suggesting Dubuffet, is unusually successful, perhaps because of the extreme simplicity of the art in question. In general the tones of the plates are too strong but otherwise relatively accurate. Most of the work is reproduced here in color for the first time, and except for the El Grecos few color plates of even similar things have been available. The contribution is therefore considerable, particularly as Spanish art has too long been neglected as a merely provincial echo of other schools. Spanish Romanesque was no less productive or inventive than French work of the same period, and during the thirteenth century, when the Ile de France was establishing its stylistic hegemony, Romanesque trends continued in full force in Spain. Nowhere in Northern Europe at this time can the barred patterns of the panels from Mahamud (page 33) be found. During the later Gothic period Spanish painting achieved extraordinary heights in such artists as Bassa, Martorell, the Valencian master of Los Marti de Torres, Huguet, and Bermejo, until the fashion of imitating the forms of Italian Renaissance painting destroyed for a time the vigor of the local traditions. It is curious to find these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century masters grouped as "primitives," without any comment on the present uselessness of this term. The word presumably began life as an art-historical tag as an erroneous translation of the Italian and French words meaning "early." No one would think of calling Masaccio or Botticelli or even Giotto "primitive" today, and there is no better reason to call their Spanish contemporaries by such a name, particularly as they follow the well-documented and powerfully creative Romanesque schools.

During the sixteenth-century, prior to the arrival of El Greco in Spain, local court painters like Pantoja and Coello developed Mannerist portraiture to a high degree of polish and arrogance. It is unfortunate that only a single Coello is included from this group and that Morales, who suggests at least the vein in which El Greco worked, is not included at all. The El Grecos were chosen for the most part from important examples in Toledo and in the Prado not reproduced in color before Four of the plates (pages 100, 103, 117, 121) also occur in the recent Abrams publication on El Greco, and in each instance the plate in the present volume is greatly to be preferred, overpigmented as they all undoubtedly are (Compare Abrams 70, 44, 103, 122). Such deviations from the truth should put the reader on his guard against color plates in general and remind him that they are only of value when he has seen enough originals, and seen them carefully enough, to make the fundamental and indispensable adjustments. I have never seen the St. Ildefonso (page 114), but I do not believe in this reproduction.

The text by Lassaigne, which is well translated, gives a useful summary of the history of the subject. It is almost devoid, however, of original observations.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

LANDS BEYOND. By L. Sprague de Camp and Willy Ley. Rinehart. $4.75. Though obviously a man with a solid scientific background, Mr. Ley loves wonders, and all his books deal with either the fabulous past or the fabulous future. Unicorns and rocket ships seem to appeal to him equally, since the one permits him to write learnedly about what may possibly have been and the other enables him to write with equal learning about what possibly may be. The present book is presented as the result of a collaboration, but it certainly sounds like Mr. Ley—which means that it is both briskly written and provided with what appears to be careful documentation. This time the rather loosely defined subject is the exploration of or at least speculation about geographical regions presumed to exist at one time or another but either imperfectly known or not known at all. This gets in Atlantis, the Kingdom of Prester John, China, the Antarctic Continent, and even Columbus's America, with side dissertations on the flat-earth and the

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hollow-earth theories. Mr. Ley's previous "Rockets and Space Travel" could be recommended to those who wanted a more sensible equivalent for "science fiction"; "Lands Beyond" is for those who want the appeal of "The Journey to the Center of the Earth" or "The Lost World" in similarly more adult form.

THE LETTERS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Selected and with an Introduction by Kathleen Raine. The British Book Center. $3.50. This useful selection from Coleridge's vast correspondence consists of 141 letters all of which have been published earlier. It is provided with annotations sufficient to enable the general reader to follow the pattern of Coleridge's life. But as Miss Raine says in her illuminating introduction, "No life suffers more than does Coleridge's from any attempt to reduce it to the personal level. Ill-health, humiliation, and confusion characterize the outward history. Flashes of poetic vision, the deep soundings of metaphysical intuition and of spiritual revelation—these were the real events." Certainly the personal element in these letters is largely the history of a series of catastrophes; self-pity, self-denunciation, and self-consciousness are, shockingly, almost omnipresent. Fortunately the other and more important side of Coleridge is also revealed in them, especially in the later letters when the miserable self had been largely stripped down to the essential "poor dark creature"—so Coleridge defined himself late in life—who did possess in abundance intuition and revelation and spiritual grandeur. Finally, if they lack the amusing anecdotes which we usually expect of the correspondence of authors, they contain lyric passages describing the Lake Country which have all the power of the greatest romantic poetry.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Tudor Publishing Company. $7.50. This distinguished volume in The Library of Living Philosophers consists of twenty-three descriptive and critical essays on the philosophy of Radhakrishnan by American, British, and Indian scholars, preceded by Radhakrishnan's own "fragments of a confession" entitled The Religion of the Spirit and the World's Need and followed by his reply to his critics. A number of the essays, such as that by George P. Conger on Radhakrishnan's World, are careful studies, fully documented and critically important. Radhakrishnan, widely read in Western and Oriental philosophy alike, ancient and modern, is true to his Indian heritage in treating philosophy as a handmaid to religion, and his discussions are largely concerned with religion. As such they constitute one of India's contemporary contributions to the world's intellectual life.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE records I will be discussing from now on will have been played on the machine I use in the country—a large table model with an effective range to about 7000 cycles, which doesn't give a dependable idea of their sound from a wide-range machine. That will have to wait until I can play them again in New York; and I will report then whatever calls for mention.

Mozart's Piano Concerto K.488, one of the greatest of the series—with one of the loveliest of the first movements, one of the most affecting of the slow movements, and one of the most exciting of the finales—is on a Columbia record, played by Gieseking with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan's direction. I think the slow movement calls for something more powerful than Gieseking's finely chiseled playing; nevertheless it is a beautiful performance and quite the best I have heard on records. The orchestral part also is played beautifully; and the recording allows its marvelous details to be heard clearly. On the reverse side is Franck's Symphonic Variations, one of his best pieces. I have the impression that Gieseking plays the second theme more slowly and sentimentally this time than on the old 78 records; otherwise his performance is again the definitive one, with Von Karajan providing an excellent orchestral framework for it.

Rehearing the Piano Concerto K.537 after a long interval I am struck by the wonderful things that happen every now and then in one of the lesser examples of the genre. Gina Bachauer's performance of the solo part on the RCA record is fluent and lively; and there is an additional warmth in the fine playing of the New London (England) Orchestra under Alec Sherman's direction. On the reverse side is, inappropriately, the Liszt-Busoni Rhapsodie Espagnole.

The lovely Clarinet Concerto K.620 has been recorded for the Haydn Society by Louis Cahuzac with the Chamber Orchestra of the Danish State Radio under Wöldike's direction. The playing is very fine but lacking in animation, especially in the finale; comparison with the Kell-Zimbler Sinfonietta performance will have to wait until New York; and I will report then whether the sound still has the shrillness it has on my present machine. But I can say now that a more consequential work should have been put on the reverse side than the mildly engaging Haydn Symphony No. 61, which is played well.

Another questionable coupling, this one by London, gives us Haydn's Symphony No. 45 ("Farewell"), of which the Trio of the Minuet and the final Adagio are the best parts (the humorous effect of the diminishing orchestra at the end requires the eye as well as the ear), and Wagner's "Siegfried-Idyll." Good performances by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger's direction.

Handel's Concertos in F and B flat for string and wind instruments, which seem to have been written for outdoor performances, are largely instrumental reworkings of popular sections of his oratorios, with some newly composed material in addition. Both are highly enjoyable works, and are excellently performed on a Haydn Society record by the Orchestra of the Collegium Musicum of Copenhagen under Lavard Friisholm's direction.

Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 is on a Columbia record, played by Gieseking with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan's direction. This time Gieseking plays the piano's opening statement without the staccatos that falsified its meaning in his old performance; but I still find his smoothly rounded off playing less effective than the tensions and distentions of Schnabel's powerful phrasing. The orchestra's climaxes come off the record with excessive volume.

The four Berlioz overtures on a Urania record comprise the two best-known, the brilliant "Roman Carnival" and delightful "Beatrice and Benedict," and two that are infrequently played, "King Lear" and "The Corsair." The relation of the "King Lear" and "The Corsair" to their titles is obscure (I can see some relation in the first, none in the second) and not important; the working of the Berlioz mind, however, I find intensely interesting in each; and in addition the quiet opening section of "The Corsair" is wonderfully beautiful, the opening of "King Lear" a magnificent operation of the Berlioz large apparatus. Jean Martinon's tempos for "The Roman Carnival" and "Beatrice and Benedict" are slower than we usually hear, but he makes them work; and all the performances with the Lamoureux Orchestra are excellent.

A seemingly informed reader has written to observe that "the trouble with such a book as Mr. Burke's [on reproducing equipment] is that it is out of date before it is published." Thus, the Fairchild pickup cartridge that Mr. Burke recommended has already been superseded. "The Weathers cartridge, which was such an improvement over conventional cartridges a few months ago, caused other manufacturers to get to work, so that we have now a much improved G. E. cartridge, a vastly improved Pickering cartridge, and an improved Fairchild infinitely better than the old, and that much more ahead of the rest." So with speakers. The LC-1A, which Mr. Burke didn't mention, "is probably the best direct radiator speaker ever made, if you get a good one (and they do vary considerably). Its real fault is its failure to reproduce clean low-frequency fundamentals"—though "I have heard LC-1As mounted in back-loaded horns which did fabulous jobs, and LC-1As mounted in the Brociner Ductflex Enclosure which fully satisfied every technical ear but the most critical. . . . However, Brociner has recently introduced a new line of horn systems using the Lowther unit, which gives the most natural, most unstrained reproduction of high frequencies I have ever heard. And Mr. Burke had no chance to hear these units before he published his recommendations." I see now that I must investigate these items of equipment and report on them.

CONTRIBUTORS

C. MARTIN WILBUR is associate professor of Chinese history at Columbia University.

HELEN M. LYND, author of "England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom," is on the staff of Sarah Lawrence College.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

Letters to the Editors

Labeling: A Racist Technique

Dear Sirs: May I draw the attention of your readers to the fight of the City Club of Chicago against the practice of labeling a man a Negro in a newspaper or periodical? Such labeling tends to establish false standards and to breed prejudice. Last year the City Club published a pamphlet condemning the practice in the Chicago *Tribune.* The campaign had considerable success, although the *Tribune* still uses labeling in some of its news stories. Now, to follow up its modest victory, the club has issued another pamphlet containing an equally devastating and logical attack on labeling. Its example might well stimulate liberal organizations in other communities to launch similar campaigns.

Chicago JOHN G. HADSERY

A Message of Gratitude

Dear Sirs: You are doubtless aware that the death sentence of my husband, Oscar Collazo, was recently commuted to life imprisonment by President Truman. He has sent me the following letter from jail with the request that it be published if possible:

> . . . I want you to send a message to each and everyone of the Latin American governments or organizations in those countries that officially or in any other way interceded on my behalf. The same to all those publications that in their own disinterested way brought to public knowledge the truth about the case; but most of all, to those that made known to millions of persons all over the world the reality of political conditions in our country and the suffering inflicted on hundreds of our countrymen whose only crime has been their great love of freedom and their unabated courage in the defense of Puerto Rican liberty.
>
> To that committee you spoke to me about, my everlasting gratitude; to Señorita Isabel Cuchí Coll and the Quinteros, whom I've heard you mention since the start of my trial, my great admiration and profound gratitude; to Vicente Cubillas and the magazine *Bohemia,* through whose efforts the old spirit of fraternity between my people and the people of Cuba has been augmented a thousand-fold; to all those Americans who forgot about the divisions of race and political creeds to give themselves to the service of a good cause; to Mr. Unger; to all the thousands of persons

who backed with their signatures the defense of a humble and to them an unknown man, thus showing the real Christian spirit of mercy; to all religious organizations that held services for my spiritual guidance and comfort.

But above all let us give thanks to God, without whose guidance and support nothing can be accomplished; He never failed me.

I will ask you once more not to expect me to be able to remember everybody and everything I would like to say; please help me in this matter and if I've forgotten somebody, give them your own message.

To my people, as always, give them a message of gratitude and tell them that no prison will be enough to kill in me the great love I feel for them and the determination to keep alive those sentiments that have always been part of my life. Our goal is full independence and we shall never rest until we have achieved it. Justice has to be done to us sometime, but never if we don't continue to work hard for the ideals in which we so firmly believe. . . .

OSCAR COLLAZO

May I add my own sincere thanks for bringing my husband's case to the attention of your readers by publishing a letter from his attorney in your July 12 issue.

New York ROSITA COLLAZO

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The Negro Nurse

Dear Sirs: In your issue of June 7 you published an article by Robert Cunningham, Jr., editor of *Modern Hospital,* on discrimination against Negro doctors by hospitals. Medical institutions also discriminate against Negro nurses, although the practice is not quite so widespread. Discrimination against Negro nurses has been falling off sharply for several years thanks mainly to the work of the American Nurses' Association. Recently the *Physicians' Forum Bulletin* announced that the A. N. A. had adopted a resolution strongly urging all state and district nurses' associations to eliminate racial qualifications for membership; at the A. N. A.'s last biennial convention a Negro was elected to the board of directors for the first time. As a result of the A. N. A. efforts state and district associations of forty-three states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska now accept all registered nurses applying for admission, regardless of color or creed. There is still a long hard fight in front of the A. N. A. and other organizations which oppose discrimination against Negroes in hospitals and nursing schools. Only 21 per cent of this country's nursing schools accept Negroes. But since the A. N. A. program was inaugurated in 1950 the number of schools open to Negroes has jumped from 76 to 236. The A. N. A. and the organizations affiliated with it in the fight to cleanse the nursing profession of Jim Crow are to be congratulated.

New York MARTHA P. BREWMAN

Kefauver: High and Dry?

Dear Sirs: Your magazine now informs us that "leaders of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party should have foreseen the need for unity on a platform, a strategy, and a candidate" [The Price of Unity, *The Nation,* August 2].

It is interesting to note how well *The Nation* itself followed this advice. It plugged to the bitter end for a candidate who received exactly one convention vote when the chips were down! Meanwhile, of course, it ignored completely the liberal who worked his heart out to build up a fine plurality for progressivism and managed to hold it through half the convention despite his pusillanimous colleagues.

Now Senator Kefauver and Governor Browning—left high and dry on the Virginia issue by the fearless crusaders of the left—must come back here to face the vicious gibes of the conservatives who have been waiting for just such an opportunity as this to discredit the liberal movement in Tennessee.

Perhaps if the liberals will follow *The Nation's* lead through a few more conventions, we can succeed in handing the presidential nomination a few years hence to Herman Talmadge or Jim Farley!

Nashville, Tenn. LEE LEVITT

The Power Trust and the Consumer

Dear Sirs: Having just finished reading the very fine report of the meeting of the Electric Consumers Conference in Washington, Battling the Private Power Lobby, in your June 7 issue, we want to congratulate you and the author, Barrow Lyons.

Too infrequently have other publications had the courage and insight to support the struggle of consumers to escape the inequities imposed upon them by the private-utility monopoly. The conference, as Mr. Lyons so ably recognized, brought together leaders of organizations which sometimes have conflicting viewpoints but which have stood shoulder to shoulder, determined to answer the multi-million-dollar propaganda of the nation's arrogant power trust.

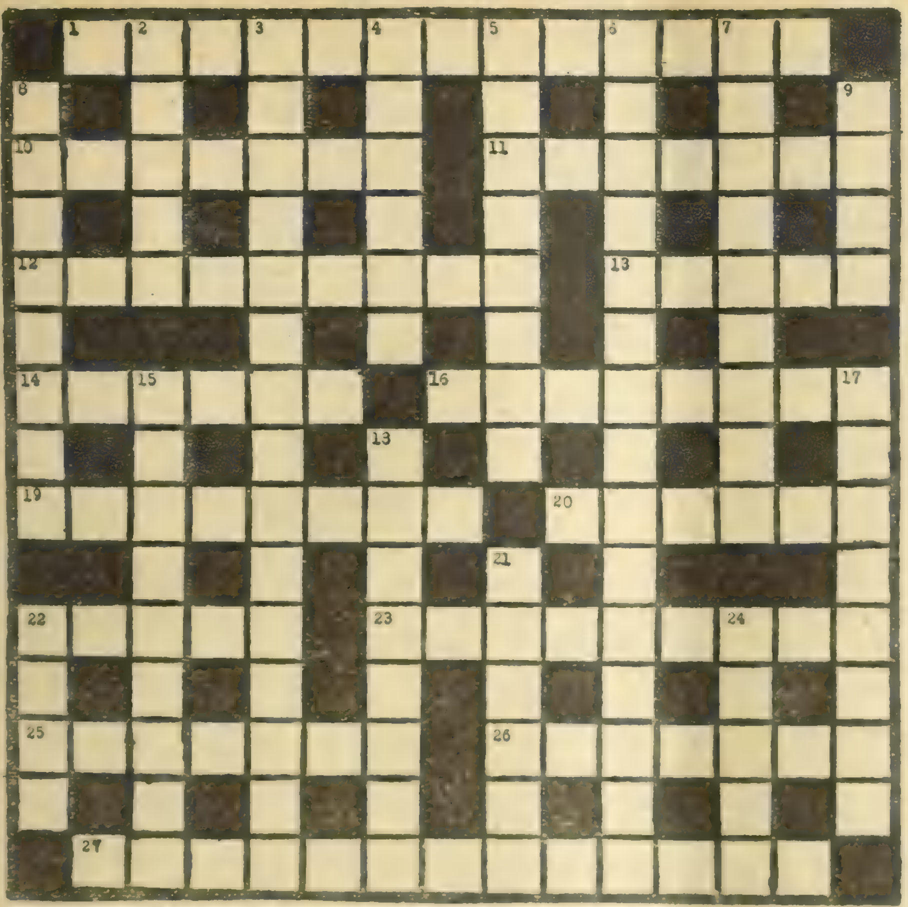
Magazines like yours must tell the truth bluntly and intelligently, as Mr. Lyons told it, if the propaganda so handsomely financed by business monopolies is not to distort the thinking of the American people to such an extent that they will surrender their American heritage of freedom at the polls. That is the political objective of the propaganda, and its inroads are already too apparent.

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
Executive Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association
Washington

CORRECTION: In Earl B. Dickerson's article, The Negro and the High Court, in *The Nation* for July 12, a long passage was condensed to read: "On the international scene American injustice to the Negro has propaganda value for the Kremlin and therefore must be condemned." Mr. Dickerson rightly points out that this condensation misrepresents his view that the argument against discrimination in America is too often based solely on the idea that it is used by Russia as an anti-American propaganda tool.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Crossword Puzzle No. 479

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sinister near the station, but really didn't get started (4, 2, 3, 4)
10 It seems to ask for a devilish kind of learning. (7)
11 Time to get dressed around here. (Ties on top, perhaps.) (7)
12 A la mode? (9)
13 The devil and Mr. Carter, for example. (Either one could be in the groove!) (5)
14 Refuse to go in it—it might introduce the enemy to Davy Jones. (3, 3)
16 Everything in moribund surroundings is acting indecisively. (8)
19 Get rid of an American painter? It will eventually meet its match anyway! (8)
20 See 22 down.
22 Leading men would make this into a place to look for 3 down, to promise the answer. (5)
23 O'Neill said one couldn't be designed without it looking like the First Supernatural Bank! (9)
25 If you want a little air in the hall, this might suffice. (7)
26 Charity case. (7)
27 Preparing the casualty list? (4, 9)

DOWN

2 Sounds like a small mountain appears vacant. (5)
3 Material of which the wild parrot's cote is made. (8, 7)
4 Deals with things that don't cost anything. (6)
5 The air can't make a synonym for this. (4, 4)
6 Dick certainly shouldn't go to a fancy dress ball! (5-7, 3)
7 Underwriter? (9)
8 What one might do at the hotel for the constable, perhaps. (8)
9 One wouldn't expect them to be given the favorite. (4)
15 If you do last to first, you might not have to lock the barn door. (9)
17 A sort of starchy foodstuff over the mark of volatile liquid. (8)
18 How to get a number in shape for the meeting. (8)
21 What Foch planned to do with his center giving way and his right pushed back. (6)
22 and 20 across. Sewer, with quite a strain on the joining point. (10)
24 If this had a quiet end, some Swiss might speak it. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 478

ACROSS:—1 OUT ON A LIMB; 6 EPIC; 10 EARRING; 12 PEDESTAL; 17 HAPPINESS; 19 COTTER PIN; 21 GET ON; 23 EDICT; 24 DIABETES; 27 EMBROIL; 28 and 16 down PRIMARY ELECTION; 29 GLEE; 30 GAZETTEERS.

DOWN:—2 TORMENT; 3 NAIVE; 4 LIGHTSHIP; 5 MABEL; 7 PROMOTE; 8 COMPRISING; 9 TRIFLING; 14 POACHED EGG; 18 PINEAPPLE; [illegible] THIMBLE; 22, 15, 11 and 13 THE FACE ON THE BARROOM FLOOR; 24 DELTA; 25 EVICT; 26 and 1 EYESORES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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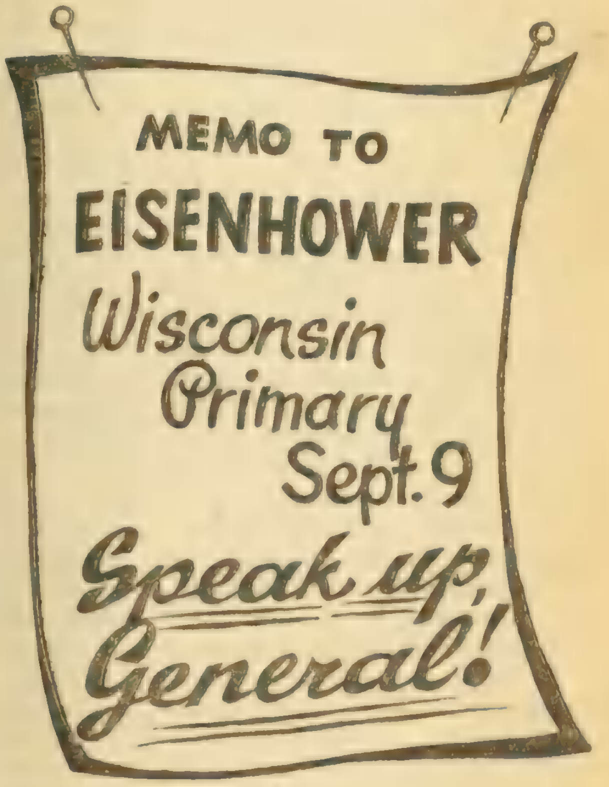
A. J. P. Taylor on Louis Fischer's "Stalin"

THE Nation

August 30, 1952

Wisconsin Testifies Against McCarthy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Letters to the Editors

What the TV Camera Saw

Dear Sirs: As I read Douglas Foster's description of the Republican and Democratic national conventions as seen on television in the August 16 issue of *The Nation,* I found it hard to believe that he and I had watched the same show. Whereas he saw steam rollers moving inexorably toward their goals, I saw two disorganized parties groping and struggling toward the selection of the men most likely to appeal to the greatest number of voters. If this process was a "fatuous exhibition of phoniness," then the people staging the show must have been theatrical experts, for they managed to induce a great many delegates to cheer, scream, call each other thieves, reactionaries, and Reds, and in general behave like people who had no idea that "the climaxes were carefully plotted."

It seems to me that Mr. Foster fails to understand the role of the national conventions in American political life. Our two parties are not well-organized groups representing definite political philosophies; each contains elements that are dissatisfied with the general direction the party is taking. The purpose of political conventions is to hammer out a program that the majority of delegates can agree upon and to select a candidate who can unite these diverse groups and present the strongest case for his party on Election Day. The Democratic conventions in the past twenty years have been dominated primarily by the liberal wing, but the party must always make some concessions to those who regard a trend toward excessive liberalism as dangerous. Among the Republicans, as the "outs," there has been a struggle between those who wish to campaign on an all-out program of opposition and those who accept some of the social advances achieved under Democratic administrations and promise to administer them more honestly or efficiently. Every four years our conventions try to determine the extent to which the Democratic Party will be liberal and the Republican Party will be conservative. Viewed in this light these struggles for power do not seem immoral, phony, or "fixed."

As a Democrat, I watched the Republican convention with an extremely critical eye, but no "seeds of disgust" were implanted in me by the battle over the contested delegates. True, the legal issues were mere window-dressing for the struggle to control the convention and the party. At the same time, however, the Republican Party was deciding whether to go before the people with a candidate who symbolized extreme conservatism or with one who, rightly or wrongly, appeared more progressive. I find nothing sinister in trying to pick a candidate who will win an election.

But Mr. Foster reserved his cruelest remarks for the Democrats. To him the draft was a disgusting hoax. My television set registered a different picture. When Mr. Harriman threw his support to Stevenson, this did not seem to me the climax of a "marionette show" but the act of an intelligent liberal leader who, recognizing that Governor Stevenson was the man most delegates could willingly accept, saw the necessity of having the initial impetus to victory come from the liberal rather than the conservative wing of the party. To describe the third ballot as "the unfolding of a secret plot," is absurd on its face. From the opening moment of the convention, political reporters were informing the American people that Governor Stevenson seemed to have the most delegate support. And I am certain that Governor Stevenson, President Truman, and Jim Farley would be mildly amused at the thought that Farley passed "the word" to delegations that "the fix" was on for Stevenson. Certainly Farley wanted Stevenson and used his influence to get him the nomination. But I find it hard to believe that a nomination whose push to final victory came from Fair Dealers Averell Harriman and Paul Fitzpatrick was secretly engineered by Jim Farley, who split with this wing of the party many years ago.

Nor can I agree that Governor Stevenson's reluctance was nothing but play-acting. When the nominee made his first announcement of acceptance, I saw a very troubled man who realized that enormous responsibilities might soon be thrust upon him. Reporters and commentators who could agree on little else were practically unanimous on his obvious sincerity.

No, the Democratic convention was not a pre-arranged hoax. There were many groups, each with varied shades of political thought, fighting to make an imprint on the Democratic program for 1952. The struggle at times was bitter, but what came across my television screen was not "theatrical posturing." It was a struggle which resulted in a fairly satisfactory resolution of the conflicts within the party. And this resolution was achieved without sacrifice of the liberal principles which have provided the vitality for the Democratic Party in this century.

It would be naive of course to say there were no secret meetings and no private deals at the conventions. Bargaining and compromise are essential elements of politics. But the deals made were between groups that represented important sectors of our population. Television gave us the opportunity to see a good part of this democratic process. I was left with no feeling of disillusionment but rather with a strong sense of having participated in a peculiarly American institution.

New York NORMAN REDLICH

"Deals": a Necessity Today

Dear Sirs: The shocking thing about Douglas Foster's article, Window on the Smoke-filled Room, is that the author has managed to serve in the army, graduate from college, and read the New York papers and still have so little understanding of how democracy functions.

Isn't it time for those of us who call ourselves liberals to realize that democracy can only function in a large, industrialized country through the pressures of organized groups—some good, some bad, some indifferent? If this is the case, the "deal" which so offends Mr. Foster becomes a part of the democratic functioning. When the groups supported by liberals are strong enough, the "deals" will be "good" ones.

LAWRENCE ROGIN,
Director, Education Department,
Textile Workers Union of America

AGAIN the world's attention is transfixed by the complex evolution of Soviet policy. What do the new five-year plan and the new draft statute for the Communist Party portend?

Be sure to read, in next week's issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo's appraisal of current Soviet policy.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · AUGUST 30, 1952 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

Futile Speculation

Last week Moscow made most of the news. It dumped so many items into the hopper that papers and foreign offices alike floundered helplessly in an attempt to fit the various events into some sort of pattern. Life's darkest moment for a foreign correspondent must be when his home office cables for a detailed interpretation of some surprise move by the Kremlin. Korea, either peace or renewed war; China's need for more economic aid from Russia; Communist plans in Southeast Asia; Soviet-Chinese relations with Japan; the final handing over by Russia of the Manchurian railroad and Port Arthur; threats to the peace in Central Europe—these were only a few of the guesses about the agenda under discussion behind closed doors by Russian and Chinese negotiators that were filed during the week from Moscow or Tokyo, Hongkong or London.

A summary interpretation from Moscow by Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York *Times* on Sunday sounded more sensible than the rest, possibly because it was so carefully unsensational. He reported that "veteran Moscow diplomats" regarded the events of the week—the closely guarded Sino-Russian talks, the publication of the new Five-Year Plan, and the calling of the Communist Congress in October with the announced changes in party organization and structure—as indicating that no major changes in Soviet aims or methods were to be expected; just more of the same, but better formulated and coordinated.

Will Anyone Ever Say "Yes"?

The Soviet answer on Germany, however, released last Saturday, revealed its purpose in both text and timing. In this single case we are ready to venture an interpretation of our own. We believe the Russian note, like the Western proposal to which it belatedly replied and like every note that preceded it, was intended to put the United States on the spot—to force it to say no and thus expose its self-interested aims. We further believe that these tactics, while always apparently successful, are always foolish. If the Russians had said yes to the Western offer of a conference on the question of the possibility of free all-German elections, Washington would have been confounded. Instead, they made an elaborate counterproposal, which they knew would be unacceptable to the United States while reasonable enough to impress the Germans and French and perhaps prevent ratification of the peace and arms agreements.

This the United States will doubtless denounce as a trick to pull the West into a useless wrangle over the whole German problem, while the integration program languishes. And so it is. But if the United States were to say yes, the Russians in turn would be thrown off balance and the State Department could use the proposed conference to demonstrate its good faith on the issue of German unity and democratic elections. That this course has its own hazards we admit. The Russians might actually agree to terms that would force the United States to go through with the deal, since Moscow is probably more willing to risk the emergence of an independent Germany than the United States is to risk the collapse of its defense plans. So, all things considered, Washington can be expected to say no, giving the Russians their diplomatic triumph and depending upon American power and pressure to force ratification of the pacts.

Schumacher and American Policy

Kurt Schumacher created the post-war Socialist Party in Germany. Stiffly rejecting collaboration with the Communists in 1946, he also turned down all attempts at collaboration from the right. At the same time he labored to draw into the party younger men, many of them trained in the resistance, to supplant or offset the relics of Weimar. With this energetic and somewhat intransigent element, he energized the Socialist machine, forming it into a powerful opposition. His death last week will put his accomplishment to its severest test, for while he lived, Schumacher's stubborn, harsh leadership and moral fervor dominated every phase of the party's activity.

His successor will probably be Dr. Erich Ollenhauser, a devoted follower but a mild, unassuming personality. On the great issue facing the German Socialists, rearmament and integration with the West, Ollenhauser faithfully reflects his leader's views. Though passionately anti-Communist, Schumacher strongly supported a unified, neutral Germany capable of making its own bargains with East and West. But other leading Socialists have favored a more conciliatory attitude toward both

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the West and the rearming of the Bonn Republic. Whether Schumacher's "Young Turks" under other leadership will be able to keep the party on its present line is at least doubtful. In this sense, the German Socialist Party's loss is Washington's gain.

Speak Up, General!

SENATOR McCARTHY, like other demagogues before him, has received a great deal more attention nationally than in his home state. The disparity may be accounted for by the fact, noted by William G. Rice in this issue, that Wisconsin has not suffered greatly from McCarthyism, although it has had to suffer McCarthy as its representative in Washington for the last six years. But the tart comments on the Senator in this issue should finally dispose of the notion that Wisconsin voters are any longer, if indeed they ever were, apathetic about him.

Although the undercurrent of resentment against McCarthy is becoming stronger in Wisconsin, he is still favored to win the Republican nomination on September 9 unless General Eisenhower can be induced to repudiate him before then. Leonard Schmitt has been making a strong bid for the nomination, but it has not proved easy to induce many Democratic voters—most of the opposition to McCarthy is to be found among Democrats—to enter the Republican primary even for the temporary and limited purpose of voting against the Senator. To some extent this reluctance has been lessened by Mr. Schmitt's assurance that he will not support McCarthy in November under any circumstances. Nevertheless, a recent poll taken at the Tri-County Fair at Superior, in an area carried by Truman in 1948, indicates that McCarthy still enjoys a large advantage. Within recent weeks, however, a united labor committee has been organized to support Schmitt, and the outlook has improved.

Meanwhile, as was bound to happen, serious trouble has arisen over McCarthy in Republican circles. It began when Paul Hoffman, first director of the Marshall Plan, now head of the Ford Foundation and one of General Eisenhower's principal backers, testified under oath that McCarthy's charges against General George C. Marshall were "fantastically false." The timing of Mr. Hoffman's deposition in the Benton-McCarthy libel suit, as well as the fact that it was not given in response to a subpoena, indicated that some of General Eisenhower's backers were trying their best to have the General repudiate McCarthy, if only by proxy, before the September 9 primary. This impression was confirmed when William S. White of the New York *Times* reported on August 22 that Senator Nixon would not indorse McCarthy and might even criticize his methods.

Since this report conflicted with Senator Karl Mundt's announcement of the previous day that General Eisenhower would indorse McCarthy, the wire services immediately requested clarification. Senator Nixon then explained that the General would support McCarthy if the Senator won the nomination. But the General himself promptly hedged. He would never give "blanket support" to anyone who "holds views that . . . violate my conception of what is decent, right, just, and fair," but he would back any Republican against any Democrat for election to the Senate this year. Then, as though to indicate what he meant by "un-American" methods, he spoke up vigorously in defense of General Marshall.

IN RETROSPECT Eisenhower must be no more satisfied with this performance than some of his backers appear to be. Better to have said nothing than to have indicated an awareness of the kind of man McCarthy is and then failed to repudiate him. As the New York *Times* pointed out, the General "disappointed many of his friends and supporters" without placating the right wing of the party. And he also set the stage for the Democrats. Had the General forgotten that President Truman is scheduled to speak in Milwaukee at a Labor Day rally? An unequivocal repudiation of McCarthy after this date will be dismissed as "me-tooism," while what he has now said will sound empty and craven by comparison with what the President is likely to say on September 1.

But there is still time for the General to redeem himself. Let his supporters—a category that has never included McCarthy—explain to him that McCarthyism is not a partisan issue. As a Presidential nominee, General Eisenhower's obligations are to the Republican Party, not to McCarthy. McCarthy is bad medicine for the Republicans. If the General has any doubts on this score let him consult the Republican Senators who signed Senator Margaret Chase Smith's famous "Declaration of Conscience." The General will betray the best interests of that party if he fails to repudiate McCarthy. In an effort to make it a little easier for him to do what he would obviously like to do, the New York *Times* has suggested that he should repudiate McCarthyism, if not McCarthy. But the people want something more than the assurance that General Eisenhower is opposed to McCarthyism; they want to see McCarthy defeated. They have a right to insist, therefore, that the General repudiate McCarthy before September 9.

From the resort where he is recuperating McCarthy has issued a statement welcoming the support of Nixon and Eisenhower—as well he might. Nevertheless Joe is worried, and not over the state of his health. In fact he seems to have recovered from the effects of an operation on July 24 despite Westbrook Pegler's report that he is "broke and weak" and destined to carry to the grave the scar of an incision "about thirty inches long." Queried about the length of the scar, Joe himself conceded that it was "about twenty-four inches," not thirty, and a reporter, after a hurried inspection, thought he would be well advised to settle for twenty. Pegler can relax: Joe is not "weak" and not "broke"; he has, by all accounts, a huge war chest. But he wants more money and has sent out feverish appeals to his partisans from coast to coast to pass the hat.

Hollywood, proverbially an easy touch, has responded with the formation of a "Committee for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" which includes such stout-hearted friends of freedom as Rupert Hughes, Ward Bond, John Wayne, Leo McCarey, Dick Powell, Randolph Scott, George Murphy, Ray Milland, Dennis Morgan, Harold Lloyd, Louis B. Mayer, and, of course, Adolphe Menjou. Speaking on behalf of the newly formed committee, Morrie Ryskind asks cynical Hollywood to believe that Senator McCarthy "has been basically right in all his charges"! Little did we imagine that the author of "Of Thee I Sing!" would one day be singing the praises of a demagogue like Joe. But these are perverse times; witness the Brooklyn *Tablet's* defense of McCarthy as an innocent victim of "character assassination"!

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the Republican primary, Leonard Schmitt's campaign will have served several important purposes. Wisconsin is now thoroughly aroused. Had it not been for his candidacy, the opposition to McCarthy would have had only about sixty days in which to fight. This opposition has now been given new hope and confidence. The solo voices are swelling to a chorus. While it will not be surprising if McCarthy defeats Schmitt on September 9, the fight will then have only begun. The Democrats will have a strong nominee in Tom Fairchild or Henry Reuss, and McCarthy will carry to the November election and beyond the scars he has received from Schmitt's vigorous handling—scars much deeper and longer than that "thirty-inch incision."

September 9 also looms large on the calendar of those who want to destroy the menace of McCarthyism because they expect that General Eisenhower will by then have unequivocally repudiated the man who despises every value in which the General professes to believe. If the General wants to present the Democrats with an issue which, more than any other, will appeal to independent voters—voters who honor Senator Duff, Governor Warren, and Paul Hoffman for their opposition to McCarthy—then let him continue to maintain his most unmilitary, ostrich-like stance on McCarthy. If McCarthy is nominated, the Republican Party in Wisconsin will be hopelessly split and the independent vote permanently alienated. As a sound tactician, the General should not need any advisers to tell him what to do under these circumstances.

Wisconsin Testifies Against McCarthy

The Wisconsin primary on September 9 will give the voters of that state an opportunity to register their second thoughts about Joe McCarthy, whom they sent to the United States Senate in 1946. McCarthy is seeking renomination by the Republicans against five other candidates. Not only this country but a good part of the rest of the world will watch the contest with fascination.

The Wisconsin Republican machine is overwhelmingly for McCarthy, but a powerful undercurrent against him also exists. From the leaders of this opposition in the state the editors of The Nation *have obtained comments which add up to a comprehensive and incisive appraisal of the man and his works. They are printed on this and the following pages.*

THE MEANING OF McCARTHYISM

BY WILLIAM G. RICE

Madison

WILL that ugly word McCarthyism preserve to posterity the political aroma of Joseph McCarthy, who so far has contributed nothing else to the life of the country? The voters of Wisconsin will probably settle that in 1952. Along with greater men—the disputed Lynch, the insignificant Boycott, the traitorous Quisling, the partisan Gerry—McCarthy has entered our language. Like most isms, except of course Republicanism and Americanism, McCarthyism is used as a term of obloquy. No doubt McCarthy would say he stands for Republicanism and Americanism. But there are those who loudly disagree.

What is this McCarthyism? To me it seems the use of the platform of office to transform a widely existing emotion of fear and hostility against one group of persons into hatred and distrust of other persons and groups by falsification and distortion of facts.

The use of the public-address system of *legislative* office has three special aspects: first, the immunity of the speaker from legal accountability; second, his authority as a lawmaker over his victims; third, his authority as a paymaster of his victims when they are public employees—as most of McCarthy's victims are. Perhaps this coercive factor is also part of McCarthyism; at least it describes the actual situation of McCarthy and his prey.

But the essence of this ism is use of a position of prominence to make false charges. Such conduct misleads the public. It maims the personalities of the accused. And when the accused are public employees, it throws sand into the machinery of government. What devil could invent a more subversive disregard of political responsibility, a more destructive attack on the essential civil liberty of participation—as voter, as public employee—in democratic government?

The falsity of McCarthy's "facts" has been shown again and again, most recently and clearly in the nonpartisan summary called "The McCarthy Record," compiled and published by the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, obtainable for one dollar from its office at 409 North Frances Street, Madison, Wisconsin. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The McCarthy method of catching Communists has been compared with that of the fellow who helps the fire department by ringing false alarms." It is possible to indulge in strong opinions on the damage done by false alarms. But an ounce of scientific evidence is worth a pound of opinion. And while we have no direct evidence on the effect of McCarthyism, we now have some evidence on a related matter that is highly indicative.

Two social scientists who have been investigating the government's security and loyalty program, which was inaugurated by executive order in 1947, report in the March, 1952, number of the *Yale Law Journal* the results of a preliminary inquiry on Security Measures and Freedom of Thought. Though the investigators tried to keep the specific procedures they were studying separated from other matters in their interviews with seventy government and fifteen academic employees, there was "hardly a respondent who did not sooner or later mention the name of the Senator from Wisconsin." Those queried did not doubt the need for loyalty and security investigations, but one said that the actual program makes McCarthy "psychologically inevitable," and another that what is happening "increases the political power and prestige of people like McCarthy."

Perhaps some would call the executive order itself McCarthyism. If so, it is a milder form, containing the safeguards of temperate, deliberate, and contentious procedure; the accused, though denied examination of his accusers or even knowledge of their identity, at least

---

WILLIAM G. RICE, a graduate of Harvard Law School, began his career as the law clerk of Justice Brandeis. He is now on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin Law School.

has opportunity to make his case before the same forum as they. Moreover, to call it McCarthyism is, in a sense, to distort history. For the executive order in its original form, as well as the trial and conviction of Alger Hiss and of the eleven leading Communists in New York, all antedate McCarthy's notorious debut on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia.

Senator McCarthy

While Jahoda and Cook, the authors of the *Yale Law Journal* report, do not and, I suppose, could not distinguish the effect of McCarthyism as a factor in the whole situation, they find that a change has occurred in the "climate of thought" in government and academic circles in Washington—a hardening of codes of behavior that is characteristic of dictatorial societies. They put it this way: "Stalin has made a mistake" cannot be uttered in the Soviet Union; but in Washington, where the climate is less frozen, it is not improper to say "Truman has made a mistake." But the rigor of the Washington climate is increasing. Of the seventy government employees interviewed, two refused to participate because they feared participation would not be compatible with the expected behavior of persons in their position. "In an investigation I might be asked why I participated," said one. Another respondent, who had been investigated and cleared (entirely for events before 1941), indicated he had not forgotten his experience. "If Communists like apple pie and I do," he said, "I see no reason why I should stop eating it. But I would."

Another effect of loyalty investigations that has obviously been accentuated by the publicity and coercion of senatorial McCarthyism, is decreased confidence in fellow-workers. Trust is the essence of the esprit de corps that enables a plant to produce goods, a university to educate young men and women, and a government to serve its people. One of the persons interviewed, when asked to think of a colleague of whose loyalty he was entirely convinced, replied, "There is no such person. Everybody can be bought." Another respondent, who worked in a department traditionally proud of its good morale, said: "The official loyalty programs, for people in this department, are not so terrible. The unofficial ones with their origin on the Hill are disastrous. The worst impact . . . arises over new appointments. . . . I'm sure we're losing many first-rate applicants this way. The people in charge of hiring are afraid of Congress." So the sensitive man dares not apply, and the executive is afraid to recruit men and women with views or manners bold enough to attract attention. Among the groups thought by the respondents in this inquiry to be likely targets for unfounded suspicion were union members, people who do not mind living next to a Negro, free-thinkers, people with foreign-sounding names. One even said, "people who have many friends and associates"!

Thus Red-hunting, stimulated by the McCarthy lash, is tending to change red-blooded Americans into dyspeptic yes men. A Marshall, an Acheson, or a Jessup, with the President's backing, can pretty well take care of themselves, but those who lack such stalwart support may be cowed. Whether in public service, the entertainment world, or the professions, this sapping of individuality disclosed by Jahoda and Cook destroys the ability to put one's talents to constructive work, which is the ultimate civil liberty. The discouragement of men and women from entering public service, and the demoralization of those who do, undermines government no less disastrously in the end, I believe, than the more shocking types of disloyalty.

How may the danger be met? First, federal procedures to test loyalty need revision. The President, I note, has recently instructed the Civil Service Commission to integrate loyalty procedures with other tests of competence. This should be done by establishing methods of selection and removal of employees that will treat political reliability—in its proper sense of loyalty to the United States and democratic values—without special emphasis but also without underrating its importance for certain posts, notably in service abroad and sensitive agencies.

Second, the public owes to individuals under attack, the traditional presumption that they are not guilty until evidence proves their guilt. A commanding officer or an administrative superior should never be the judge of his subordinate on serious charges, and scarcely ever his prosecutor. For morale, the superior should be the person that assures his subordinate of a fair trial. Moreover, the admnistrator is the one who intervenes to prevent foolish proposals and false charges concerning his personnel from ever being publicized.

Let me say a word more about this before I pass to the third necessary remedy. One might expect McCarthyism to flourish particularly in McCarthy's home state. I don't see that it does. No special procedures to test loyalty have been invented here; no wholesale charges have been broadcast. No legislation comparable to the Broyles bills, which were defeated or vetoed by Governor Stevenson in Illinois, has been introduced in the legislature or in any municipal council, so far as I know, since McCarthy began his loyalty hell-raising in February, 1950. My guess is that McCarthy's performance has found no echo in Wisconsin and is looked upon as a fundamentally dishonest performance, "all malarky," as a leader in the League of Wisconsin Municipalities described it to me. If a respected dean at the university, who knows he can count on strong support from the teachers, privately informs the right regent at the right time that he, the dean, will resign if the regents impose a loyalty oath on the faculty, the proposal probably will never see the light of day. Nipping in the bud by those who know the facts is the best way to defeat attacks on civil liberties, academic freedom, and the morale of public service. In Wisconsin an able though cautious Governor, an opposition party that is not trying to undermine good administration, a labor union of public employees with enlightened leadership have been factors that have saved the state futile disturbances and expenditures and preserved a flexible climate of thought. If some school or library boards have bent to local pressure groups, there has been no widespread surrender. A good mixture of diplomacy and guts can prevent the development of a situation in which McCarthyism is "psychologically inevitable."

Finally, the answer to McCarthyism is to make it unprofitable. The proof of the McCarthy pudding is in the eating. The voters of Wisconsin elected McCarthy six years ago for reasons that had no relation to McCarthyism. They can retire him because he has gone off the beam and achieved nothing but his own notoriety in his six years of disservice. Thus the best repudiation of McCarthyism lies in the power of the Wisconsin voters, aided by the moral and financial support of the larger public affected by McCarthy's false alarms. If the message of McCarthy's disloyalty to truth and decency can be spread to every home, McCarthyism will take a beating that at least will dethrone its prophet and dismay its devotees. I hope it may expunge this ism from our politics and the word from our language.

WHY McCARTHY SHOULD BE REPUDIATED

In soliciting comment on Senator McCarthy from representative men who are opposing him, the editors of The Nation *sought to sound opinion in all parts of the state and in various sections of the population. Contributors were asked not only to give their reasons for opposing McCarthy but also to indicate whether or not they believed the Presidential candidates of both parties should repudiate him.*

George A. Haberman

President of the State Federation of Labor
Milwaukee

As head of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and its 300,000 workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I have an excellent opportunity to know the feelings of this vast segment of our voting population.

Most federation members, like myself, are opposed to the reelection of Senator McCarthy for these reasons: he has failed to represent the majority of his constituents; he has ruined Wisconsin's fine tradition of excellent United States representation and progressive legislation; he has shamed the people of the state by his unscrupulous methods, his frequent tax troubles, his vicious attacks on defenseless people, and his reputation for engaging in public brawls.

We are not in favor of the reelection of a Senator whose voting record is in opposition to labor on 81.3 per cent of labor bills and in opposition to the public interest on 72.2 per cent of social legislation.

Wisconsin people have been mortified by the numerous articles critical of their junior Senator which have appeared in leading newspapers and magazines. They have been embarrassed by the information that the Senate press gallery in Washington rates him as the "worst Senator" and that the country's political scientists regard him as the "poorest United States Senator" and a "disgrace to the United States Senate." They are contemptuous of a person who makes irresponsible attacks on fellow-citizens while hiding behind his Senatorial immunity. They are distrustful of a public official whose personal integrity has been questioned in many instances.

Because he has placed the good name of Wisconsin in disrepute, Wisconsin labor, like all of the state's citizens who are alerted to Senator McCarthy's reputation and record, regard his defeat as a must.

I believe that both Presidential nominees will serve the interests of the country and of their parties by repudiating McCarthy now.

Ellis H. Dana

Executive Vice-President, Wisconsin Council of Churches
Madison

As a Protestant church leader who is a member of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record, I believe that our junior United States Senator should be defeated because his record shows that (1) he has woefully abused the traditional concept of American justice that no man is guilty until proved so beyond any reasonable doubt; (2) he has contributed to the current hysteria, which is largely based on fear and frequently on misunderstandings; (3) he has had little to do with the gathering and presenting of evidence which ultimately led to the conviction of those he accused; (4) he has helped to create groundless suspicions and needless dissensions when unity was never more needed; (5) he has used Congressional immunity in such fashion as to permit the unproved accusation to reach the public while the counter-evidence is suppressed; (5) other than becoming a highly controversial figure in our battle against communism, he has not distinguished himself sufficiently on major issues to recommend his renomination; (6) before entering the Senate, he was publicly condemned for unethical practices as judge and as Senatorial candidate.

McCarthyism has become more than a partisan issue. In the past both Presidential candidates have attacked the things for which the junior Senator from Wisconsin stands, and will no doubt elaborate their position in the current campaign.

McCarthy's record not only calls for his defeat but serves to remind church leaders of all faiths that they have much to do to help the American people think realistically about the problems of communism and of our foreign policy.

Herman Steffes

President, Wisconsin Industrial Union Council
(C. I. O.)

Milwaukee

"If Joe McCarthy isn't a Communist, he is cheating them out of dues." I made this statement at the 1951 state C. I. O. convention in Milwaukee, and now I say it again—without Senatorial immunity.

Senator Joseph McCarthy from Wisconsin has probably helped the cause of Joe Stalin more than any other living American. He has shown a political immorality that at times makes even Communists blush. In this free land of ours he has created an atmosphere of hysteria, dissension, and fear.

I have seen both the Communists and Joe McCarthy in action. It wasn't until 1946 that the true trade unionists drove the Communists from the control of the Wisconsin C. I. O.; but by that time the Communists had helped to defeat a great public servant, the liberal Robert M. La Follette, senior Senator from Wisconsin. They contributed to his defeat by indirectly supporting McCarthy, urging the thousands of C. I. O. members in our state to vote against La Follette. McCarthy has not disappointed this scheming clique. His actions on and off the floor of the Senate have tended to destroy our faith in democratic government.

McCarthy's voting record negates every effort that has been designed to stop the growth of world communism. He voted against the Marshall Plan, against giving aid and assistance to governmental plans for stopping communism in Europe. Communism flourishes on social injustice. McCarthy voted to defeat the excess-profits tax. He voted against inflation controls. He voted for the special-interest groups, the tidelands-oil steal, the Kerr natural-gas bill, and the infamous Taft-Hartley act.

It is encouraging to find that many Republicans refuse to traffic with Joe McCarthy, a man whose name is now a synonym for political immorality. Unfortunately there are still those in the G. O. P. ranks who fail to recognize this menace in our midst. They, and Joe McCarthy, would just as soon take over governmental powers by the use of the smear and the lie. It was this kind of Machiavellian politics in Germany that helped usher in the Hitler era.

Carl C. Knudsen

Mayor of the City of Wisconsin Rapids

In central Wisconsin we have many people who came to the United States in search of freedom of thought and opportunity. Behind them they left the methods of the police state—the midnight search, the anonymous informer, the public inquisition. Ahead of them, in America, they knew they could walk down the street and say what they thought, and their countrymen would protect their right to do so. Hitler was no surprise to these people. He was just an extension of the old Prussianism they had left behind, and they were glad to join the crusade that destroyed it.

But today what do they find? This same menace rears its head right in Wisconsin. Our state, which has a great name for liberalism and a great tradition of intellectual freedom, is represented in the United States Senate by a man who has brought to that body the very spirit of the big lie, of individual denunciation, and of character assassination that Hitler used to come to power.

General Eisenhower's army career has been devoted to the defense of this nation against its totalitarian enemies. He has seen the tactics of Hitler and Stalin at first hand. He must recognize the big lie, the intimidation of the press, and guilt by accusation, all practiced by McCarthy. I am sure he will not associate himself with such un-American devices. Governor Stevenson helped build the United Nations and helped develop the Marshall Plan that has been so effective in discouraging the spread of communism in Western Europe. I am sure he will want to leave the combating of Communist infiltration to the able and efficient FBI rather than to self-appointed amateurs, even if they are United States Senators.

I know we can control communism at home and abroad without losing the freedoms that make our country strong and great. McCarthy has not caught any Communists. He has hurt many innocent people. He has not helped Wisconsin. He has hurt its reputation. The voters of Wisconsin have it in their power to eliminate McCarthyism from our political life. When they know the facts about McCarthy's record, I am sure they will repudiate him at the polls and thus rescue Wisconsin's good name and save themselves from the danger in which he has placed them and our American institutions.

Michael Griffin

Prominent Catholic Layman and Civic Leader

Green Bay

Joseph R. McCarthy must be removed from the United States Senate because he represents an evil in this country which, if it develops fully, can stifle that free play of ideas which has made our country great. There are many indications that the evil is growing, not dying. For example, James

Wechsler is removed from a television program because he once belonged to the Young Communist League, though he has publicly revealed this fact and since has been a militant anti-Communist. Yet men like Whittaker Chambers and Louis Budenz are not only accepted but honored. Another example: while many newspaper editorials have scoffed at McCarthy's charges against General George Marshall, the only leading Republicans to deny these charges have been Paul Hoffman and—just last week-end—General Eisenhower.

The only reason that such ridiculous situations could develop—and there are many, many more examples—is that McCarthyism is creating an unreasoning kind of fear. But if America is to win in the current ideological struggle, we must be free from fear and we must nourish, not stifle, ideas. It seems to me that both Presidential candidates must be aware of that basic fact, and I think they could do a great service if they would unite in a strong condemnation of McCarthy and McCarthyism.

I am convinced that McCarthy began his campaign against subversives in government in the hope that it would make the people of Wisconsin overlook his miserable and appalling record. McCarthy is ruthless and utterly insensitive, but he lacks the shrewdness, the twisted vision, which is necessary to capitalize fully on what he has started. The great present danger is that an American with the capacity of a Mussolini or a Hitler will take over from McCarthy.

William T. Evjue

Editor and Publisher of the Capitol Times

Madison

It is difficult to see how General Eisenhower can avoid repudiating McCarthy in this campaign. If McCarthy's charges are correct, as they are set forth in his book on General Marshall, Eisenhower has engaged in a treasonable conspiracy with Marshall to deliver this country to communism. If McCarthy is right, Dr. Philip Jessup, for whose character and loyalty Eisenhower has vouched, is disloyal.

Perhaps General Eisenhower can ignore McCarthy in forty-seven other states, but here in Wisconsin the people are being asked to vote for both these men. If there is any sense to be made out of the votes the people of Wisconsin cast in the Republican column, McCarthy must repudiate Eisenhower or Eisenhower must repudiate McCarthy.

Aside from that it is hard to believe that the General will fail to speak out against a man whose record is in such shocking disregard of public morality. How can he condone by silence a man who has disgraced the Senate of the United States, who has cynically adopted the big lie as political technique, who has been in repeated trouble with income-tax authorities in his home state, who was charged with "moral turpitude" by the bar of his home state, who received a $10,000 fee from Lustron under peculiar circumstances, and whose note for $20,000 was signed by a big sugar lobbyist under equally peculiar circumstances?

Never have the political standards of this state, once upheld by such great Senators as John C. Spooner, Colonel William Vilas, Irvine Lenroot, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and John J. Blaine, been brought so low. If Eisenhower does not consider it important to keep political practice above the gutter level of McCarthy, his "new crusade" is off to a shabby start indeed. In Wisconsin the decent, informed, and intelligent citizens are determined that this state has made its last ignoble contribution to the debasement of politics in the nation. That is why McCarthy must be and will be defeated.

Fred R. Zimmerman

Secretary of State of Wisconsin

Madison

It is important to the Republican Party, to the state of Wisconsin, and to the nation that Senator Joseph McCarthy be defeated for reelection this year. The standard of public morality he has come to symbolize must be rejected if our free political institutions are not to be irreparably weakened.

It is as a Republican that I call for his defeat because of the great harm he is doing to the Republican Party. I am a lifelong Republican. I have served as a Republican governor of my state. I am at present the Republican Secretary of State of Wisconsin. I have received more votes for public office than any man in the history of the state. I have consistently led the Republican ticket in votes polled.

I have believed for many months—long before McCarthy began his irresponsible attacks on the State Department—that he was a danger to my party. I could see the gathering storm within the party as McCarthy maneuvered for positions of power and influence. His tactics were the tactics of the totalitarian. His support came from a reckless crowd of bully-boys on the bottom and a few big industrialists at the top. It soon became obvious that his drive for power would tolerate no opposition within the party. It was a drive for a monolithic party in the pattern of the Communists themselves. With the wealthy bosses at the top clearing the way, the McCarthy forces took over the machinery of the Republican Party, forcing all dissenters into brooding silence or reluctant conformity.

A year ago, at the Wisconsin Rapids convention, two delegates, one a member of the Wisconsin legislature and the other a minister, sought to speak against a resolution praising McCarthy. They were booed down, refused the right to speak on the floor of the convention.

Governor Walter Kohler was quick to speak out against these totalitarian tactics and continued from time to time to show some resistance to the McCarthy juggernaut. But eventually he gave up the fight and collapsed. He is now campaigning for McCarthy in exchange for the indorsement of the machine which backs McCarthy.

I have refused to bow to this crowd. I have chosen to make my fight against the bosses as old Governor Walter Goodland made it in 1946, when they sought to control him and failed. Because I have refused to swallow McCarthyism, the Republican convention this year refused to indorse me for reelection. I am the only Republican incumbent in a state constitutional office to whom an indorsement was refused. The party has indorsed against me a young, unknown attorney who has never sought office on the Republican ticket before.

The bosses of the party, of course, were doubly irked at me because of my stand for General Dwight D. Eisenhower and against Senator Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination. I was for General Eisenhower before Chicago and I am for him now. Because I have refused to go along with the McCarthy crowd in their charges that General Marshall is a traitor and that General Eisenhower condoned Marshall's treason, I am faced with the most critical political contest of my long career of over twenty years as a Republican office-holder.

The power and the money of the McCarthy organization are arrayed against me. But I welcome the fight. If I win I shall continue to fight for standards of decency within the Republican Party which McCarthy has been trying to kill off. If the fight to retain these standards is lost, it will be far better that I do not hold office as a Republican, for the party will have raised a banner to which no American worthy of the name can repair.

What is at stake in the Republican Party of Wisconsin today is decency and democracy. My victory or defeat is not of any great significance. The victory or defeat of McCarthy will make the difference between the Republican Party of Wisconsin being a party of which free men can be proud or a party in which free men cannot exist.

Francis H. Wendt

Attorney, Treasurer of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record

Racine

I believe that Senator McCarthy should be defeated because he has violated the great traditions of Wisconsin. We are all deeply concerned with the danger of aggressive communism, and it is vitally important that our government guard against sabotage and espionage by disloyal Americans. That task is properly assigned to the FBI, the Loyalty Board, the Appeal Board, and all the other investigating and prosecuting agencies. To resort to the policies and methods which have characterized McCarthy's career actually weakens us from within by destroying public confidence and confuses the free nations whose cooperation we seek.

Wisconsin should be represented by men of unimpeachable moral character, which I cannot find in a man who was compelled by the Wisconsin Tax Commission to pay a large sum of delinquent income taxes; who was voted by the American Political Science Association to be "the poorest Senator" and by Washington correspondents the "worst Senator"; who was censured by the Wisconsin Supreme Court for destroying evidence in an important case in which he sat as a judge; who accepted $10,000 from a private corporation while, as a Senator, he was serving on a committee and passing on policies of a federal agency which loaned millions of dollars to that corporation; who was charged with moral turpitude by the Board of State Bar Commissioners investigating his conduct in Wisconsin; who secured a commission in the armed forces and then left the service while the war was at its height to come back to Wisconsin and play politics.

Whether both Presidential nominees should repudiate McCarthy now is another matter. The people of Wisconsin elected him without outside help, and he is our responsibility. I doubt whether General Eisenhower's condemnation of McCarthy would be resented less by the people of Wisconsin than the condemnation by Stevenson of the Democratic candidates in South Carolina or Georgia would be resented by the people of those states. Personally, I hope that Eisenhower sticks to a constructive program of what he believes best for America, and leaves our problem child to us.

Harold M. Groves

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

Madison

On the positive side, Senator McCarthy's record is singularly devoid of achievement. On the negative side it shows an attempt to terrorize the civil service and the press that is totalitarian in its technique and in its consequences. We face a difficult task in preventing communism plus McCarthyism from destroying human rights both at home and abroad. We need to recover some of the judicial attitude and the calm loyalty to our best traditions that the British have shown in their similar trials. Repudiation of McCarthy at the polls would help enormously toward this end.

Norman M. Clapp

Editor and Publisher of the Grant County Independent

Lancaster

The peace of the world and the survival of our way of life are at stake in the conduct of our foreign policy. It is a time when clear thinking and steady nerves are absolutely essential. Senator McCarthy has contributed to neither. His utterly irresponsible charges of communism in the federal government have both confused and alarmed millions of sincere Americans who are naturally concerned over the security of our country and the integrity of our government.

Honest criticism is one of the sources of ultimate strength in a democracy. Evildoers and subversive influences must ever be rooted out of places of trust. Senator McCarthy has contributed nothing to getting this job done. In fact, he has on occasions threatened to impair the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as in the controversy over opening the government's security files.

Generally the effect of McCarthy's reckless and irresponsible charges has been to produce confusion, unjustly discredit responsible representatives of American policy abroad, and stir up a type of hysteria at home which has threatened to paralyze American policy in this time of crisis. The demagogue who wittingly or unwittingly seeks to play politics with our country's uneasy relations with the other powers of the world in the hair-trigger atmosphere of today is just as dangerous to the security of America as the most subversive Communist.

This is an issue that transcends party lines. Senator McCarthy and all his evil works should be repudiated by every patriotic and thinking American. That goes for the leaders of both political parties and their nominees for the Presidency. Senator McCarthy is a Republican. It is comparatively easy for the Democratic Party and its standard-bearers to speak out openly on the McCarthy record. The pressure of party loyalty and party regularity will be tremendous within Republican ranks to avoid any such repudiation of Mc-

Carthyism, but that fact makes a forthright declaration from General Eisenhower himself all the more important.

There can be no crusade to restore decency in government that carries Senator McCarthy and his methods along as part of its baggage.

Dr. Manfred Swarsensky

Rabbi of Beth El Temple

Madison

As a religious leader I refrain, as a rule, from taking a partisan political position. Like other congregations my own consists of individuals with varying points of view. I cannot speak for them.

The issue of McCarthyism, however, transcends the confines of party politics; it has become one of ethics and morals. When the quality of justice is strained and truth perverted, those who feel a commitment to the spiritual values upon which our American civilization is founded must speak out lest their silence be judged assent and their neutrality become complicity.

Needless to say, as a religious leader I am unalterably opposed to communism. However, I do not believe that the advance of communism can be stopped by bombs, bombast, and bullying. The General Conference of the Methodist Church at its session this summer in San Francisco pointed to the fact that the present world-wide conflict is part of a social revolution sweeping the globe. The misery in which one-half of the world's population lives can only be resolved by a positive program which will eventually enable these peoples to help themselves.

McCarthyism, by its methods and tactics, betrays an appalling lack of understanding of the real issues involved at this juncture in history. Under the pretense of serving the cause of American democracy, in actuality it destroys the fabric of a free society by introducing the methods of totalitarian regimes. If the methods of the police state are to be introduced in this country, Stalin will conquer America without firing a shot.

McCarthyism has become a symbol of the surrender of our democratic rights. It is therefore incumbent upon the two Presidential candidates, who in their hands hold the hope of the American people and of the world, that they repudiate the candidacy of Senator Joseph McCarthy now. He is a discredit not only to the state of Wisconsin but to the American people.

T. Parry Jones

Minister and Supporter of the Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record

Sheboygan

Senator Joe McCarthy is a pleasant person. He can be ingratiating and as friendly as a puppy. He has the gift of disarming his critics. But attractive as this personal quality is, it does not qualify him to be a United States Senator. America, now committed to a major part in the world drama, must have only the best leadership in its legislative halls.

On the basis of the record, Senator McCarthy does not qualify. His irresponsible statements have created a witch hunt which has led many innocent people to suffer for the guilty. In his bid for national recognition he has been willing to trample upon any who oppose him. Every liberal idea, or any opposition to his program, is *per se* inspired by communism. There are only two classes of people in America, if one is to believe the Senator: those who accept his program without question, and the Communists.

This alone is enough to disqualify a man for the Senate. But there is more. There is the story of his tax difficulties. And no amount of rationalization can make the $10,000 Lustron Corporation check become a genuine payment for a book on housing. If this is not enough, how about the pernicious dangers to a free America represented by a United States Senator who threatens to carry out a boycott against a publication which is critical of his legislative methods?

There was a day when Wisconsin ranked high in the forty-eight states for the type of leadership that represented it at Washington; because I covet for Wisconsin representation worthy of its fine record I am taking this position in opposition to my friend Joe McCarthy. And in view of this record it does not seem possible that either Democrats or Republicans can afford to put their stamp of approval upon Mr. McCarthy for Senator.

Theodore R. Kurtz

Secretary, Wisconsin Industrial Union Council (C. I. O.)

Milwaukee

I consider my vote for a United States Senator, or any elective office, as of utmost importance. In each instance I ask myself—has the candidate served the best interests of my country, my state, and my community? Has he recognized the needs of *all* our people; has he made a contribution to better understanding of world problems; has he been willing to combat oppressive communism by advancing the methods of democracy?

Senator McCarthy's record answers "no" to each of my questions. His votes against inflation controls, housing, equitable taxation and anti-trust legislation indicate his opposition to the welfare of our country. His vote for restrictive labor laws and against the minimum wage shows he is no friend of the working people. He continually votes for and with special-privilege interests rather than public interests.

His self-serving antics on the question of his anti-communism "crusade" have made mockery of sincere attempts to eradicate this monstrosity. If he were seriously interested in stopping communism, it is logical to presume he would have voted for measures designed to destroy it. He has done the opposite. His vote was *against* the Point Four program, *against* the Benton European aid amendment to encourage the development of free trade unions, *for* the vicious Dirksen amendment which would have seriously crippled our European aid program. Although India is menaced by communism, and is intelligently resisting it, he voted against aid to this stricken country.

McCarthy has bred intolerance and distrust. His words say he is anti-Communist. His actions belie his words. He does not measure up to the standards of decency and statesmanship we have a right to expect.

The Theater Needs a Dream

BY HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS

Ten drachs for faggots and pine wood to burn as a sacrifice to Apollo at the new moon
One drach five for a jug to cleanse the theater
Ten drachs for barley to feed to the geese
Three drachs for torches for the dancing troupe from Siphynos
Five drachs for torches for the dancing girl from Cos

THESE lines are part of the accounts carved in stone on the wall of the theater at Delos in the fifth century B. C. The inscription ends on a gloomy note: "This theater business all costs money."

Fortunately, "angels" were plentiful in Greece, though their gifts were not always useful. Gonatos of Macedon gave a hundred marble bulls mounted on columns. The Ptolemies sent a row of sphinxes for the avenue leading to the theater. The Athenian general, Nikias, spent ten thousand drachmas to stage his own show and act the leading part. A whirlpool makes it difficult to approach Delos from Athens; Nikias built a bridge of boats, linked them with silver, overlaid them with tapestries, filled them with priests, sand diviners, and dancing girls. All very fine, but one can imagine the cost of upkeep and the groans of the business manager.

There was also the tax situation. Because Apollo was born in Delos he had a right to levy taxes. Perhaps the theater did not mind paying taxes to the god—after all, everything it had came from him—but to be taxed by Athens was another matter. The Delians met the Athenian tax collectors in the market place, fought them, and drove them back to their ships.

So it was the same story centuries ago—rising costs, taxes, recurrent need for money or angels. Everyone grumbled, but the theater went right on. Possibly this was because, as the building accounts make clear, they "let out these works on the vote of the people." Possibly it was because Greek plays were good, good enough to last two thousand years.

Money will always be a problem in the theater, but it is not the chief problem. Consider the theater in England, where money today is certainly more difficult to find than in this country. Until recently England listened unmoved to comments about its lack of a national theater. Then it made a discovery: "The arts are a necessary part of everyday life to be maintained in all weathers, and not merely a luxury for the rich in time of leisure." For a hundred years people had been trying to bring the British government to this point of view. Matthew Arnold and Henry Irving were spirited advocates of a national theater in the sixties; among later crusaders were Thomas Hardy, Granville Barker, Bernard Shaw, and Gordon Craig. The British Drama League was founded in 1918 to give to their endeavors a habitation and a name. During the last war the Committee for Encouraging Art and Music had the daring to include the theater with the other arts.

In 1946 the King set up the Arts Council of Great Britain "to develop a greater knowledge, understanding, and practice of the fine arts; . . . to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public; . . . to improve the standard of execution of the fine arts; and to advise and cooperate with government departments, local authorities, and other bodies on any matters concerned directly or indirectly with these objects." This statement of purpose sounds somewhat like that of our own American National Theater and Academy. Congress, however, having given ANTA a charter, thought apparently that the organization could raise the necessary money; whereas the British Arts Council, once convinced that the theater was necessary to the people, voted a government subsidy of more than $1,000,000, a sum which has been steadily increased every year since.

From the first, the Council moved in the most practical manner, working through nine regional offices, which in turn worked through panels of experts in various localities. Established theaters, professional and amateur, were encouraged to remain centers of dramatic activity and, when it was necessary, were allotted funds to supplement, but not to supplant, funds from other sources. Grants were made to improve the caliber of productions, to repair buildings, or to enlarge them to include a hall for concerts or art exhibits. The members of the Council realized that the arts gain strength from working together. Provincial theaters applying for funds were carefully studied so that mediocre work or over-ambitious plans should not be encouraged, but there was a definite realization that a community theater in a small town in Scotland was as much a part of a national theater as the company playing in the new building near Waterloo Bridge where Shakespeare's Globe once stood.

As for results: Ernest Pooley, chairman of the Arts Council, could say in his report for 1951:

> Dangers and anxieties continue to beset Great Britain; yet, in this year of many shadows, there has been more

HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS, professor of drama and director of the Smith Theater at Smith College, headed the Federal Theater in 1935-39. This is the last of three articles on "cultural attrition" in the United States.

good art and music to be seen and heard in this country than ever before. The public has shown, by hundreds of thousands, that it has a keen and growing appetite for the serious pleasures, and we hope for an increasing recognition of that fact by Parliament and local authorities, in whom is now vested the major responsibility for the patronage of the arts.

WHAT have these two theaters—the one which existed centuries ago in Greece, and the one which is coming into being in Great Britain—to do with the theater in the United States today? Nothing, if we are content to regard the theater here as a gamble on entertainment, a succession of hits and flops originating on Broadway and copied *ad nauseam* by community, college, and summer theaters. However, I do not think we are going to be content with that. Admittedly the theater in this country has its faults. Distinguished critics have declared that it is both adolescent and obsolescent; that Broadway spends vast sums to stage plays that are vacuous and vulgar if not false and decadent, while money cannot be found for the excellent small companies; that television is draining off stage talent; that themes of vital interest are avoided because no dramatist wants to risk being investigated by the Un-American Activities Committee or by self-appointed witch-hunters; that plays on the issues of our time cannot be written because dramatists can only reflect the confusion and weaknesses of our society.

But the theater has a credit side also. We have in Broadway at its best a technically excellent and opulent theater, especially in musical comedy not based on European models. We have dance in an increasingly expert, caustic, and witty form. We have remarkable acting talent; a few superlative directors, original, dynamic, and subtle; designers able to collaborate with such directors; a number of accomplished dramatists interesting themselves in the work of young writers for the stage. We are discovering opera; we are listening responsively to poetry on the stage.

Our college, community, and summer theaters must also be listed among our assets. They have their weaknesses—social cliques in the community playhouse, overemphasis on stars and exploiting of apprentices in the summer theaters, reluctance to experiment in college theaters. But our national theater needs their characteristic virtues, as it does the contribution of such fine regional theaters as those in Dallas, Cleveland, Pasadena, and other cities.

How can these various theaters be brought together in a nation-wide plan? The logical way is through the American National Theater and Academy, to which Congress assigned the task of mobilizing the entire American theater. It is true that up to now ANTA seems to have been occupied chiefly with the New York scene, but its potential scope in much wider. Precedent for a nation-wide theater can be found in the Federal Theater of 1935-39, which was organized primarily to use the talents of unemployed artists. This theater, in spite of much official red tape, gave many talented dramatists, actors, designers, and directors a chance, tried out new techniques, and provided millions of people with their first opportunity to see a play enacted on a stage. It should not and could not be revived, but it will inevitably serve as a model for any new nation-wide theater.

While the Federal Theater had many faults, timidity was not one of them. Its writers lived on an inadequate wage which might be snatched away at any moment, but in spite of their insecurity, when they had something to say they said it. "Ethiopia," the first "Living Newspaper," was closed by the State Department lest it give offense to Mussolini. Did this act of censorship destroy the Living Newspaper? "Power," "Triple A Plowed Under," and "One Third of a Nation" give the answer. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Con-

Thurber on the Theater

The following has been extracted from an article by James Thurber, author and playwright, which appeared in the New York *Times* of July 27:

. . . the American theater is lying at death's door largely because of the Congressional probe of playwrights, among other writers, which began five years ago and seems likely to go on forever.

An investigation of writers that takes five years, let alone forever, stands out as more of a political device than a patriotic endeavor. . . .

The constant open season on writers has seriously depressed literature in America. . . . There have been other factors to deject us, to be sure, from the depression to the atom bomb and television, but the wholesale contrived distrust of Americans by Americans has been the strongest ingredient of our desperation. The commercialized, ritualistic defamation of liberals with talent . . . would be fatal to our entire civilization if it went on forever, or for even fifty years.

America is surely coming to realize that the vast majority of American writers are not Communists and never have been Communists, but we have been politically rigged out of a chance to prove this.

Where accusation has lost its mind and suspicion has become the victim of persecution complex, it is hard for the creative writer, humorous or otherwise, to accomplish anything.

Playwrights may come out of hiding and start working happily again if they hear the old reassuring sound of America laughing; but if the subpoenas for Hellman and Odets are the beginning of an endless probe of Broadway, then the American theater cannot be saved and will die.

gress's decision to end the Federal Theater was the direct result of the fact that the Dies committee investigating its alleged un-American activities refused to see or read the plays under discussion and refused to allow any official of the organization to testify until the case had been tried for months in the newspapers. Whether anything the project accomplished for the theater compensated for the sufferings of the people connected with it is a question I have never been able to answer.

However, I am certain of one thing: for the brief period of its existence the Federal Theater afforded those of us fortunate enough to work on it what William James once called the "moral equivalent of war." Belief in something more important than any of us was the driving force behind the Federal Theater.

Our theater today, whether commercial, community, or college, needs such a focus: the desire to interpret the United States to other countries might serve. (The excellent magazine *World Theater,* sponsored by UNESCO, has a similar purpose.) In such a project college theaters might be given the task of reading plays with this subject in mind. Community theaters might be urged to put on festivals like Paul Green's "The Lost Colony" and "The Common Glory." Such celebrations are already being held in many states, and in a few years one may be able to travel across the country seeing the history of each section re-created.

The greatest need is not for money from the state, the federal government, or the private angel. If the idea of a theater—its plan, vision, dream, or whatever you went to call it—is real enough and big enough, money will be found.

Report on Tunis—I

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Tunis

WHEN you fly from Paris to Tunis via Nice, you scarcely feel that North Africa is overseas at all. If France were to lose Indo-China or, say, Madagascar, few Frenchmen would feel that one of the country's limbs had been amputated, but North Africa is different. To most people, especially to those who have never been there, North Africa is a "natural extension" of France. In the recent debate on Tunisia in the National Assembly every party with the exception of the Communists—who as a matter of principle talked of the coming "independence of colonial peoples"—argued for what it considered the most effective way of *keeping* North Africa. For the Socialists the best and safest way to keep it was to be generous with the Arabs; for the right, the best way was to be exceedingly tough. Paul Reynaud said that France would leave the U. N. rather than surrender North Africa. François Quilici, deputy from Algeria, who obviously represented the extremist North African colonials and civil servants, went almost so far as to propose a "federation of all the French of North Africa"; he even favored something remarkably like the Malan policy of separatism in South Africa, if no other solution "fully safeguarding France's rights" could be found.

The question whether two Tunisian worlds—the European world of French business men and *fonctionnaires,* with their troops and police, and the Moslem world, with its vaguely Kemalist nationalism, its polished but more or less anti-French intellectuals, its fiery Habib Bourguiba exiled to an island off Bizerta, its jails crowded with "trouble-makers"—can go on living together has become, both to the French and to their Arab subjects and protégés everywhere, the biggest problem of today. The Tunisians have twice attempted to place their demands before the United Nations, claiming that the situation is a threat to international peace. Both times the Americans and British have rallied to the support of the French and kept the matter off the agenda. The Tunisians' third opportunity will come when the U. N. Assembly meets again on October 4. They will be supported by a bloc of thirteen Asian and Arab countries.

The French are resolved to keep North Africa not only for sentimental and economic reasons—big capital is deeply involved there—but also for imperialist reasons. Rightly or wrongly they believe their interests are in conflict with the unconscious or semi-conscious imperialism of the United States. "America is ostensibly against colonialism," a French official in Tunis said to me. "But in reality she is anxious to find new markets at the expense of her allies—not to mention her unhealthy strategic interest in North Africa; Morocco, with its American penetration, is only a beginning." And it is a fact that Tunisian nationalists and trade unions have chosen the United States, not without encouragement, as their defender against French imperialism. Some Neo-Destour (Independence Party) leaders have admitted to me, however, that this is "chiefly tactics."

It is the 150,000 Frenchmen, living among 3,000,000 Tunisians, who, Frenchmen insist, have "turned a backward Ottoman province into a Garden of Eden." The

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in Paris, recently visited Tunisia. This is the first of a two-part report.*

French also point to the 10,000 government officials who have sent down deep roots in the country: "These people can't all be thrown to the dogs." And they produce not unimpressive tables showing that the standard of living and health and education is a good deal higher in Tunisia than in the countries of the Asian-Arab bloc that have so unscrupulously been defiling the fair name of France at the U. N. The population question is further complicated by a Jewish community of 80,000 and an equally large Italian group; the Jews, though afraid to side openly with the French, know that the moment France hands control over to the Arabs they will suffer the same victimization as the Jews in Libya.

The French emphasize the efficiency of their government officials. They say the technical *cadres* they have supplied must stay, whatever happens, because the Arabs, though they often make good lawyers and doctors, are congenitally incapable of becoming good administrators or engineers. This is of course a "racialist" argument that is particularly resented by the Tunisians. Even in the latest Schuman proposals the lion's share of good jobs is to go to the French—at least for a long time.

Tunisia has a colonial economy, and the French are reluctant to abandon it. The best lands in the north belong to the French *colons,* who acquired them by hook or by crook. The mineral wealth, especially the great phosphate deposits in the south, and most of the industrial equipment are owned by French big business. The basis of the Tunisian economy is cheap labor. While it costs a farmer in France nearly $3 a day to employ a farm laborer, the *colon* pays only one-quarter as much.

IT IS hard to imagine what Tunisia would be like without the French. It is they who form the country's economic and administrative framework. The ideas of the Bey, of the various princes, of the few large Tunisian landowners, of the Neo-Destour leaders, of the "man in the street," of Ferhad Hached, leader of the Tunisian Trade Union Federation (U. G. T. T.), seem to lack all unity of purpose or direction. Practically all the Neo-Destour leaders are of bourgeois origin and have had a French education. Most of them are extremely traditionalist. Their ideas on social reform are not far advanced. Ferhad Hached will tell you that land reform is essential, complete with the splitting up of the large estates, both French and Tunisian, and that Tunisia will not be, like Egypt, a pasha plutocracy. In the discussions with France, however, it has been tacitly admitted that, whatever political reforms may be agreed upon, the economic and financial position of French nationals is to be treated as sacrosanct.

If among the Neo-Destour and U. G. T. T. intellectuals there is some desire to follow the example of Kemal and modernize the country, it comes up against a strong religious traditionalism. The emancipation of women is still in a rudimentary stage. A characteristic feature of Tunisian life is the Great Mosque of Tunis with its educational annexes, where 14,000 children and young men receive a Koranic education of mighty little use in any modern state. Equally typical of Tunisian traditionalism are the thousands of acres of land belonging to Moslem religious communities and institutions and exceedingly badly cultivated if at all.

Nevertheless—and this is an important fact, almost unique in the Moslem world—the Trade Union Federation does exist and has 80,000 members, as against 10,000 in the Communist federation. It includes all kinds of labor except farm workers, whom neither the French nor the Tunisian landlords allow to belong to a union. But it is scarcely a trade-union federation in the modern sense; as the French have often observed, U. G. T. T. members will strike against French employers but not against Moslem. The organization receives support from the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. through the International Council of Free Trade Unions, a connection greatly resented by the French because it permits the Tunisian trade unions to send to the outside world highly unfavorable reports on French policy.

The U. G. T. T. has called numerous political strikes. It works in close contact with the Neo-Destour Party and is considered as important a political weapon as the nation-wide network of Neo-Destour cells, organized much as are Communist Party cells elsewhere. One often hears U. G. T. T. or Neo-Destour members say that their immediate task is political, and that once it is done, they will turn to social and economic tasks.

Although the French claim to have done a good deal for Tunisian health and education, Tunisian nationalists have little difficulty in showing that the results are pretty trifling, even if the situation is much worse in, say, Iraq, Iran, or Pakistan. One French reply to such criticism is that when a Tunisian does train to be a doctor, he is careful to settle down in Tunis and let French civilian and army doctors do the dirty work out in the desert.

The Tunisians are used to the French and recognize their efficiency and cultural prestige. It is probable, therefore, that a *modus vivendi* would be possible if the French made allowances for the great changes that Destour influence has brought about in the thinking of the Tunisian people in the last twenty years. A good many Tunisians, even those who belong to the Neo-Destour Party, say they are willing to "go on living with the French" but find it increasingly difficult. If, as many Frenchmen insist, the Arab is fundamentally a racialist who would throw the French out just as readily as the Jews, it is perhaps even truer that the French have themselves been frightened into a kind of racialism.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Wicked Uncle

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF STALIN. By Louis Fischer. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

OLD map-makers used to leave a great blank in Africa or Central Asia and write across it, "Here be monsters." That is the best we can do about Soviet Russia. We know nothing. We do not know how its government works, whether there is any discussion at the top, how well or ill informed its rulers are. We do not know whether the Soviet people are smoldering with revolt or just grumbling mildly, like everyone else. We know more about ancient Egypt than about Moscow in 1952. Mr. Fischer lived in Russia for fourteen years, but he is no better off than the rest of us. He has rubbed up a few old memories, picked out the leading passages from Churchill and others, added a good deal of general invective, and then hoped for the best. Anyone who wishes to be convinced that Stalin is a wicked man with no redeeming features will read this book with pleasure; and the verdict is just as likely to be correct as the Soviet presentation of Stalin the demi-god. They both set up a wooden image. One worships it; the other knocks it down. Stalin the man is not to be seen, and for a simple reason: so far as the record goes he does not exist.

Mr. Fischer writes clearly and forcefully, almost too forcefully. He makes at the end a wise judgment: "The maintenance of international peace and a mounting living standard for all would demonstrate the superiority of the free world"; and he thinks that political tyranny inside Russia would relax if international tension were lessened. All men of liberal mind must put their money on this hope, though it is nowhere near a certainty—Franco manages very well without any external danger. At any rate, any lessening of international tension would be welcome in itself; and anything contributes to this which increases understanding. Here Mr. Fischer's book does not succeed. There is no more understanding at the end than at the beginning. Stalin can do nothing right. If he makes a pact with the Nazis, he is betraying democratic civilization; if he fights the Nazis, he is out to conquer the world. Yet it was not Stalin who said in 1940: "If we want to keep out of this war, the longer we keep the British going, that much longer we stay out of this war." Again, if Stalin plans "socialism in one country," that is abandoning the revolution; if he encourages communism elsewhere, that shows how dangerous he is. So far as program and policy go, just as black a case could be made against any other statesman who has ever looked after the interest of his country and his party. Stalin's method is a different matter. Political tyranny and the secret police are evils without excuse or palliation; and they are probably worse now in Soviet Russia than they have ever been in any country in recorded history. But liberals, unlike Communists, ought to hold the balance; and it is no crime for Stalin to want either to stay in power or to make his country the greatest in the world. Only he must not expect us to agree with him.

The greatest defect of Mr. Fischer's book is on the economic side. There is nothing original in Stalin's maneuvers as a party boss—only more ruthlessness. There is nothing original in his diplomacy; it is old balance-of-power stuff. But in the last twenty-five years Russia has developed an industrial revolution, and this was largely Stalin's doing. It is also the one part of recent Russian history that we can get to know if we take the trouble. The figures are there; they can be broken up and analyzed. No reader of this book can discover what the five-year plans amount to, even if he notices that they existed. Yet they are the only thing that matters if we are to increase our understanding of Soviet Russia.

The title of Mr. Fischer's book also promises too much. He does not announce that Stalin is dead; he does not even know how he will die. He speculates vaguely on who will succeed him. He backs Molotov as figurehead, with Malenkov, the secretary of the party, controlling him; and one step back, Beria, head of the secret police, controlling Malenkov. The guess is plausible. But it is of little moment. The Soviet system depends on its institutions, not on its men; and even Stalin does not now amount to much in it. It is a hateful system and, so far as political maneuvers go, a very clumsy one, but before writing it off we should bear in mind that it is an effective system for manufacturing power. All men in public life want power; and Stalin has been more skilful than most in getting it.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Recruits for a Dictator

THE RED CARNATION. By Elio Vittorini. Translated by Anthony Bower. New Directions. $3.

IN THIS story of a young Sicilian student, Alessio Mainardi, we have the education, sentimental, academic, and political, of an Italian middle-class youth who was coming of age at the same time as Fascism. The flexed muscle, the pugnacious attitude which characterize untried virility had their counterpart, a hideously painful one, in the Matteotti crime, which rent Italian public opinion a decade before Vittorini wrote this book—it was printed in Italy in 1933 but withdrawn from circulation because it was not acceptable to the regime.

The crime itself has about as much impact on young Mainardi's conscience as it would have had on an adolescent in remote Palermo or Catania; yet its mark shadows the story and the protagonist's life. Mainardi is coaxed by his immature need to "belong," to do the things his "set" is doing, into taking part in a Fascist-promoted student strike against the faculty and in particular against those members of the local hierarchy who after the bludgeoning of the deputy, Matteotti, have been inclined to say that "those Fascist fellows have really gone too far this time." But the young boy's dream is to love and be loved by a school friend, Giovanna, whose family is not, it seems, convinced that the Fascists are in the saddle to stay and right in the methods they are using to get a firm seat. The vacillating, unsure, and transparently honest boy writes in his diary: "I nearly had a fight on Saturday with the boys from the third year. They took me for a pro-Matteotti—imagine—and I almost wanted to say that I was, so I could stay on the side of my [girl] in every possible way." Of such stuff is political conviction formed!

The political references are not numerous enough to overload the story. But Vittorini, far less adept at this stage than he became later, does not manage to clarify his symbolism. As a result the book lacks some of the lucidity of "In Sicily," "The Simplon Winks at the Fréjus," and the still-untranslated "Women of Messina." But in "The Red Carnation," a sensitive study of adolescence in a period of moral decay, he tells a moving story, nevertheless.

Vittorini's adolescent will surely be compared—and probably to his disadvantage—with Moravia's brace of youngsters in "Two Adolescents" and Jean-Baptiste Rossi's tremulous man-child in "Awakening." Though less spectacular than those books, Vittorini's has perhaps the surest grasp on the problems besetting the "average" boy: *romantic yearnings* ("I love her! I love her! I said inside me, and I did not know about whom I was saying it"); *uncertainty about the future* ("There's no kind of life that doesn't appear attractive and you suddenly get anxious to begin, even if it's only an accountant's life . . ."); *sex*—quite different at times and yet so easily the same as the romantic yearnings ("What could I have with her [the prostitute with the exotic and flamboyant name, Zobeida]? Only to throw myself at her feet? Only to worship her and recognize that she was a goddess?"); *ambivalence toward the parents* ("We had grown up thinking that we were better than father and mother, with an acute sense of belonging to another generation," and later "At this point my father turned, and suddenly the reproachful glance of his pale eyes fell on me, driving me back to the domain from which there was no other escape but wickedness and disobedience. All the rest of that vacation I was wicked and disobedient as never before. The following year I met T. and I joined the Fascists out of antipathy for the kind of socialism from which my father . . . derived"). As the novel has body, a real boy battles with the real problems appropriate to his nationality and economic-educational level. Reading Mainardi's story makes the attitudes of so many upper-middle-class men in their thirties who passed from Fascism to the Allied side during the war seem less supine, more explicable.

The translation is on the whole good, though it is occasionally too literal: "Flunk after flunk, I deserve a good punishment, isn't that so?" while perfectly exact, is also awkward and rings false in English. And it suffers throughout from "like" used for "as," this unfortunate locution presumably adding the "genuine spoken-American" flavor to Mainardi's Sicilian chatter.

"The Red Carnation" is not first-rate Vittorini by any means, but its painstaking and accurate analysis is very much to the point at a time when increasing numbers of youngsters—twenty years later than Vittorini's Mainardi—are searching for the strong word, the flexed muscle. The author himself has written: "One problem with which the book concerns itself is the dangerous inclination, existing again today, of the young to feel guilty, insufficient, incapable of acting with decision or of realizing their potentialities. They come to want some . . . dictatorship which will decide for them. . . ." Vittorini's work casts the light of his reflection and experience on this basic problem.

FRANCES KEENE

The Single Standard

SOUTH OF FREEDOM. By Carl T. Rowan. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

If I have said nothing new, perhaps I have said it in a different way that will bring something to the makings of men," writes Carl T. Rowan in the foreword of his first book. "If this be impossible," he continues, "I still hope that the old things I have written will produce new understanding among millions of Americans who know so little about the problem." Perhaps Mr. Rowan has said nothing new about one of the nation's most grievous problems—the so-called Negro problem. Perhaps, even, there is little novelty in the way he has said it. Yet "South of Freedom" is a book every American should read.

Mr. Rowan is a Negro. He has experienced, in a hundred different ways, the emotional hell that harasses Negroes simply because they are Negroes. Undoubtedly as a reporter for a metropolitan daily newspaper, the Minneapolis *Tribune*, Mr. Rowan has also had a taste of what we call equality of opportunity. As a result he is a discerning analyst of our schizophrenic democratic personality. His book is based on a 6,000-mile tour through the South in 1951 and is an enlargement of a series of articles that appeared in the *Tribune*. This series, incidentally, was the most provocative in the newspaper's history and elicited an unprecedented amount of mail.

To those inclined toward a cowardly, queasy outlook on the issue of Negro rights today, Mr. Rowan's scalpel-like report will not bring much comfort. All the sorry ingredients of second-class citizenship—segregation, personal humiliation, physical peril, stereotype characterizations, economic exploitation, intermarriage taboos, Jim Crow paradoxes—are here incisively diagnosed. Segregation, Mr. Rowan declares, is the South's god. Some white Southerners are willing to admit that the Negro's life and opportunities are not the same as the white man's. But few if any, in his opinion, will concede that segregation itself is a basic cause of the existing injustices. He writes: "If justice is possible under enforced segregation, the burden of proof now is on the South. The South knows it, and the turmoil and social upheaval to which enlightened Southerners point is simply the uneasy, defensive stir created by the knowledge of this burden."

Mr. Rowan returned to his native McMinnville, Tennessee, scene of boyhood frustrations. There he recalled the days when he and his companions swam in the muddy Barren Forks River. A half-mile upstream from their favorite rendezvous was the city swimming pool, where "whites frolicked in blue, chlorinated water." Herein lies one of the most delicate fundamentals of race relations in the South—and the rest of the nation. "The white men of McMinnville," says Rowan, "thought they were 'protecting Southern white womanhood' by barring us from the pool. And though it seemed silly to a few guys who simply loved to swim, we knew that as long as 'Southern white womanhood' frequented the pool, our chances of swimming there were slim indeed."

Surely the most exasperating discrimination encountered by Negroes is found in Washington. The nation's capital should be a shining symbol of democracy. But it isn't. In many ways Jim Crow is more of a fixation there than in the cities of the deep South. One of the first lessons in racial ABC's for Rowan was that he was not welcome at a white hotel in Washington, though he had been twice assured by telephone that a reservation was being held for him.

Certainly, as Mr. Rowan reports, changes are taking place in the South. Now more than 1,000,000 Negroes vote there. More than 1,000 Negro students attend professional and graduate schools in hitherto lily-white state-supported colleges and universities. White students demonstrated how they stood on the issue by smashing Jim Crow signs on the campus of the University of Oklahoma at Norman. And others in the South are willing to stand up and be counted on the race question, for instance, Judge J. Waties Waring, a federal jurist, who freed Negroes from political chains by sweeping aside the white primary conducted by the South Carolina Democratic Party.

Such actions give reason for hope, but they are not enough. And it is significant that more has been accomplished toward the breaking down of barriers by judicial and political pressures than by the innate goodness of men's hearts. And when individuals of tough moral fiber like the Warings and the Lillian Smiths express the courage of their convictions they are dubbed superliberals and face social crucifixion. They too find the going rough. For making real an inherent constitutional right for Negroes, Judge Waring was termed a traitor to the cause of white supremacy; he was ostracized by whites in Charleston, and recently he and his wife left the South.

In discussing the ticklish issue of communism and the Negro, Mr. Rowan cites the pathetic case of Willie McGee, the Laurel, Mississippi, Negro who was given the kiss of death by the Communists. McGee was executed in May, 1951, for the alleged rape of a white woman. Communists, Rowan remarks, bled the "last drop of propaganda" from this case of one-sided justice, but he points out that there is a more important and deeper lesson than the patent one of Communist exploitation. "Nobody seemed to remember," he writes, "that Communists magnified an issue because one-sided application of the law gave them an issue to magnify. Had Willie McGee been given a 'white man's sentence,' the case might have died in the same obscurity that once engulfed McGee, and the Communists would have had to work much harder for their symbol."

Mr. Rowan has no kind words for Negro appeasers, who invariably paint the rosier aspects of racial discrimination. He lists George Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, the nation's largest Negro weekly, as an eminent example. He accuses Schuyler of writing for the box office, writing what whites want to read, and asserts that Schuyler deplores the critics rather than the conditions that make criticism possible and necessary. He condemns Schuyler for pointing out, for instance, that Negroes are better off in America than in South Africa. "Is it an American test by which we decide that what the American Negro gets is more satisfactory because Negroes in South Africa get something worse?" he asks. "Americans can only judge America by the American standard, and that is the standard of democracy."

In the final analysis, this is the standard by which the Negro American, like every other American, judges his country and his rights. He wants everything that any other American wants. And he feels, as Rowan concludes, that he is entitled to nothing less.

WILLIAM A. BROWER

Romantic Realist

THE STORIES OF FRANK O'CONNOR. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

YEATS'S praise of Frank O'Connor, "O'Connor is doing for Ireland what Chekhov did for Russia," is not excessive. It is difficult to write about him without falling into extravagant language, for at his best he is so good that only superlatives seem proper. His rapid prose is unpretentious, calling no attention to itself except as, to a transatlantic ear, it is filled with the colloquialisms of Irish English. One would never guess, reading them, that O'Connor has rewritten some of these stories as many as fifty times, so fresh do they sound.

Two lines from Yeats's poem, "September 1913," are useful in defining their complexity:

> Romantic Ireland's dead and gone
> It's with O'Leary in the grave

The explicit, bald statement is modified by a rhythm reminiscent of some romantic and sentimental Irish song. In the world of these stories a similar counterpoint exists. O'Connor, who belongs among the Irish realists of the last twenty-five years, has little in common with, say, Lady Gregory or Synge. He writes about the Ireland of the Troubles

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and after, and almost always with his eye fixed firm on his subject. But again and again the romantic Irish note sounds and is resolved, miraculously, into perfect harmony. For instance: Charlie Cashman, the mooning hero of The Holy Door, is finally rescued by true love—the girl of his dreams—from the loneliness and unpopularity which beset him. Like most of O'Connor's men and boys he is at once a mocker and a dreamer. His troubles, however, are unpleasant actualities—a parochial morality dictated by women and priests, the gossip of a country town, and the wretched town itself: "Sometimes he went to the house door and stood there for a full half-hour with his shoulder against the jamb, drinking in the misery of the view in the winter dusk: the one mean main street where everyone knew him and no one wished him well." When O'Connor's stories fail, and sometimes they do, it is usually because he has allowed his romantic sentimentality to flourish unchecked by his awareness of the facts of life. Then he lapses into cuteness and whimsy.

His landscape is Cork, the small towns round about, the west coast, and, on occasion, the western islands. His characters are small tradesmen, priests, school teachers, peasants, day laborers, women, young girls, and children. Everywhere the family and the hierarchy dominate the scene. The family pattern is familiar; we have read about it, transplanted, in the best novels of James Farrell: the wives devout and fiercely puritanical, or devout and tipsy, and, either way, likely to be cold women; the husbands, good providers when they are not out on a spree, suspicious of the influence of the priests on their wives, confused sexually, kindly, except when they feel impelled to set their houses in order with shocking violence. The narrator is often a grave small boy, too wise for his years. In this rough world, where love is likely to come in inexplicable bouts of affection and is, in any event, an undependable quantity, he remains stable, though bewildered and often hurt.

About the hierarchy—he is writing about the clergy and not about the church—O'Connor is mildly ironic. Just as, to the looker on at unbridled domestic turbulence the wonder is that so little serious damage finally comes of it, so, to the non-Catholic, the wonder is that an omnipresent priesthood should turn out to be, after all, an accepted and commonplace part of the picture. Father Ring plays a venal role in The Miser and a sinister one in The Cheapjack; he is the good angel in The Holy Door. That, O'Connor seems to be saying, is the way the hierarchy can be expected to behave.

The gusto with which he attacks his stories and the subjects he chooses show that he regards life as a spectacle that, while often joyous and comic, usually turns out at the last to be sad. So, in the fine story The Miser, events center, for the purposes of comedy, on how a dying old man outwits the grasping and astute Father Ring. All at once, toward the end, one sentence—a moment of vision—intensifies and alters the feeling. The trickery which has held our interest up to now becomes of no great importance. The nun who had cared for the old man is leaving his house after his death: "Then, having tidied away her pots and pans and had a last look at old Tom Devereux, the man who had stroked her hands, and praised them as no one else had done since she was a girl, she washed her eyes and went back to her convent."

The major realities encompassing this Ireland are poverty, ignorance, and drink. Yet from them there gushes an exciting existence which, even at its grimmest, is infused with a sense of wonder and beauty and sorrow. Obviously that very complex matter, the marvelous and terrible Irish temperament, has a great deal to do with this transformation—as have also the shifting colors of sea and sky and land to which O'Connor is acutely responsive. Such infinite riches in the cramped little rooms of these towns and farmhouses! In the finest story, In the Train, nothing really happens. Some peasants and provincial police are returning home from the city after the trial of a peasant woman who has been acquitted of poisoning her husband only because no other peasant has been willing to testify against her. That is all. Yet in fifteen pages, as the train drags its way by night "across a dark plain, the heart of Ireland," a world is created: the police sergeant, tranquil even though he has lost his case; his finely drawn, cattish wife; an engaging drunk who has no connection with the rest of the characters; the wild peasants; and, finally, the woman herself, seen only for a few moments of anguish and despair but unforgettably alive.

ERNEST JONES

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Books in Brief

WISDOM, MADNESS, AND FOLLY. The Philosophy of a Lunatic. By John Custance. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $3.75. "Unlike any book by an ex-lunatic you have ever read.' Thus the jacket, and considering the narrow limits of the category, the claim is not an immodest one. According to the pseudonymous author, most of the volume was written in an asylum, but the attempt is at something more than a first-hand account of the experiences of a manic-depressive. Mr. Custance, who has read a good many of the more esoteric writers on psychology and philosophy has the notion that madness may be only a different sort of sanity and affords insights into realms of reality unrecognized by the "normal." In the last chapter he presents a dual "theory of actuality," in the course of which he argues that the universe may be governed both by mechanistic laws and by angels. It is a curious experience to read a book by a man sane enough to write sometimes with great lucidity yet deranged enough to indulge at other times in what sounds to a "normal" reader very much like gibberish. Impressive as a case history and sometimes interesting for flashes of what looks like genuine originality of thought.

BUT NOT FORGOTTEN. The Adventures of the University Players. By Norris Houghton. Sloane. $4. An intimate jaunty account of a summer theater which operated at Falmouth, Cape Cod, during the early thirties and trained an unusual number of people destined for success in the commercial theater—notably Margaret Sullivan, Henry Fonda, Joshua Logan, James Stewart, Mildred Natwick, and Bretaigne Windust. The organizers were young men recently graduated from Princeton, and the story is told by one of them. All were enthusiasts eager to work for $5 a week plus room and board, they were not primarily reformers or devoted to any particular cult. They also came the usual cropper when they attempted to establish a repertory on Broadway, but Mr. Houghton is somewhat surprisingly inclined to support the Princeton policy in regard to dramatics against that of Yale. He thinks the extra-curricular activities at the former institution better training than a School of the Drama officially directed. His narrative is spirited enough to be entertaining even to those not primarily interested in the theater.

THE ROMANTIC '90's. By Richard Le Gallienne. Macmillan. $3. Richard Le Gallienne was a prolific writer of light verse, assorted criticism, and innumerable essays; there is also a novel, forgotten now but once enormously popular, "The Quest of the Golden Girl." "The Romantic '90's," first published in 1926, is the account of his green and pleasant youth in the London of Oscar Wilde and the *Yellow Book.* Like other young men of his generation he made a pilgrimage to Swinburne at Putney; he knew Meredith and "Fiona Macleod"; once, in Oxford, he met Pater at a dinner party; he was on friendly terms with Wilde. As a historian of the *fin de siècle,* however, he is no match for Holbrook Jackson or Osbert Burdett; and he lacks entirely the insight into the period which Yeats displays in his "Autobiographies." He wrote on the assumption—breath-taking in its oversimplification—that "generally speaking, all our present-day developments amount to little more than pale or exaggerated copying of the '90s." Yet his quiet talk about the swans of his youth is marked by a modest common sense. If they have turned out to be, on the whole, less important than he thought they were, his stories about them are amusing and urbane.

CONTRIBUTORS

A. J. P. TAYLOR, fellow and tutor in modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford University, is the author of "From Napoleon to Stalin. Comments on European History" and other books.

WILLIAM A. BROWER, a reporter for the Toledo *Blade,* made a 15,000-mile tour of the United States to study the Negro problem. He wrote a series of articles for the *Blade* entitled "15,000,000 Americans."

FRANCES KEENE, who lived in Italy for many years, edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

ERNEST JONES regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation.*

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MARY GRIERSON'S "Donald Francis Tovey" (Oxford, $5) is a biography written by one who—first as a student, then as a teacher and friend—was personally associated with Tovey during all his twenty-six years at the University of Edinburgh. This personal involvement has resulted in inadequacies of material and faults of tone; but it isn't likely that anyone other than a devoted friend would have taken the trouble to write a biography at all; and even with its inadequacies this one gives us information which not only is interesting in itself to anyone who knows Tovey's writing and would like to know something about the man who produced it, but which also throws considerable light on the strengths of the writing and its weaknesses.

On the one hand there are, in Tovey's writing, extraordinary musical perception in relation to the particular work, and the understanding and knowledge of a mind that has ranged widely and intensively not only in the literature of music but in territory outside of music; and there is formulation of all this perception and understanding in statements that are epigrammatic in their concentration and clarification of sense, their resulting impact and brilliance. But on the other hand the mind sometimes ranges so far afield, or the formulation becomes so epigrammatic, that the thought is obscure and difficult or impossible to follow.

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These consequences are well summed up by an English reviewer of the book in the statement that "he grew up fatally conditioned to eccentricity"—or, as I would put it, to escape, if not from the domination of Miss Weisse, then from the domination of the practical conditions and necessities to which normal behavior defers, such as available time for work, available space for a piece of writing, rational connection with the minds of others in a lecture or article. The inability to defer to its practical conditions and necessities cost him the financially successful career as a concert pianist that he had been trained for, and resulted in years of confusion, overwork, and financial insecurity. It was to save himself from this situation and to escape from Miss Weisse that he applied, at the age of thirty-nine, for the Reid professorship at Edinburgh; and this resulted in the supreme eccentricity of his twenty-six years' persistence in devoting his talents and energies to the cultivation of the musically barren soil of that city. As for his personal life, it was only after his escape to Edinburgh that he married—at the age of forty-one; and there is not the slightest intimation in Dr. Grierson's book of any emotional experience before that. It isn't surprising, therefore, that he married someone who turned out to be mentally unstable, and that the disastrous marriage ended in a divorce. His second marriage, however, seems to have been completely happy.

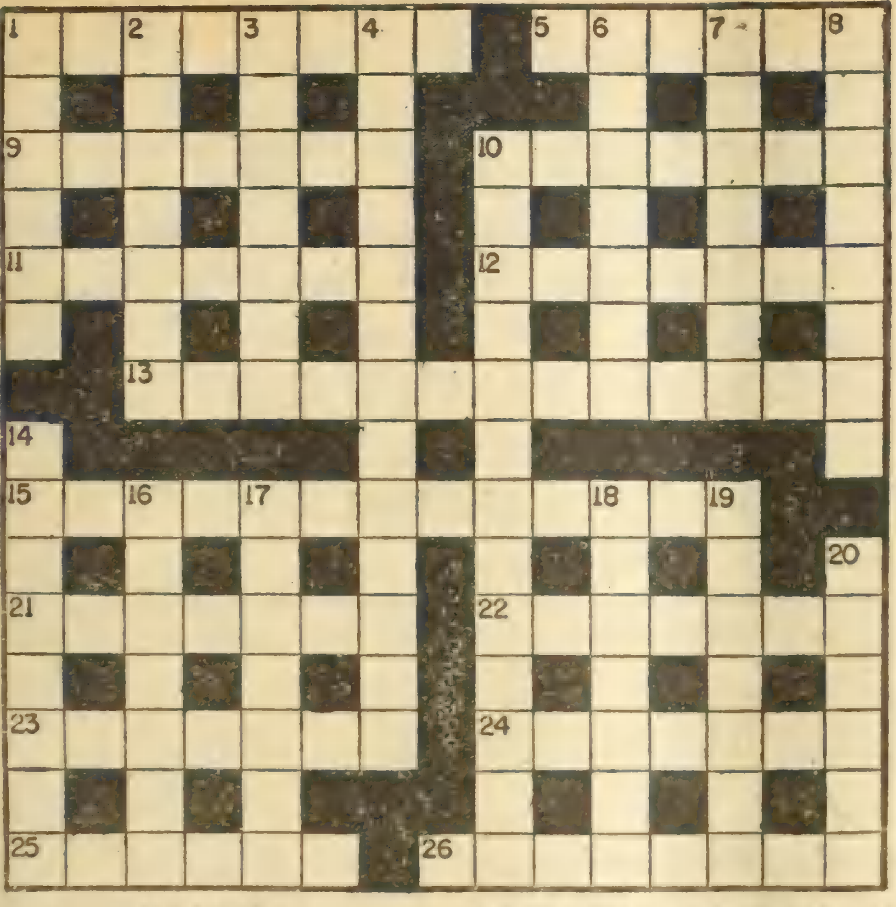
One comes to feel amazement at what he achieved in spite of his handicaps—the composing, the occasional concerts in London and the musical centers of Europe, the lecturing, the writing, all in addition to the regular teaching and concerts in Edinburgh. His gifts and achievements and personal qualities won him the esteem and devoted friendship of some of the greatest musicians of his time—Joachim, Fritz and Adolf Busch, Albert Schweitzer, Casals, who when he was to play Tovey's Cello Concerto wrote that the date would be the most important of his musical life, and that Joachim must have felt the same joy when he performed Brahms's Violin Concerto the first time. But for Tovey there was unhappiness in the fact that his music did not win more frequent performance and more general recognition, that his competence as a conductor was questioned, and that even his writing was attacked.

His music and conducting are unknown to us here; but we do know the writing, and it is a surprise to learn of the attacks on it that began with the program-notes for his first concerts in London and have continued to the present. His essay on the classical concerto, written for the first performance of his own piano concerto in 1903, was characterized in the Manchester *Guardian* (Dr. Grierson doesn't say by whom) as "an extraordinary mixture of extremely able and interesting criticism and the most startling narrow-mindedness"; and when Volume 5 of "Essays in Musical Analysis" apeared in 1937 Tovey wrote that "Constant Lambert . . . has flown out violently against my program-notes." One would like to know (Dr. Grierson doesn't tell us) Lambert's objections, and the reason for his violence, just as one wonders about the reason for the sheer venom in some recent English comments on Tovey's writing. Perhaps it was again his eccentricity that aroused this intense dislike in some people for a man who was loved by many others.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt"
Reviewed by M. R. Werner
"Socialism and American Life"
Reviewed by Richard Hofstadter

Crossword Puzzle No. 480

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Not exactly an occasion for splitting hairs, but here's a sort of worker who comes back to give out with a stratagem. (4-4)
5 See 16 down.
9 To keep oneself from the chorus? (7)
10 This sort of tree was bent around the trunk, perhaps. (7)
11 Certainly not the hope of the French couple! (7)
12 You might find the animal a recently deceased salt. (7)
13 Logical place to show 10 down? (6, 7)
15 They didn't necessarily get their degrees from a correspondence school! (13)
21 Care had to be used to find game here. (7)
22 Would you expect to find a revolutionist out with the father of the 12 patriarchs? Quite the contrary! (7)
23 Might make the spirits rise if a change is made. (7)
24 Boxers, perhaps, but mine might be responsible for one of them. (7)
25 Insular version of rabbits? (6)
26 Are close to what gets into the salad, obviously! (8)

DOWN

1 The staff gets its money around here (or at least an imitation of it). (6)
2 Declination. (7)
3 Sounds like a masterpiece of wood, but some brewers push it. (7)
4 If your pop is British, this is it! (Good medicine to us, perhaps.) (7, 6)
6 To tell how old one is might be mean! (7)
7 Implying exeunt to the actors? (Shakespeare bewept such a state.) (7)
8 Saw how the plot shaped up, perhaps. (8)
10 Lilliput's king must have had them, associated with more prominent features. (5, 8)
14 and 17. Would such a thing be particularly serious? (8, 7)
16 and 5 across. Would one of these be a post chaise or a Black Maria? (7, 6)
17 See 14.
18 It might be a piece of an animal in a peculiar coat. (7)
19 Bad weather for Unterseeboot Null? (3-4)
20 Is seen to be actually existing. (2, 4)

—•—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 479

ACROSS:—1 LEFT AT THE POST; 10 IMPLORE; 11 ROADBED; 12 STYLISTIC; 13 NICKS; 14 ASH CAN; 16 DALLYING; 19 FIREWOOD; 22 SWEAR; 23 CATHEDRAL; 25 ARIETTA; 26 ALMSMAN; 27 DEAD RECKONING.

DOWN:—2 EMPTY; 3 TROPICAL WORSTED; 4 TREATS; 5 HARD COAL; 6 PLAIN-CLOTHES MAN; 7 SUBSCRIBE; 8 TIPSTAFF; 9 ODDS; 15 HORSEHIDE; 17 GASOLINE; 18 CONCLAVE; 21 ATTACK; 22 and [illegible] SEAMSTRESS; 24 ROMAN.

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WHEN 37,500 Cincinnatians turned their video sets last February 9 to a program called "What's Your Answer?" they were treated to an admirably impartial discussion of whether universal military training should be adopted in this country. P. Lincoln Mitchell, Republican leader from Hamilton County, held forth on the merits of U. M. T. Ellsworth Smith, a Unitarian minister, presented some excellent arguments against it. The other participants were James Maxwell, author, and Grant Cannon, executive of the *Farm Quarterly*. It was all interesting and good, but the exciting thing was that it was sponsored by the Cincinnati C. I. O. and marked a new stage in labor's public-relations activities.

For twelve more weeks the C. I. O. kept its promise to invite vigorous opponents of labor unions to present their views. J. Mack Swigert, of the rock-ribbed legal firm of Taft, Stettinius, and Hollister, was one who took the rostrum. Attorney Cornelius Petzhold got in some blows against the steelworkers' union, which he has long abominated.

Other men known for their opposition to labor unions were asked to cut loose on such topics as "Should Labor Unions Be in Politics?" "Academic Freedom, Yes or No?" and "Should There Be Farm Price Supports?" Equally forthright statements in defense of unions were made by local C. I. O. officers and supporters—among them James C. Paradise, local president of the Civil Liberties Union, Morse Johnson, liberal attorney, and Walter T. Grainger, president of the C. I. O. Council.

During the same period Cincinnatians began to come across advertisements in the local press depicting the role of the C. I. O. in the community. They listened to spot radio announcements telling how the C. I. O. helps the worker and his family. The local papers featured C. I. O. contributions to the polio fund. Cincinnati columnists used releases about civil-rights conventions, labor forums, and video programs. The *Times-Star* ran pictures of labor leaders, not announcing a strike but urging closing ranks to combat communism. The C. I. O. had an exhibit in the Public Library showing the influence of 30,000 unionists on the city's life.

CINCINNATI squats on the fringes of Southern prejudice and Northern do-goodism. With a normal Republican majority of 45,000 votes, its gods are big business and the status quo. Small wonder that it met the C. I. O.'s ground-breaking project with hostility and fear or that the program was delayed for months by the reluctance of advertising agencies and TV stations to undertake the job. Two agencies rejected the C. I. O.'s proposition before the Walter F. Haehnle firm accepted the $13,000 contract.

WCPO-TV, a Scripps-Howard station, offered to take the series from 7:30 to 8:00 a. m.—an obviously impossible time. After days of seesawing the Crosley-owned WLW-TV rejected it on the ground that it would cost them more in terms of public relations than they would gain. The C. I. O. leaders were in despair, for the video series was the core of the campaign. Finally Walter Haehnle, Republican-around-town in good standing, lunched with a friend of Hulbert Taft, owner of both the *Times-Star* and Station WKRC-TV. It worked. The friend spoke to Taft, and the C. I. O. had a television show.

WHILE Cincinnati was not noticeably converted to labor's side, observers credit the campaign with helping Joseph White, local steel-union president, to win nomination to the Ohio legislature in the Democratic primary. White, who led a field of nine, had appeared on one of the TV shows. It may also be pointed out that Hamilton County outstripped all other Ohio localities in voting to send Jack Kroll, chairman of the C. I. O.-P. A. C., as delegate to the Democratic convention.

This experiment in how to win friends and influence voters taught labor several vital lessons. First, by acquiring an articulate voice a union increases the loyalty of its members and stimulates a sense of identification with labor among liberals. Second, newspapers will print labor news of community interest if they are approached in the right way. Finally, a community-service program can arouse the type of sympathy that strengthens labor at the polls. A skilful, hard-hitting public-relations campaign on the local level may well convince the fence-sitter that the C. I. O. is as neighborly and beneficial as the Red Cross or the Community Chest.

Perhaps the most gratifying comment was made by Haehnle. "I took the advertising contract," he said, "mainly out of curiosity. I'm still a Republican, but the regular business prejudice I held regarding labor has mostly vanished. If there's one thing I've learned, it's that labor definitely deserves to be heard and sometimes heeded."

MELVIN J. BRISK

[*The author is a newspaperman who was on the staff of the Cincinnati* Post *during the campaign he describes.*]

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · SEPTEMBER 6, 1952 NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

The Champs in the Garden

Both the General and the Governor—Eisenhower and Stevenson—submitted last week to the ordeal of making a speech to an American Legion convention; and we can't think of a better, or more grueling, test of a man's fitness to be President of the United States. Each performed according to his lights, his personality, and his party affiliations. Each was dignified and forthright. But the General for all his forthrightness managed to confine himself to generalities which, whatever they may mean to him, were all too palatable to professional patriots on a spree. On the other hand, the Governor, even in his quips, attacked professional patriots in general and the Legion in particular. He paid his respects to "groups who seek to identify their special interests with the general welfare" and drove this reference home by announcing that he would resist the unjust demands of veterans as vigorously as the demands of other special pleaders.

The effect of his speech on one Republican newspaper was interesting. We refer to an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* which, all in all, was the most eloquent tribute we have seen to Stevenson's performance, though it was not meant that way. The editorial said that the speech was fine, well delivered, eloquent, and witty. It then proceeded, by a finespun logic, to prove that the performance showed only that Stevenson was a subtle and skilful talker, and ended up with the self-comforting conclusion that what this country really needs is a man of action like Eisenhower. We had never thought to come upon a newspaper editor arguing solemnly that words are merely words; but apparently the *Herald Tribune* could find no other way—and we admit it was a tough assignment—of dismissing a speech which also happened to be as authentic and well-placed a bit of action as we have seen in a long time.

Lament of the Lover

Americans who subscribe to the theory that we ought to make partner of the devil, when necessary, should listen these days to the Falangist Radio. As soon as Madrid realized that our government was disinclined to pay the exorbitant price Franco was asking for the use of Spanish bases, all "love" for America disappeared. The radio and press are again using the language of the happy Hitler days; *Arriba,* it will be remembered, longed for the hour "when the skyscrapers of New York would receive the full force of the glorious German aviation." Today the building they would most like to see blown to pieces is the office of the New York *Times,* "that nest of Free Masons and Jews," as a broadcast called it, which in a recent editorial had denounced, though in courteous terms, Franco's blackmail. It is to win such an "ally" that we are risking the esteem of France and Britain.

The negotiations in Madrid are certainly not going well. Leaving aside moral and political considerations, nothing else could have been expected in view of the fundamental contradiction of purposes. The United States would be ready to pay a limited price for a limited privilege—the use of the Spanish bases. Franco wants an unlimited outlay of money for an unlimited purpose: to bolster and restore the economy of Spain, which his regime has wrecked.

Franco's "Socialist Party"

Although negotiations in Madrid are snagged on this issue, some persons in the State Department have apparently decided to save the Franco regime at any cost. Indalecio Prieto, the right-wing Socialist leader, once an enthusiastic supporter of the United Staes but now, because of our pro-Franco policy, a bitter critic, has just published a sensational statement accusing American diplomacy of intriguing inside Spain "for the creation of a Socialist Party under the orders of Franco." "The United States," said Prieto, "needs to justify its policy in Spain by pretending that things are changing in a democratic direction and that, besides the Falangist Party, there is a Socialist Party, and others." Prieto reports instances of his Socialist friends inside Spain having been "approached" with this suggestion. "We are not prepared," said Prieto, "either to participate in that farce or to tolerate it."

The Legion and Civil Liberties

Not long after General Eisenhower praised the American Legion for fighting communism "without recklessly injuring the reputations of innocent people," the Legion unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the House

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Committee on Un-American Activities, the Justice Department, and the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate "the questionable record of subversive activities of the American Civil Liberties Union . . . to ascertain whether or not the A. C. L. U. may be properly classified as a Communist or Communist-front organization." The resolution was sponsored by the Illinois department of the Legion, which had been vastly annoyed by the effective campaign that the Chicago chapter of the A. C. L. U. had organized against the Broyles bill (subsequently vetoed by Governor Stevenson). The Legion was also annoyed by the A. C. L. U.'s condemnation of the action of a Kansas post which had tried to force cancellation of a talk by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

We are not surprised at the Legion's resolution; we are surprised, however, that General Eisenhower has chosen to ignore it in the face of his earlier commendation of its authors. To the Washington authorities we would suggest that the American Legion, not the A. C. L. U., be investigated. Throughout its history, the country's largest veterans' organization has done little to protect and a great deal to undermine those constitutional freedoms which the A. C. L. U. had defended more consistently and effectively than any other organization.

Defense of Democracy

Israel has formally applied for its share of the $49,000,000 in military aid which the Military Security Program for 1952 permits the President to allocate to Israel and the Arab states. But the President has apparently been advised to do nothing about the request until the projected Middle East Command becomes a reality. This is bad advice in both the short and the long view. Peace in the Middle East is not now threatened so seriously from outside as from within. Cairo, Damascus, and Bagdad still shout for a second round against Israel; and it must be said, in all fairness, that the Moslem Brotherhood is more belligerent than the Communist fraternity.

In the longer perspective, *The Nation* has always maintained that lasting peace must be based on the spread of the democratic idea and not on military bases. Israel is a supreme example of the power of the democratic idea in an area which is only beginning the long struggle toward its realization. If only as precept, Israel must be encouraged, nurtured, enabled to protect itself. Israel has consistently justified our help in the past; the President, secure in the knowledge that it will do so again, should grant the requested military aid at once.

Visas and the Vatican

When Albert Moravia, the Italian author, was informed last May that the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office—once known as the Inquisition—had placed his works on the Index of forbidden books, his only comment was, "I am in good company, since Benedetto Croce, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Luigi Pirandello, and Giovanni Boccaccio have also appeared in the Index." Not to speak of Balzac, Defoe, Dumas (father and son), Anatole France, Heine, Hugo, Georges Sand, Stendhal, Zola, Kant, Maeterlinck, Maimonides, Spinoza, Voltaire, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Montaigne, and Edward Gibbon, all of whom are included in the 5,000 names which appear in the last edition (1940).

Moravia and André Gide appear to have incurred the displeasure of the Vatican as leading exponents of neo-realism, as Victor Hugo once did with "Les Miserables." This censorship concerns practicing Catholics, and can therefore be argued to be of no concern to non-Catholic America. But when, three months after Moravia appears in the Index, the State Department, by administrative decree and without stating any reason, denies him a visa, the matter appears in a different light. We are entitled to ask whether the State Department has decided to turn to the Vatican for advice on who shall be permitted, and who shall not be permitted, to visit this country.

McCarran Semantics

The McCarran subcommittee has reached the point where it will not play fair even with cooperative witnesses. Last week the subcommittee charged the Radio Writers' Guild with being dominated by pro-Communists, largely on evidence given by Welbourn E. Kelley, one of the guild's founders. But now Kelley complains publicly that he used the term "pro-Communist" in his testimony only under pressure from the subcommittee; he had originally spoken of "radicals" or "left-wingers." "I cannot say of my own knowledge that any member of the guild is a Communist," Mr. Kelley insists.

The subcommittee's defense against Mr. Kelley's complaint is remarkable. Mr. Kelley had been told, while he was testifying, that his interrogators were interested in investigating Communists and nobody else. "Communists and communism are terms that have definite meaning," explained Donald D. Conners, Jr., a subcommittee investigator, "whereas the terms left-winger or radical are only relative terms which do not mean the same thing to all people." One could wish that Mr. Conners's punctilious attitude toward words were shared by all investigating bodies, including the one for which he works. For the subcommittee, in its report on the guild, does not use the word Communist but "pro-Communist." What is a "pro-Communist?" To Senator McCarthy, it is anyone who supported General Marshall's policy in the Far East. To Representative Rankin, it is a white man who tips his hat to a Negro woman. And to the McCarran subcommittee, apparently, it is anyone it does not like but in whose pockets it fails to find a party membership card.

Significant Appointment

President Truman and Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman are to be congratulated, the first for having appointed, the second for having recommended, Dr. Joseph D. Lohman as chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission in the District of Columbia. A new chapter should now begin in the long struggle to end discrimination in the District. Dr. Lohman served as secretary and director of research for the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, which in November, 1948, issued the first comprehensive report on segregation in Washington. Although some progress has been made in eliminating segregation since then, most of the committee's recommendations have yet to be adopted. For instance, Mr. Chapman has been trying to get the District Recreation Board to end segregation on city playgrounds. With such a forthright opponent of segregation as Dr. Lohman on the planning commission, the campaign to end discrimination in Washington should be greatly advanced. Incidentally, Dr. Lohman was named chairman of the Illinois Board of Pardons and Parole by Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and continues to advise the Governor on human relations and community problems. The President could not have made a more admirable appointment.

A New Deal for the Middle East

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THERE is a profound irony in the publication of the oil-cartel report discussed in this issue by Barrow Lyons. Without question the facts it reveals should be public property, since they explain the anatomy and workings of the infinitely complex mechanism that controls the world's oil supply. This mechanism can be used for the benefit of the people, here and everywhere, only if they understand and find some way to direct it. Consequently the Administration will doubtless win credit now and votes in November by releasing the report at the start of the Presidential campaign.

But the irony remains. For President Truman's refusal to permit publication of the report when the Federal Trade Commission completed it two years ago was related directly to the needs of the Administration's foreign policy, which is concerned with expanding this country's share in the development of essential raw materials—either in cooperation with our allies or, when convenient, in competition with them. The success of the oil companies in forcing their way to a dominating position in the cartel has been actively encouraged by the State Department since long before World War II. And when President Truman suppressed the report two years ago he did so precisely in order to avoid disturbing the uneasy relationships that held the world oil empire together. By unveiling it now, at the request of Senator Sparkman, the Administration has alarmed its European partners and stirred new suspicion and unrest in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East.

It cannot be supposed, for instance, that the report helped matters in Iran, appearing as it did just before the British and American ambassadors handed Dr. Mossadegh the joint note offering a new formula for settling the oil dispute. The Iranian Premier's sharp rejection of the offer may easily have been encouraged by Washington's disclosure of the international deals, interlocking directorates, influence over governments, price-fixing agreements, production controls, and other practices of the oil cartel. As the report clearly shows, the Anglo-Iranian Company had been linked with Royal Dutch Shell and American oil interests in a monster combine which eventually drew in all the important oil operations of the Middle East. This is economic imperialism on the grandest scale possible. For Mossadegh to accept the British-American proposal would be taken as a traitorous surrender by both the Communist left and the Nationalist right which threaten his overthrow.

His refusal, to be sure, leaves him suspended on the other horn of his terrible dilemma—the danger of total national bankruptcy and inability to meet the minimum needs of the people. If economic collapse forces Mossadegh from power, the Communist Tudeh Party will probably take over—with consequences disastrous to his own policy as well as the plans of the Western powers. Faced with these alternatives, the Premier has left the door open a thin crack. He has called both houses of the Iranian Parliament into special session presumably to indorse, and so share responsibility for, his decision.

This small loophole has led London and Washington to hope that a compromise may yet be found. They contend that their offer was a generous one, yielding the substance of Mossadegh's earlier demands: the United States would grant Iran a $10,000,000 loan; Britain would withdraw the economic sanctions imposed a year ago and would buy the oil now in storage as soon as a price could be agreed upon and shipping arrangements completed. The note made no reference to nationalization, no demand that Iran accept British technicians. The disputed issue of compensation for the expropriated oil properties would be submitted to the International Court.

But reports from Tehran give little reason for optimism. Apart from the suspicion with which Iran's nationalists regard any suggestion of a deal with Britain and the oil cartel, specific criticisms have been directed at one particular sentence in the note. This proposes submitting the question of compensation to the International Court "having regard to the legal position of the parties existing immediately prior to nationalization." The qualification is being taken by Iranians as implying a renewal of the British claim that nationalization contravened the agreement of 1933 extending the oil concession for sixty years. Whether or not the phrase was meant as an escape clause, it has provided a rallying point for opposition to the joint offer.

In any case Mossadegh must step warily. He may be better advised, given the present mood of his countrymen, to do business with the mysterious Mr. Jones than with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman. At least Mr. Jones is not known to be identified with Anglo-Iranian or any of its tie-ins.

A COMPARABLE situation is developing in Egypt, where General Naguib and Premier Aly Maher, representing moderate nationalist reform elements, are putting out tentative feelers to the West. They obviously hope to come to some agreement on arms, financial help, and defense before their control is challenged by the extremists. Here too, the West seems likely to lose its chance by failing to take advantage of Naguib's temporary hold on the popular imagination. Naguib is still a hero—the man who ousted the King and his corrupt entourage, who abolished titles, ordered a purge of parties and the army, and called for land reform. But the reforms are moving slowly, the purge so far has not amounted to much, and Naguib's position is threatened by the still powerful Wafd Party, which if it saw a chance would use the continued presence of British forces on the Canal as a weapon against the government.

There is no simple formula to meet the situation in Iran or Egypt; or in the neighboring areas whose wealth and strategic value invite foreign domination. The best one can hope is that the great powers may realize what they are up against before it is too late. The era of gunboats and punitive expeditions is past, at least in the Middle East. The era when pashas, kings, and premiers can be bought with any assurance that they will stay bought is almost over. Today nationalist leaders must be them treated with respect. Western diplomats may consider Mossadegh a wrong-headed, stubborn old man; dealt with on terms of equality and the forces behind they should remember that he is opposed in his own country by political forces which regard him as too soft to be trusted.

What the Western powers will have to do if they hope to maintain any part of their immense interests in the Moslem world is to give responsible national leaders the success they need to remain in power. This will require large sacrifices, made promptly and with generosity—no escape clause or haggling over old "rights." It will involve security risks, serious ones. But such sacrifices and risks are small compared with the losses the West will suffer if Iran becomes a dependency of Moscow and Egypt crumbles into civil war and economic chaos. Then neither oil nor the Suez Canal will be available to Western defense on any terms.

The release of the FTC oil report was clumsily timed. As so often happens, the Administration thought about its nearby political interests and did not even consider the effect of its action on events at a distance. But what the report told needed telling. Its impact in Tehran and London may have been rather jolting, but if the State Department and Foreign Office would take seriously the lesson implied in the facts it revealed, it could lead to a new deal for the Middle East.

Moscow Hears New Voices

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE announcement that the Soviet Communist Party will hold a general congress on October 5, with a projected change of the Politburo into a Praesidium of its Central Committee, and the publication of a new Five-Year Plan that will greatly increase the Soviet military and economic potential by 1955; the presence in Moscow of Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai, presaging very important decisions for the entire Far East; the new Russian note proposing an immediate Big Four meeting to discuss the whole German issue—these events have again shifted world attention toward Moscow. The first two cannot be accurately judged until after the party congress is held and the Chinese mission leaves Moscow. But meanwhile it is possible to analyze the meaning of the note, which is a concrete and revealing fact. Considered in the light of surrounding circumstances, it provides an indication of the present state of Russia's mind in relation to the West.

The general tone of the Russian note permits no doubt that Moscow is determined to deal with the German problem as a whole rather than piecemeal. Russia obviously views a limited exploration of the possibility of holding free elections in Germany as a diversionary maneuver, a "cover-up" to create an illusion of willingness to negotiate while proceeding as fast as possible with German rearmament. The Soviet answer does, it is true, include free elections as an item on the agenda of the suggested conference. But this question figures as point three of a four-point proposal, the first two being "the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany" and "the formation of an all-German government"—the subjects American diplomacy least wishes to consider during the period of ratification of the agreements of Bonn and Paris.

Not only the content of the Russian note but also its timing is worthy of attention. For the first time it has been the Russians who delayed longest in sending a reply. There were even occasional indications that Moscow doubted the value of continuing the diplomatic dialogue. Pietro Nenni, the Italian Socialist leader, concluded from his recent conversation with Stalin that the Kremlin had little hope of an agreement on Germany as long as Washington continued to make West German rearmament one of its main objectives. However, Germany is so central an element in the general problem of war and peace that the Kremlin must have decided that a new demand for a Big Four conference, even if rejected by the Atlantic powers, would place Russia in a better position for the major diplomatic maneuver that has been in the air ever since Mr. Gromyko was assigned to London as ambassador.

During the six weeks of Russian silence the contractual agreements with Bonn were ratified by the American Congress and by the British Parliament. The speed with which they were approved—in the American Senate almost without discussion—confirmed the impression that American policy was opposed to any Big Four conference previous to the consummation of this effort. Washington had pushed through the basic measure for German rearmament without paying the least attention to Russian warnings.

Moscow might find some consolation in the growing repugnance of the French political parties and the French people to following this course. It could also reasonably rely on growing opposition in West Germany itself. But its past experience of French politics would surely suggest that French resistance to ratification could be broken by the play of Franco-American economic relations. And as for Bonn, those who talked with Chancellor Adenauer during his recent vacation in Switzerland found him confident that, however hard the task might be, he would in the end obtain ratification.

The NATO crisis has provided Moscow with better grounds for optimism. The picture of this crisis presented in two broadcasts by Howard K. Smith, penetrating CBS commentator, and published in *The Nation* of August 23 contrasted sharply with the blueprints drawn up at the Lisbon conference. The European press supplemented these reports with long accounts of the tensions resulting from General Ridgway's pressure for the acceptance of two years' military service and the refusal of the various governments to comply with his demands.

All this might have placed the Kremlin in the confident mood of some non-Russian opponents of American policy who reason as follows: (1) ratification by France and Bonn is still very doubtful, and (2) even if the treaties are ratified they will be worth little because the NATO crisis and the refusal of the peoples of Europe to fight another war will turn them into scraps of paper. Russia's affairs, however, are in the hands of a realist of the first magnitude. Stalin knows better than anybody else the distinction between propaganda and politics. He knows the meaning of a union between the military potential of Germany and the industrial capacity of the United States, even in case the other NATO members should continue to keep their combat forces on paper rather than in fighting trim. Besides, German rearmament is viewed in Moscow not only as providing a possible substitute for the divisions the other NATO members may fail to furnish. The Russians see it above all as part and parcel of the policy of "roll-back" which they believe is gaining ground in the United States at the expense of "containment," now becoming an antiquated and somewhat academic concept.

Indeed, nothing now taking place in Moscow can be understood unless one accepts the fact that if the Russians ever took the word "containment" literally they no longer do so. For them John Foster Dulles has succeeded in shifting the debate on United States foreign policy from isolationism vs. interventionism to "containment" vs. "roll-back." The Russians may well believe that they were inspired when, several years ago, they pointed to John Foster Dulles with an insistence which then seemed obsessive as the incarnation of a policy going "beyond containment."

Still less difference, of course, can be found between the ideas of Mr. Dulles and those expressed by General Eisenhower in his American Legion speech—a piece of "roll-back" philosophy of the purest essence. It has aroused a real storm in Europe. It is interesting to note that among the European papers that have reacted most critically to General Eisenhower's comments are those which greeted his nomination with relief as a "victory of moderation." *Le Monde* (Paris), the spirit of moderation itself, called it a "violent speech." The still more conservative *Figaro* printed the startling warning that "France might have to withdraw from the Atlantic Pact if this should be the policy of the United States." The London *Daily Mirror* remarked, "But one thing is certain: Russia and China are going to make the most of the propaganda gift that the General has given them," and said that the speech "out-MacArthured MacArthur."

But it is especially in connection with German rearmament that the concept of "roll-back" acquires its most dangerous content. It fits uncomfortably well the German demand for the recapture of the territories lost to Poland. Only through rearmament, sustained by American power and the strength of the Atlantic coalition, can German nationalism feel confident of realizing its long-range hope of "recuperation." The "roll-back" policy is supported by all the organized groups of Eastern European exiles, now so generously financed by American money and led by American ex-officials such as General Clay and Admiral Kirk. In fact, they have made "roll-back"—they prefer the word "liberation"—the basis of their program and propaganda.

FACED with this tendency, Moscow moves in two directions. Through its new note on Germany it continues its effort to delay French and West Germany ratification of the contractual agreements. And it prepares the ground for Gromyko's mission in London, whose evident objective is to counteract American foreign policy by a British policy which may lead Churchill to voice once more his idea of a meeting of himself, Stalin, and the new President of the United States. But since all this is problematic, Moscow is at the same time stepping up its preparations for war. In one of their recent columns the Alsops (New York *Herald Tribune*, August 22) described Russia as "building up its military power even more rapidly [than the West]." The discussions with Communist China, the new Five-Year Plan, and the party congress called after an interval of so many years are surely intended to augment that strength. As for the Five-Year Plan, it is somewhat naive to compare—as some commentators are doing—expected Russian strength in 1955 with American strength today by presenting in facing columns production figures of minerals, oil, heavy industry, and so on. The capacity of the two great powers has to be viewed in their totality, combined with the economic and military factors, the total political and social potential of each competing power bloc—the willingness to fight of one and the other, the appeal of their respective propaganda and policies, and many other considerations.

Thus unless a rapprochement should intervene, we are traveling toward those "positions of strength" so beloved of Secretary Acheson. But those positions will exist on both sides. If the new Russian note, as is already being forecast, is rejected by the West, the possibilities of negotiation will be considerably reduced. I do not mean to suggest that they will be forever ruled out. Formally, that will not occur until the shooting starts. But the propitious time for negotiation generally occurs only once, and it is the measure of the talent of a statesman, if he really means peace when he talks about peace, to seize it when it occurs.

World Oil Cartel

BY BARROW LYONS

Washington

WHAT can be done in the public interest to control the great international cartels, some of which have more political and economic power than national governments? This baffling problem was brought into focus last week by the publication of the Federal Trade Commission's report on the petroleum industry.

The report vivisects the largest and most potent of all cartels. Despite the oil men's denial that a combine exists, no one can read the 378-page document without being convinced that for nearly a quarter-century the world's supply of "black gold" has been skilfully manipulated by a group of men exercising substantial control over production, prices, and distribution. The control has never been absolute. Every discovery of a new oil field created a problem. The United States' anti-trust laws made this country a difficult market to tame. But one by one the problems always yielded to the concerted action of the oil men; the report is studded with the agreements through which the new fields and the new companies were brought into line. In the United States the petroleum industry made "conservation" the shibboleth, and pro-rationing became the instrument for controlling production.

Detailed though the report is, there is one aspect of the oil cartel which it scarcely touches. This is the political power acquired by the cartel through its infiltration into national governments. When oil men occupy strategic diplomatic and administrative posts and are members of legislatures and control commissions, it is not surprising that government regulation of the industry proves ineffective. Sometimes, as in Britain, the cartel even enters into partnership with government, an arrangement which may be preferable since it is visible and above-board.

But the report does make clear the manner in which seven companies—five American, two foreign—acquired virtually exclusive rights to the major oil fields of the world outside of the United States, Russia, and Mexico. It traces the interlocking directorships and/or joint ownerships through which the cartel controls exploration, producing, transport, and marketing organizations in many parts of the world. It quotes certain basic agreements, obtained for the most part by the commission through subpoena, which show the world-enveloping pattern of the cartel and its guiding principles. The companies concerned say that all international agreements to control markets and production ended with the outbreak of World War II, but the report offers evidence to show that, whether or not the agreements were legally binding after the war began, the signatories continued to abide by them.

The seven companies named as dominating the world oil combine are Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Socony-Vacuum, Gulf Oil, and the Texas Company, all American; the Royal Dutch Shell group, controlled by British and Dutch interests; and Anglo-Iranian Oil, owned 55 per cent by the British government.

Suppressed for a year, the report was finally made public by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, partly as the result of pressure exerted by Senator Sparkman, committee chairman. Its findings have precipitated action against the major oil companies on several fronts. Hearings were scheduled to begin on September 3 before a federal grand jury in Washington on government charges that twenty-one oil companies and six individuals have been in criminal conspiracy to control prices and production of crude oil and petroleum and to allocate markets throughout the world except in the U. S. S. R., its satellite countries, and Mexico. The Department of Justice, at the request of the Mutual Security Administration, has filed three civil suits in Federal District Court in New York to recover more than $67,000,000 from four American oil companies and six subsidiaries in alleged overcharges to the M. S. A. and its predecessor, the Economic Cooperation Administration, for oil delivered to Western European countries between May, 1949, and June, 1952. Besides these court actions the industry faces a Congressional inquiry and may be the subject of another investigation next year when a special committee of the United Nations Social and Economic Council is expected to report on international cartels.

Spokesmen for the oil companies reacted to the court actions by charging that they were politically inspired. George V. Holton, chairman of the board of Socony-Vacuum, told the press that the M. S. A. suit "seems to be part of a deliberate program to make this and other oil companies engaged in international trade whipping boys during an election campaign." If this is true, the Democrats are failing lamentably to make political capital of the report. So far they have neglected to point out that some of Eisenhower's most powerful financial supporters are representatives of Rockefeller and Mellon

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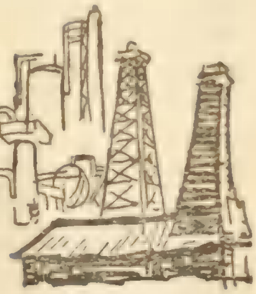
BARROW LYONS was formerly economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission.

oil interests who stand to profit enormously from continued high world prices for oil.

It is of course difficult to determine what role, if any, the Presidential contest played in the publication of the report or the bringing of the suits. We do know something, however, of the conflicting pressures that preceded publication. When the report was completed a year ago, the Petroleum Administration, which is dominated by the large oil companies, warned of dire consequences should it be released. This position was supported by some members of the State Department. The document was finally referred to Central Intelligence, which obligingly stamped it "secret." In succeeding months Clark Clifford and former Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan, acting in behalf of American oil interests, advised the President against releasing the report.

MEANWHILE forces were gathering on the other side. Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City, Missouri, one of the largest farmer oil cooperatives in the country, was eager to get the report before the public—the cooperatives have always maintained that the oil cartel operates against the public interest as well as their own. The Missouri Farmers' Association, also in the oil business, was similarly interested. Cowden, representing the International Cooperative Petroleum Association, saw Prime Minister Mossadegh of Iran when he visited the United States early this year and discussed the possibility of having the Abadan refineries operated by cooperative groups from a dozen countries, including Britain and the United States. Mossadegh's initial response was favorable, but the State Department turned thumbs down on the idea. Cowden then appealed to Senator Hennings of Missouri, who immediately launched a campaign to bring into the open all the facts concerning the oil cartel. On April 16 Hennings frankly demanded that the "secret" classification of the Federal Trade Commission report be changed. Subsequently Senator Sparkman joined in the fight, and the President, who may never have really believed in the necessity for suppressing the report, consented to its publication, with certain sections deleted in the interest of national security.



It is interesting that just as the American cooperative movement helped to bring about the present showdown with the oil cartel, so the Swedish cooperatives were largely responsible for an earlier inquiry. In 1945 the Swedish cooperatives, irked by the restrictive influence of the cartel, brought about the appointment of a parliamentary commission which announced its findings two years later. Many of these findings are incorporated in the F. T. C. report.

The Swedes established that as early as 1928 representatives of Standard Oil, Anglo-Iranian Oil, and Royal Dutch Shell signed a cartel agreement which was to serve as the basis for all succeeding compacts. Known variously as the "as is" or Achincarry agreement, it provided for all the essential elements of monopoly—production and marketing quotas, prices, export quotas, and so on. Its terms were kept strictly secret by the oil companies. The "as is" document was supplemented by other agreements in 1930 and 1932. In 1934 a "Draft Memorandum of Principles" was drawn up which, though never formally signed, appears to have had the force of an international agreement. Its introduction as given in the Swedish report reads in part:

> This memorandum is to cover all countries to the extent that it is not contrary to law. The United States and territories under its jurisdiction and such countries in which its provisions would be contrary to law are expressly excluded.
>
> In any market where all of the participants operating in such markets are members of a cartel in such market or may unanimously agree to become members of a cartel in such market, such cartel agreement as may at present exist or come into existence may by unanimous consent override this memorandum for the market and product during the duration of such cartel.

Commenting on the testimony of an attorney for the Shell group before the parliamentary commission, the Swedish report says:

> He thought that a document such as the "as is" or an agreement based on the "Draft Memorandum of Principles" was in clear opposition to Americán anti-trust legislation. Representatives of British companies in Sweden discussed these agreements as cautiously as possible, in order that their American colleagues might not be caused any inconvenience.

Before making public its report in 1947, the Swedish commission showed a draft to the oil companies, requesting comment, and this was subsequently incorporated in the final report. A representative of Standard Oil maintained that the commission, instead of examining the international aspects of the cartel, should have dealt only with its effect in Sweden. He added:

> We must demand that the notes not be made public in their present form, since they are concerned with business and operating conditions whose disclosure to the public can, on the one hand, cause us economic harm and, on the other, is not necessary for the execution of the investigation's task. . . . We most decidedly protest against the publication of those confidential agreements or communications of an international character.

The Swedish inquiry brought some alleviation of the domestic oil situation; the international problem remained. In 1947 Thorsten Odhe, director of the International Cooperative Alliance, placed before the U. N. Economic and Social Council a series of proposals for international control of the oil industry—to implement Article VII of the Atlantic Charter and "to assure that all nations, large and small, can buy oil on an equal footing." Mr. Odhe declared:

> The salvation of the United Nations and the peace of the world can come only if the organization is able to face and handle the great economic empires, the real super-states of the modern world. No government has been able to control the oil combine in the general interest. We hope the United Nations can do so.

But the U. N. agency decided to postpone discussion of Mr. Odhe's proposals until 1949. In that year and in 1950 discussion was again postponed. In 1951 the item was deleted without the pretense of postponement. Each time the chief objectors to its consideration were the Americans and British, who between them control about 90 per cent of the world's oil resources outside the U. S. S. R.

Whether the current spate of activity affecting the oil companies will have lasting and beneficial results remains to be seen. Meanwhile the oil cooperatives—American and international—believe they hold the key to at least one problem—that of Iran and the Abadan refineries. They are convinced that operation of these refineries by the cooperatives, perhaps as a trusteeship pending a decision of the World Court on Anglo-Iranian's interests, would satisfy Mossadegh's desire to avoid doing business with the British. And they are also convinced that such an arrangement would tend to reduce oil prices in the United States and throughout the world.

The New Party Chairmen

[By custom the selection of a national party chairman every four years is left to the Presidential nominee. To the extent, therefore, that the choice reflects the chooser, these two articles are as much a commentary on Eisenhower and Stevenson as they are on the new party chairmen themselves.]

Stevenson's Choice

BY ELMER GERTZ

Chicago

WHEN Adlai E. Stevenson named his friend, Stephen Arnold Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he may have surprised even himself by his daring. Certainly he startled most other people. Not only has Mr. Mitchell had no experience in the rough and tumble of national politics, but he is not a political figure at all, in any usual sense, and he is scarcely known even in his home community. Probably the only Democratic national committeeman he had ever talked with before his appointment was Colonel Jacob M. Arvey. Jim Farley, prototype of all party chairmen, knew everybody and everything; Mr. Mitchell knows nobody and nothing—according to the politicians. They all agree with the Chicago *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* that his appointment is "a noble experiment."

Mr. Mitchell is one of the original Stevenson men. In 1947 he, attorney Louis Kohn, and Lake Forest insurance executive Hermon Dunlap Smith were the first to suggest Stevenson for United States Senator. They sold the idea to Colonel Arvey and the Cook County committee, who eventually slated the politically unknown and untried Stevenson for Governor instead. But it is not gratitude alone which has caused the astute if idealistic Democratic nominee to place his obscure friend in the driver's seat—or is Stevenson himself expecting to steer the machine? Stevenson has thrived on calculated daring. He outsmarted the practical politicians and chose Walter Schaefer as Illinois Supreme Court justice over their objections; in the same way he forced the machine to discard a state's attorney. He firmly believes that he has again played a winning hand in naming Mitchell. With remarkable candor Stevenson himself summed up the situation in a letter to the editor of the *Oregon Journal*:

> As you well know, I did not want the nomination and received it without commitments to anyone about anything—including President Truman. As evidence of my directions, I have established my headquarters here in Springfield, with people of my own choosing rather than in Washington. The new national chairman, instead of an old-line politician, is a close personal friend whose most recent public service has been as counsel to the Congressional committee investigating the Department of Justice. I suspect this will be something new and, with a touch of practicality, I hope it works. I know he will work.

In 1947, the very year he came forth with the name of Stevenson, Mitchell lost the one political plum he sought for himself. He wanted to be United States dis-

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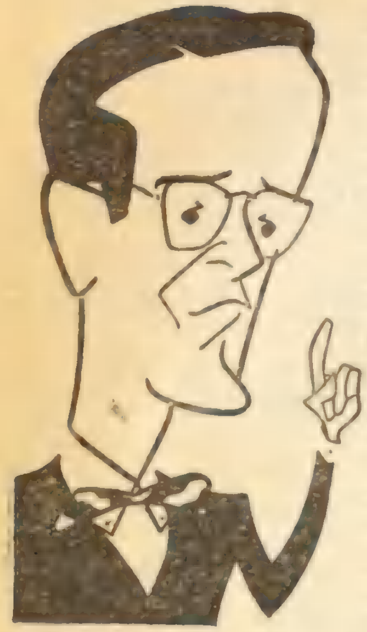
ELMER GERTZ is a Chicago lawyer and civic leader who writes frequently for national magazines on social and political issues.

trict attorney at Chicago, a position traditionally held, during a Democratic Administration, by a Catholic. He had the best of sponsorship—influential leaders of his church and National Committeeman Edward J. Kelly, thrice Mayor of Chicago. But a bipartisan group privately decided that for once a Catholic was not going to get the post, and a young Protestant war veteran, the son of a distinguished judge, was named instead. Being Irish and Catholic, however, is still a qualification for the National Democratic Committee chairmanship, and Mitchell is both.



Steven A. Mitchell

At the civic dinner in observance of the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Peter Altgeld, Mitchell acted as master of ceremonies. It would be interesting to know what caused an aspiring and respectable young man to take the lead, with Harry Barnard, in honoring a liberal governor who was more roundly denounced by the respectable citizens of his day than any other public figure has been in the history of Illinois. Mitchell called upon Governor Dwight H. Green, Mayor Kennelly, Carl Sandburg, Justice William O. Douglas, and Cardinal Stritch to bear testimony to the greatness of the much-maligned Altgeld; and the sponsors of the dinner included bankers, industrialists, men of affairs, and "the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, United States delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations." Justice Douglas, a friend of Mitchell's, emphasized Governor Altgeld's fight against intolerance, discrimination, and special privilege. He warned that just as Altgeld was called subversive for championing unpopular causes, men today are hounded and harassed for upholding what they believe to be right. This is the sort of thing Mitchell believes in, not with the wild fervor of a crusader but in a sober, almost ponderous fashion.

Mitchell is friendly and communicative in ordinary circumstances but no back-slapper; sometimes he appears diffident, reserved, almost surly. Some who have worked with him on committees have told me that he can be self-confident to the point of cocksureness. But when he was asked, after his appointment as national chairman, whether he was a conservative or a liberal, he replied, "Those words confuse me." On the same occasion he confessed: "I usually say what I think, but things are different now." Is he going to lift himself by his bootstraps to such a position as Farley once held? It would be characteristic of a man with his determination to succeed.

MITCHELL was born at Rock Valley, Iowa (near Sioux City), in 1903. His father was both farmer and banker, and by no means a roaring success as either one. Stephen attended parochial and public schools. At one time he virtually ran the family farm, according to a friend who knew him then; he delivered milk, read, and studied. After attending Creighton University in Omaha he went to Georgetown University, a Catholic institution in the District of Columbia. There he studied law at night and acted as credit manager and sales promoter for the General Motors Acceptance Corporation by day. He held legal and executive positions with this company until 1938. In 1936 he became a partner in the Chicago law firm of Taylor, Miller, Busch, and Boyden and remained with them until 1942.

At the beginning of the war Mitchell entered government service as head of the French division of the Lend-Lease Administration, later becoming chief adviser on French economic affairs for the State Department. While in Washington he got to know Adlai Stevenson well and to admire his deep earnestness about public affairs. Mitchell felt sure that Stevenson, as a person familiar with the politics of his country but not connected with any big-city machine, would take a high place in the new public order after the war.

Returning to Chicago, Mitchell resumed the private practice of law, finally forming the firm of Mitchell, Conway, and Bane. Conway was a former FBI man; Bane has latterly achieved fame as counsel for the so-called Big Nine Committee of the Chicago City Council, which was appointed to find out all about the alliance between politics, the police, and crime. When the City Council refused Bane the right to compel police officers to file sworn statements as to their sources of income, he resigned in anger, not concealing his opinion of the Kennelly administration. The city was still excited about this investigation when Stevenson made Bane's partner, Mitchell, Democratic national chairman. The appointment was a direct slap at an important wing of the party and showed once more Stevenson's refusal to compromise with corruption.

Earlier this year Mitchell had been named chief counsel for the House judiciary subcommittee investigating the Department of Justice, partly on the recommendation, it is said, of Vice-President Barkley, who is Stevenson's cousin. Mitchell's first move was to submit to the subcommittee a complete audit of the financial affairs of his law firm to show that he and his associates had no hampering commitments. Then, with the aid of a group of former FBI agents, he began to lay the groundwork for what was to have been a thorough study of the Justice Department. Higher responsibilities have now taken him from this task.

The Mitchells live comfortably but by no means luxuriously in an apartment in Chicago. He is a director of Catholic Charities and a trustee of DePaul University and has been vice-president of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, a group once headed by Stevenson. His wife received her master's degree in education from Columbia University, and two of his three sons have gone to Cornell. The third son is at Loyola Academy, a Catholic school. The family spends much time near Taos, New Mexico, where they have an adobe house on a four-acre piece of ground. Mitchell works on additions to the house himself, patiently and skilfully building it into something that may yet be impressive, like his own developing character and career.

Eisenhower's Choice

BY NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Detroit

IMMEDIATELY after the nomination of General Eisenhower as the Republican Party's candidate for the Presidency, Arthur E. Summerfield, chairman of the Michigan Republican Committee, was named chairman of the National Republican Committee. His selection is alleged to have been a concession to Eisenhower's insistence that his "crusade" be mapped by a Middle Westerner. The story goes that with a Middle Westerner prominent at his political GHQ, Eisenhower felt he could offset charges of Wall Street and Albany domination.

With respect to Summerfield, however, Eisenhower's "strategic withdrawal" from the moneyed East seems little more than a feint. Summerfield's views are elastic enough to embrace those of the internationalist wing of the Republican Party, based in Wall Street and at present led by Tom Dewey, as well as those of the tight-minded, tight-pursed Middle West personified by his own good friend, Senator Taft. Back in 1940 the affable, middle-aged Arthur E. Summerfield of Flint, one of the nation's largest Chevrolet dealers, energetically supported the candidacy of Wendell Willkie; in June, 1952, he was frequently reported ready to swing his delegation to General MacArthur in the event of a Taft-Eisenhower deadlock. Clearly the Republicanism of the presiding officer of the revamped National Committee, which contains sixty-three Dewey-oriented replacements for Taft Midwesterners, is of the non-dogmatic variety. As a matter of fact, on most important political issues Summerfield has uttered nothing for the record except platitudes. His friends say that privately he has expressed approval of the Taft-Hartley act on the theory that labor leaders have too often used their power for self-aggrandizement.

Among his own state's Republican voters Summerfield has never aroused much enthusiasm. He has sought office twice, running first for secretary of state and later for governor, and been defeated both times. However, he has made a better record in party administration. As a fund raiser for the state and national ticket he has paced the G. O. P.'s subscription canvassers throughout the nation. Indeed, his fund-raising technique has been so markedly successful that it has attracted the attention of a federal grand jury.

In 1948 Michigan's Republican attorney general, in the course of investigating gray marketeering among Michigan automobile dealers, accused Summerfield, as a key figure in the Flint association of automobile dealers, of being responsible for assessing dealers one dollar for every car sold. The money thus collected, it was claimed, was used to meet the $250,000 quota set for Summerfield by the Republican high command. The charges were aired before a grand jury, which took no action against him. It did, however, display considerable interest in the Republican State Committee's fund-raising apparatus.

Summerfield's efforts in behalf of G. O. P. finances earned him the chairmanship of a Republican national strategy committee in 1950. Eighteen days after his appointment he dramatically quit his post. In resigning he charged Guy Gabrielson, then chairman of the Republican National Committee, with plotting to let the strategy committee "die on the vine." The old-fashioned Gabrielson and the high-powered automobile dealer could not agree on methods of selling the Republican Party to the people.

Arthur E. Summerfield

Summerfield, anxious to avoid being identified as an anti-Taft man, carefully kept his tiff with Gabrielson on the level of personalities. He continued to nurse his friendship with Taft, who seemed likely to be the Republican candidate, despite his open row with Taft's hand-picked national chairman. Taft, though disturbed, did not care to come out against the chairman of the important Michigan Republican Committee.

In April of this year the canny automobile dealer visited General Eisenhower at his headquarters in Paris on the latter's invitation. After talking with the "apolitical" General in three secret sessions Summerfield returned to Michigan and announced that he was still

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NATHAN PERLMUTTER is a free-lance writer who has contributed to The Nation *from time to time.*

"uncommitted." The gravest decision of his political life, he said, would be to choose between Eisenhower and Taft.

As chairman of one of the three largest uninstructed delegations to the Republican convention, Summerfield figured that his decision could be of the king-making variety—if it were made public at the right moment. His refusal to declare himself kept Taft and Taft men in constant, solicitous touch with Flint. Eisenhower scheduled his first major address after his appearance at Abilene for Detroit, with the uncommitted Summerfield as his chaperon for the occasion. Speculation about Summerfield's intentions grew with each passing week. While the automobile tycoons Henry Ford II and Paul Hoffman, both powerful in Michigan Republican circles, fueled the Eisenhower engine, Summerfield made friendly but innocuous references to his "old friend, Senator Taft," kept mum about his April visit to Paris, and insisted that he was really undecided as to whom he would support.

Seasoned Republican leaders are certain that Summerfield's indecision was real. They maintain that he was holding back until he could spot the contestant with the winning form—for sure. At the eleventh hour, as General MacArthur reluctantly resigned himself to a position with Remington-Rand, Summerfield, in conjunction with Governor Fine, placed his bet.

Reporters allege that his own delegation did not know where he stood until they saw him grab the Michigan banner and heard his Tarzan-like whoops when Eisenhower was placed in nomination. Convention regulars call his caginess the "slickest exhibition of politicking" in their lifetime. Summerfield himself insists that he decided upon Ike only the night before the balloting, but he admits smilingly that he had been "flirting" with Ike's forces long before that. He might have added that as a hedging gambler, wearing ideological considerations lightly, he had also flirted with the Taft forces, who may not have returned his winks with quite the fervor or promise of the younger Eisenhower set.

Report on Tunisia—II

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Tunis

THE Tunisian government is composed partly of Tunisians and partly of French officials. The Prime Minister is a Tunisian and acts as liaison between the French Resident General and the Bey. M. Chenik, who was Prime Minister until last March, when he was arrested and deported, had fought for "internal autonomy" for over a year, with the support not only of the Tunisian nationalists but of the Bey himself. His successor, M. Baccouche, was more or less "imposed" on the Bey by the French and is little more than a figurehead.

When the Chenik government was formed in 1950, it was the first to be allowed to include a leading member of the Neo-Destour Party, M. Ben Youssef. At that time the French government was ostensibly in favor of granting "internal autonomy" by degrees. M. Schuman in particular had made speeches about Tunisia's "march toward independence." In February, 1951, Paris agreed to a number of important reforms, but these were consistently sabotaged by the French in Tunis. The crisis came to a head at the end of 1951, when in its famous note of December 15 the French government virtually ended all negotiation. Although it did not use the word, the note was generally interpreted to mean that the French were determined to perpetuate the present system of "co-sovereignty."

Three demands made by the Chenik government on October 31 were rejected. These were: (1) the formation of an all-Tunisian government, with the Tunisian ministers using "as long as necessary" the service of French technicians; (2) the election of a legislative assembly which would be "truly representative"—during the transition period laws would be enacted by the Cabinet, but the assembly would have the right to amend them later; (3) no new French officials would be recruited except the needed technicians—the Tunisian government would agree in return to engage only Frenchmen as foreign technicians.

The Socialists in France and even some members of center groups—notably M. Mitterand, whose own proposals of last January are not too different—considered the Chenik plan a possible basis for discussion, but the right thought it a deadly trap and preferred to break off negotiations, at least for the time being. The Tunisian nationalists reacted violently. Habib Bourguiba, the dynamic Neo-Destour leader, went around the country haranguing large crowds; there were strikes, clashes with the police, and some bloodshed. Finally M. Chenik, yielding to strong pressure from Bourguiba, decided to appeal to the United Nations. On January 13, just as a tough new Resident General, M. de Hauteclocque, arrived at Tunis amid a great display of military and naval power,

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, recently visited Tunisia. The first part of his report appeared last week.*

two members of the Chenik government, Badra and Ben Youssef, went to Paris, where the U. N. Assembly was still sitting.

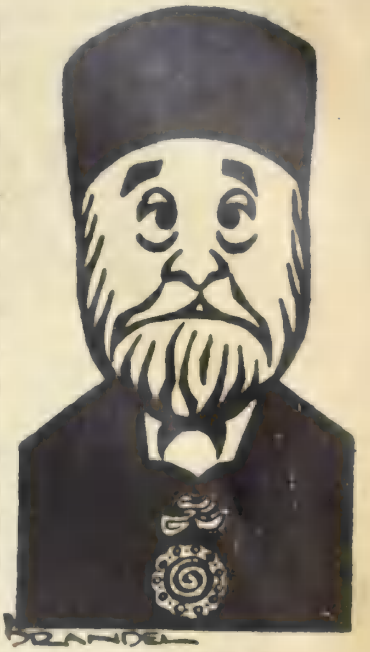
The French government declared their mission completely out of order. Bourguiba, meanwhile, was becoming more and more violent in his speeches, and rioting had broken out at Bizerta—all this agitation was presumably intended to make an impression on the U. N. Bourguiba was arrested on January 18, and the Neo-Destour Congress, which was to have been held that week, was prohibited.

More rioting in the Cape Bon area led to a ruthless punitive operation directed by the French commander-in-chief in Tunisia, General Bargay, notorious for his exploits in the "pacification" of Madagascar in 1947. The savagery of the Foreign Legion thoroughly poisoned the atmosphere in Tunisia, and on March 26 the French authorities arrested M. Chenik and three other Tunisian ministers and sent them into exile. It took the new Prime Minister, M. Baccouche, nearly a fortnight to concoct a Cabinet of sorts.

For several months an eight o'clock curfew was imposed on the city of Tunis in an effort to cope with the unrest of the Moslem population, which erupted in frequent bomb-throwings. Demonstrating students were permanently expelled from the College of Sadiki, and Tunisians saw in this a definite intention to deny education to all except yes men to the French. Arrests and deportations were numerous. The French refer to the nine hundred persons "in camps." Tunisian leaders claim that of the twenty thousand people arrested since the beginning of the year between six and eight thousand are still detained, either in camps or in jails and police stations. The curfew was raised as Ramadan, the Moslem Lent, began at the end of May, and there have been few serious incidents since.

THE new French proposals accept the principle of "a gradual progress toward internal autonomy," with defense and foreign affairs left to France. They provide for the appointment of Tunisian assistants to the French ministers and for certain limitations on the authority of the Resident General and other executives. In time more civil-service posts are to be open to Tunisians. Local assemblies are to be elected by the combined French and Tunisian population to "familiarize" the people with the machinery of democracy. No date is fixed for the end of this "first stage" of self-government.

In Paris neither the right nor the left finds this plan satisfactory, and in Tunis both the French and the Moslems have denounced it. A counter-move by the Bey has further disconcerted the French. Put in power by General Juin during the war, the Bey was at first very unpopular. Then—the French say—he got so "infernally rich," thanks to the throne's official and unofficial sources of income, that he no longer needed to eat out of their hands and decided to support the nationalists. When the French refused the Tunisian demand for some kind of representative government, the Bey formed an unofficial "crown council" of forty-two which last week rejected the French proposals. It is now expected that a commission of twelve Tunisians appointed by the Bey—it includes a French barrister and a member of the Jewish community—will draw up new demands conforming to M. Chenik's and M. Mitterand's ideas. (The latter had been more or less accepted as a basis of discussion by the Edgar Faure government but were rejected by M. Pinay.) Since the commission has an unmistakable Neo-Destour coloring, its plan may prove more extreme than any yet offered.



The Bey of Tunis

Paris has announced that it will not accept any modification in the program of reform drawn up for Tunisia. But the nationalists, encouraged by the example of Egypt and the existence of a theoretically independent Libya, are determined to be increasingly obstructive toward any mild reforms which would give France a case of sorts at the United Nations. The French have mishandled the whole affair since M. de Hauteclocque's arrival in Tunis, even going so far as to threaten to depose the Bey, and the awkward position in which they now find themselves is encouraging a fight-to-the-finish mood in the Tunisians rather than a spirit of compromise.

Yet of all the problems presented by Moslems anywhere in the world the Tunisian problem is the least insoluble. In spite of everything, Tunisia has a soft spot for France and is at heart reluctant to be separated from it. The less extreme Tunisian nationalists, that is, most Tunisian nationalists, and the more clear-sighted Frenchmen—there are not many in Tunis, but they exist in Paris—believe that a solution based on the following points would prove effective: (1) appoint M. Mons, the last-but-one Resident General, who got on well with the Tunisians and enjoyed the confidence of the Bey, in place of M. de Hauteclocque; (2) take the Mitterand proposals as a basis of discussion; (3) proclaim an amnesty. Tunisia is less under the thumb of Cairo and the Arab League than any other Moslem country and need not be lost to France if only the French don't get panicky.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Hemingway's "Old Man"

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA. By Ernest Hemingway. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

IN RECENT years the literary journals have reflected with evident, if uneasy, satisfaction the phenomenon known as the decline of Ernest Hemingway. Behind the critical demolition when it was executed in good faith—and this was not always the case—existed a too easy notion, really an assumption, that Hemingway was immature. And behind this assumption there was another: Kafka was mature. In Kafka the critic saw the arch-contemporary; in Hemingway he saw the obsolescent. He embraced the Kafkan virtues—the febrile, the logical, the claustrophobic, the nightmares of the mind. He discarded the Hemingway virtues—the virile, the sensuous, the agoraphilic, the moods of the heart. Strange how one could make out a reverse case and demonstrate Hemingway's maturity and Kafka's immaturity! Not that that is needed; both maturities can survive, and should, in our increasingly specialized world.

What Hemingway has attempted throughout his mature career is his own synthesis. Sometimes he has brought it off wholly; sometimes he has failed to bring it off except in part. What he has attempted to do—it is a metaphysical rather than an aesthetic aim, because it is related to his fundamental attitude toward all of life—is to fuse under a sustained pressure the opposite elements of experience and vision, of prosaic event and dramatic or poetic insight. Say it how you will, in his continuous, exacting, and independent operations in prose Hemingway has attempted to annihilate that shadow which, according to T. S. Eliot, falls between the idea and the reality, between the essence and the descent. In his effort to deliver the essence intact, Hemingway has fashioned an instrument of power that goes beyond beautiful writing, beyond the bare, spare, stripped prose, beyond the exact hearing of the quintessential speech. What he has fashioned is a kind of try-works, to borrow a figure from Melville, a vast cook stove that burns away all matter except the essence of the chase, the sperm oil, the dead center.

In his new short novel, "The Old Man and the Sea," Hemingway is working with fluent, controlled, and astonishing power. It ought not to cause surprise; the power was operative even in "Across the River and into the Trees." Only then the cook stove was stoked too high and much that mattered was burned off. The Hemingway shorthand was too intense, too much was suppressed, and therefore it called attention to itself.

Ultimately it is a question of limits. Hemingway's art unfolds peerlessly when he operates within the limits he sets for himself, another way of saying the limits his story sets for him. In "The Old Man and the Sea" Hemingway manipulates his own boundaries and is obedient to them, and the result is a great and "true" novel, touching and terrible, tragic and happy. It is not the most complex or exacting or challenging novel Hemingway has ever written, but it is perhaps the warmest and the most beautiful.

The "Old Man" is a fisherman, courageous and skilled, but whose recent run has been all bad luck (his only dream now is of lions playing on an African beach). After eighty-four days without having taken a fish, the old man on the eighty-fifth day goes far out into the sea, beyond the limits of what is considered proper to marlin fishing, aware that he can no longer be routine, aware therefore that this eighty-fifth day is one of fatality, a doomsday. His preparations are exact, both for the fish he must catch and the man who must catch it. And after the great marlin is hooked, and the hours and then the days of the lonely vigil and chase swim by, when you think endurance cannot go beyond this, and the magnificent fish at last gives way, the worst begins as the sharks swim in to initiate their havoc.

When a man goes beyond the limits, Hemingway seems to be saying, he does it—as in the Faust myth or the Ahab one—at a frightful expense. It is true of the "Old Man." But sometimes a man must do it, Hemingway also seems to be saying, and perhaps thereby he creates a farther limit. "A man can be destroyed," the old man says, "but not defeated." It is wonderfully typical of Hemingway's moral scheme of things that when the sharks come, the old man fights to save the marlin not only for himself but for the sake of the marlin. In the sea, as everywhere, there are certain just and worthy antagonists; neither is villain. At a certain point in the narrative, which reads a little like a fable, the old man imagines the fish to be man and the man to be fish. "I do not care who kills who," he says.

Another wonderfully typical thing of Hemingway, who is in his own way a great and skilful teacher: in the sections of the novel that deal with the preparations for catching the fish, and with the actual hooking and catching, one will absorb, if one is attentive, the mysteries of the craft of fishing. It is Hemingway's great art that he teaches whatever it is he is concerned with, whether it be shooting game, fighting bulls, planning a military campaign, or plotting a prize fight. It has little to do with pedantry; it has everything to do with reality and concreteness. And more: in all his best work, and it is true of the new novel, these special areas, these particular professions and occupations, are transposed inexorably into universal meanings. In "The Old Man" the mystique of fishing, with its limited triumphs and tragedies, is transposed into a universal condition of life, with its success and shame, its morality and pride and potential loss of pride.

On so many counts the book is momentous and heartening. For one thing, the "law" of the collapse of the American artist after his first books is canceled out—if one holds with the law at all. For another, this small book reveals the artist as having gained in stature. Though in his past work Hemingway suggested compassion and humility and love, in "The Old Man" he gives expression to them in a directer and bolder way, without sacrificing the strength and toughness of the earlier

work. And for a first
thing, it suggests that
the big book Hemingway
has been working on in
the past, & is still
working on, may be his
greatest. Harvey Breit.

"What Once They Were"

THE ELIZABETHAN WOMAN. By Carroll Camden. The Elsevier Press. $4.50.

NOVELIST Samuel Richardson once composed a discourse on the theme: "Women Are Not What Once They Were." By now it is pretty generally recognized that they never have been, and Mr. Camden's study abundantly proves that they certainly weren't in the days of Elizabeth. His is a sober and scholarly book based upon exhaustive research, especially in the Folger and Huntington libraries, but it will be without interest only in those places, if there are any, where women are not discussed. Incidentally it is also handsomely printed on unusually fine paper and plainly falls within the category favored by Sir Toby Belch: it is well bound and treats of love.

By Shakespeare's time the Englishwoman was already famous on the Continent for the amount of freedom she enjoyed, very much as the American woman is famous today. Satirists still repeated the anti-feminist platitudes of the Middle Ages and Puritanism tended to breathe new conviction into them, but the counter-current of Renaissance idolatry ran strongly too, especially, of course, in poems and plays. What is more important, it is made abundantly evident that women then as now went about getting their own way without being much concerned over the extremes of opinion which made them alternately angels or devils. The more unusual among them read Latin, wrote books, and managed business enterprises. Their less ambitious sisters ruled their husbands, wasted his money, and destroyed his peace by employing all the time-honored methods, including the prolonged discourse delivered while he was trying to go to sleep and already familiarly known as a "curtain lecture." Despite the fulminations of the moralists, they painted, powdered, showed their knees when dancing, and, as Mr. Camden's illustrations reveal, far outdid the boldest of television's décolletés. The Elizabethan neck line plunged right and left as well as center, and if the radio was still in the womb of time, upper-class housewives supplied its lack by insisting upon servants to play music or to read stories aloud to them while they performed their tasks.

A good deal of incidental information comes, of course, from plays and other forms of fiction, but the author of the present work draws even more heavily upon less familiar sources, including books by ministers and lawyers as well as by the self-appointed lay instructors, who flourished then as now. During the sixteenth century there was a spate of books on every level of sophistication about choosing a wife, "adjusting" to the marriage state, educating children, managing a kitchen, and so on. Parallels to most of the points made could be found in the similar books published this year, the chief difference being perhaps more downrightness in the Elizabethan expressions. Whereas in our day we cite statistics to show that marriages are

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more likely to be happy when the religious views of the contracting parties coincide, a sixteenth-century writer could say bluntly that you cannot have much love and sympathy for a spouse whom you believe to be damned. Then as now young men were advised not to marry without love but also warned that love is not everything—the latter sometimes in terms a little more frank than we usually care to use, as, for example, when the candidate for matrimony is reminded that if the wife brings a good dowry he will always find at least one thing in her to love. He was also warned, as he is today, that everything is not likely to run smooth, and that what we call "a period of adjustment" is necessary. "As in a music are many discords before there can be framed a true Diapason; so in wedlock are many jars, before there can be established a perfect friendship." On the general question concerning the desirability of marriage the opinion seems to have been pretty much that which Samuel Johnson later summed up as: "Marriage has many pains; celibacy few pleasures."

Marriages were still very often arranged by parents, and to marry against the parents' wishes was still regarded as, especially in the case of women, highly improper; or as one writer puts it, the virgin who marries without her father's consent is "unhonestly espoused" despite the undoubted fact that she was legally so. Nevertheless, the current of the times was so increasingly in favor of free choice and the love match that Elizabethans had already worked out the compromise which held at least until the end of the eighteenth century: a wise parent would claim no more than the right to veto; he must not insist upon an unwelcome husband or wife though he might forbid a union of which he disapproved.

As usual the liberality of the law lagged behind the *mores*. Except for the rich or powerful, divorce was almost impossible and even legal separation extremely difficult. The church was losing its control over the contracting of marriages, but the state still tended to agree with it that once the marriage had been consummated it was not to be broken. Wives, moreover, still suffered under various legal disadvantages, notably in the fact that their property passed wholly into the power of the husband. Yet in this as in many other ways they may have suffered less often than the legal situation would lead one to suspect. The question whether or not a husband had a legal right to beat his wife was in dispute, but it seems reasonable to assume that if the question had arisen very often it would have been settled. The expression "to wear the breeches" was already current, but would hardly have been so if the phenomenon were nearly as unknown as the legal status of women would seem to guarantee.

Undoubtedly the position of women has improved since Elizabethan times. It is equally evident that nothing new either for or against them has been said since then. Men are certainly not going to stop talking about women, but it would seem that they might just as well.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Socialism in America

SOCIALISM AND AMERICAN LIFE. Edited by Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. Princeton University Press. Two Volumes. $10 each; $17.50 the Set.

THE well-run undergraduate program in American civilization at Princeton University, which has produced creditable symposia on various aspects of American life, is responsible, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, for these two volumes. The second

vol., which
dispensable to students
of the subject, is an el
borate bibl. of writing
on socialism in Amer. &
Europe. In the 1st 12 co
tributors deal with ever
aspect of Amer. socialis

Marxian, and Christian. At the heart of it is an excellent critical history of Marxian socialism in the United States by Daniel Bell, an essay of almost two hundred pages which might well stand as a separate work. Comparable in length is an interesting survey of Socialism and American Art by Donald Drew Egbert, which goes far beyond the limitations suggested by its title.

A central question, raised by several contributors, hangs heavily over the volume: Why has there been so little support for socialism in America? The contributors recognize that socialism as a political doctrine has had little influence on American life, and that America has had little influence on the direction or content of socialist thought. One is tempted then to ask: How is it possible to produce such a massive tome on the subject? Much of the first volume is actually devoted to the general traditions of Western socialism—including an illuminating essay on Socialism in European History to 1848 by E. Harris Harbison—and much to the non-Marxian varieties, Christian communitarian and secular utopian, which have left a complex record without ever entering very decisively into the main stream of American history. The editors in short, have avoided the curse of provincialism that lies upon college programs in American civilization: they have avoided treating socialism without due regard for its European origins and development, but they have done so at the cost of including much general material that is of necessity derivative and familiar—discussions of the nature of Marxian theory and the like. The work is, none the less, the most important single contribution to our knowledge of socialism in this country.

Wilbert E. Moore, in his essay on Sociological Aspects of American Socialism, suggests a useful and equally meaningful inversion of the central question: "Why are there *any* Socialists in the United States?" What he calls for, it seems to me, is something that we completely lack: a theory of the Socialist—or, more generally, the radical—personality. In this one respect the volume, although suggestive at several points, is quite disappointing. Representatives of the disciplines that one might expect to have most to say on this subject tell us little; and as a historian who is sometimes troubled by the conceptual limitations within which his craft is usually pursued, I am relieved to find that Mr. Bell's section, whose method is historical, is at least as illuminating on this question as the others. George W. Hartmann's essay on The Psychology of American Socialism seems to me to get no farther—indeed, not to get nearly as far—as the marginal suggestions that can be gleaned from Harold Lasswell's "The Psychopathology of Politics," which appeared more than twenty years ago.

These fourteen essays vary so much in purpose and caliber that I despair of conveying in a brief review any conception of the merits of the book's several parts. To me the one seriously objectionable contribution is Paul Sweezy's account of the slight influence of Marxism on formal economic thought in the United States. Sweezy finds an exception in Thorstein Veblen, whose affiliations with Marx he speciously exaggerates by stressing the undeniable similarities while ignoring Veblen's penetrating critique of Marxism. The very essays on The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers, which Sweezy, quite correctly, cites as evidence of Veblen's knowledge of the literature of Marxism, also contain observations on the Marxian system fatal to the old view of Veblen as "an expounder of Marx," which Sweezy attempts in a roundabout way to substantiate.

I am also appalled by Sweezy's comments on the scholarly and theoretical sterility of official communism in the United States. Since the Communist Party has slavishly—the word is not Sweezy's—followed what Sweezy tactfully calls Leninism, and since "Lenin is the most reliable interpreter of Marx," the Communist Party, he concludes, "has rarely misjudged the nature of the historical period in which we live." "On the other hand," he blandly concedes, "the absence of a habit of, or capacity for, independent theorizing has had its disadvantage too." This genteel characterization and complacent acceptance of the party's total rejection of intellectual independence strikes an incongruous note in an essay which goes out of its way to emphasize the limitations on freedom in American universities.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Appearance on Its Head

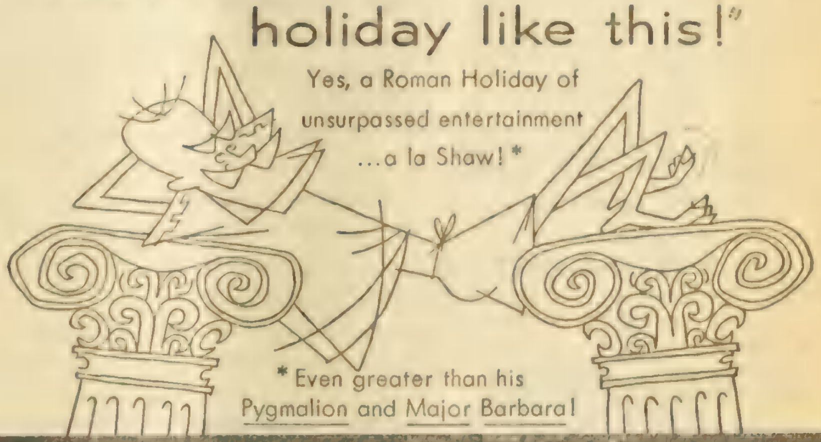
STRANGERS AND AFRAID. By Thomas Sterling. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

WHAT Mr. Sterling has done in his first novel is to turn appearance on its head, as the best of our serious young novelists are doing, in order to be able to examine more closely those complex relationships which, we were assured by the novelists of the thirties—and even by certain currently popular writers—are perfectly simple and obvious. Just as Saul Bellow in "The Victim" gave us a Jew who was secure in his work and his wife's love and essentially at peace with the world, and a rejected anti-Semitic opponent who quivered with insecurity and feelings of persecution, so Mr. Sterling—although not with Mr. Bellow's mature artistry—gives us a Negro "criminal" who is the intellectual and moral superior of the dedicated and distinguished head of the League for the Right to Freedom, presumably engaged in selflessly struggling for Negro rights.

The theme is developed in a series of alternating chapters told by or about Maccabee David, the enterprising, brave, and hardy Negro boy from the South; Lyle Bishop, the professional pleader for civil rights; and Mamie Bishop, Lyle's millstone wife. Although their lives intersect only at the beginning and end of the book, we are constantly reminded of the ironic contrast between Maccabee's calm acceptance of, but not submission to, his condition and Lyle's restless suspicion that his entire life of activity for good causes has been simply an irrelevance, rendered even less significant by his wife's vacant idiocy.

The pace of the story is so deliberate that many readers may put the book aside without giving Mr. Sterling the opportunity to unravel these lives

"Oh, to be a Roman on a holiday like this!"



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completely. Part of the fault is in the unevenness of the writing: to my mind Maccabee David is far more vivid and more fully realized than Lyle Bishop, who remains an abstraction—despite earnest concentration upon the details of his sex life and the workings of his tortured mind—and a convenient vehicle for the author's reflections on the futility of uplifters who attempt to reform humanity from the outside, so to speak.

Nevertheless, Mr. Sterling's two achievements—the creation of an unusually real and memorable human being in the young Negro and the demonstration of his understanding of the complexity of situations that have previously been "explained" by propagandists in grossly oversimplified terms—should encourage us to expect a great deal from him in the future.

HARVEY SWADOS

CONTRIBUTORS

HARVEY BREIT is assistant editor of the New York *Times* Book Review Section.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is the author of "Samuel Johnson," "The Twelve Seasons," and other books.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

FROM Romola Nijinsky's "The Last Years of Nijinsky" (Simon and Schuster, $3.50) one can abstract certain essential facts—that when Nijinsky was pronounced incurably insane in 1919 his wife dedicated her life to his care; that she never gave up hope of cure; that the first two series of insulin shock treatments in August and December, 1938, had excellent results; that patient re-education re-established contact of Nijinsky's mind with the world outside it and brought him to the point where, freed of his hallucinations, he began to act quite normally; that the war made it increasingly difficult and dangerous to stay on in Switzerland; that she tried to secure permission to bring him to the United States for further treatment, and finally was granted a visa for him for a year's visit by the State Department, only to have it refused by one of the consular monsters we had in some European cities; that there began, as a result, a long nightmare of flight into Hungary when it was still neutral, existence there when it became involved in the war and was taken over by the Germans, flight to Vienna at the end of the war, then to American-occupied Austria, and finally to England, where Nijinsky died in 1950.

These facts one abstracts from a narrative which is fragmentary and in which there are internal inconsistencies, distortions, improbabilities, inaccuracies, and other evidence of a lack of the minimum objectivity necessary to command belief. It is understandable that Mme. Nijinsky's experiences should have come to be distorting lenses through which she sees, for example, that dancers here, fearing Nijinsky's rivalry, worked in 1940 to prevent his coming; when we can see what dancers here could see in 1940—that Nijinsky, aged fifty, rather stout, and ill, was no rival. It is understandable that her love for him should similarly cause her to see him behaving, in the years before his illness, with unfailing quiet good manners in the face of every misfortune, injustice, and cruelty, and thus giving "hardly a sign" of the insanity that was to strike him down; when I can recall that his tantrums in Diaghilev's company, when he joined it in New York in 1916, were such as to get into the papers (a friend reported having been told by a wealthy patroness of the arts about Lopokova's exclaiming to her in tears: "If he only would tell me what he wants!"), and those tantrums are described in Robert Edmond Jones's account of his collaboration with Nijinsky in the ballet "Till Eulenspiegel." And it is understandable that Mme. Nijinsky's hatred of Diaghilev should cause her to see even his company after the first world war as one that "lacked the real, great dancers"; when in fact it had Spessiva, Doubrovska, Danilova, Nikitina, Markova, Massine, Woizikovsky, Lifar. These distortions are understandable; but what one understands is the reasons why Mme. Nijinsky is not a credible witness—especially about Nijinsky and Diaghilev, and presumably too about the third person involved with them in the events that ended in catastrophe, namely Mme. Nijinsky herself.

She was, by the evidence of her thirty-year battle to save Nijinsky, a person of fiercely indomitable will (one suspects that her formidable personality was the reason why Nijinsky's sister Bronislava, his daughter Kyra, and his former colleague Karsavina didn't visit him in his last years); and though she tells it otherwise one feels sure that she fought as fiercely to win him as she did later to save him. If that was so, then to the strains on Nijinsky caused by the circumstances of his childhood, youth, and professional training, and to the further strains caused by the relation with Diaghilev, there were added the strains caused by the battle of the two strong-willed persons for possession of him; and under this accumulation he collapsed. One can only estimate probabilities in this way; the certain truth is not likely ever to be established. Not so much because important participants in the events are dead, as because they would, even if they were alive, be no more credible witnesses than Mme. Nijinsky. The disinterestedness and objectivity of well-ordered personalities and minds, rare enough anywhere, are certainly not to be found in the inhabitants of that world apart in which are produced the beautiful appearances of order that are presented to our eyes on the stage.

Letters to the Editors

Mutual Funds: Upward and Onward . . .

Dear Sirs: In the June 14 issue of *The Nation* you published an article by William G. Ferris entitled The Mutual-Fund Rainbow. The inaccuracies and off-target implications are so pronounced, I cannot let it go by unchallenged. I am not connected with any mutual fund; do not sell securities of any type. My function is to prepare literature for those who do.

1. In speaking of the sales charges Mr. Ferris says, "The charge is split between the fund and the investment house which sells the fund's shares." That is not so. The funds get no part of the sales charge and the underwriting firms get a maximum of 25 per cent.

2. Mr. Ferris discusses the Securities and Exchange Commission's Statement of Policy, which determines how far the funds can go in their advertised claims. He points out that the implementation of the policy rests with the National Association of Securities Dealers, "which is not a disinterested party. The association reviews advertising for mutual funds and presumably tries to keep it under control."

My work makes it necessary for me to deal with the association because I have to prepare literature within the Statement of Policy. The author's implication that the association winks at infractions of the Statement of Policy is totally false and misleading. Those who write about funds must hew to the line or face serious difficulties. Wherever there are laws, rules, and regulations there will be offenders. There are, from time to time, a few who ignore the Statement of Policy. But the S. E. C. and the N. A. S. D. are watchful, and the penalties are severe.

3. The greatest error in Mr. Ferris's article, however, is the interesting manner in which he compares a horse and a cow and tries to make it appear that he is comparing two horses. He compares the 1929 high and the 1932 low prices of five *closed-end* investment companies and the 1937 highs and lows of seven *open-end* companies. His "naive" investor who sought "experienced, competent financial management didn't do very well." Mr. Ferris casually mentions that Lehman Corporation shares are worth more today than in 1929, but he works hard to create the impression that investment companies do not weather storms too successfully.

4. Either in ignorance or deliberately Mr. Ferris makes quite a point of the terrible things that happened to some of the big closed-end investment trusts in the '29 crash. These were trusts which borrowed a large part of their assets and issued bonds for them, which raised another part by issuing preferred stock, and the rest in common stock. If things went well the common-stock owners did fine. If things went badly, the bond- and preferred-stock holders were taken care of first, and that didn't leave much for the common-stock holders. That type of investment trust and the resultant record when the market crashed have no relationship to the modern mutual fund. They are two different animals. Today only a very small number of the mutual funds are permitted by their charters to borrow any money. What borrowing they may do is limited by the S. E. C.

5. Mr. Ferris makes no realistic comparisons. He avoids all the yardsticks used by the experienced, informed investor—comparison with market averages, with records of individual investors, with the performance of the "blue chips." He shows no comprehension of the fact that any company or individual investing in common stocks, holding cash in his deep freeze, will see and has seen broad fluctuations in asset values. It would have been just as easy to compare the asset values the funds had in 1932 with today.

6. Mutual funds are offered to the public as long-term investments. They make it possible for investors, no matter how small or how large their investments, to enjoy the reduced risk of broad diversification. They offer full-time professional investment management and supervision to all. Those two values have given little investors the greatest opportunity to buy a share in American industry they have ever had.

7. Mutual funds give the public a solid opportunity to make an investment that gives them a chance to keep pace with inflation. In spreading ownership of our economy they constitute a dynamic challenge to communism.

For those reasons I make this vigorous protest against a misleading, biased article calculated to misinform people about a great and worth-while institution that grows stronger every year.

Washington FRED NAUHEIM

. . And Sometimes Downward

Dear Sirs: In answering Mr. Nauheim's letter I shall take his points up paragraph by paragraph.

1. The "load" is split, technically, between the distributor and the dealer. However, in most cases the distributor is the group which organized the fund in the first place, and the managers of the fund often are also managers of the distributing house. In other words, the money doesn't go into the right-hand pocket; it goes into the left-hand one. The important point about the "load" is that in most cases it takes more than a year of dividends before the investor can make up for it.

2. I don't contend that the National Association of Securities Dealers winks at infractions of the Securities and Exchange Commission's Statement of Policy. I do believe that advertisements which state, "You are relieved of all details except cashing dividend checks," are misleading, because they imply, as does much mutual-fund promotional literature, that there is no risk involved. There is a very real risk, as there must be in all investments based mainly on common and preferred stocks.

3. The article compared high and low prices of closed-end funds. Then it compared high and low prices of open-end funds. What's wrong with that? I don't see how that's comparing a cow with a horse. It is flattering to have Mr. Nauheim say I "worked hard to create the impression that investment companies do not weather investment storms too successfully," but my modesty forces me to confess it was not hard work. All I did was copy down the prices. They spoke for themselves.

4. The article distinguished between closed-end and open-end funds. Mr. Nauheim emphasizes one technical difference. There are others, not always favorable to open-end funds. However, not all closed-end funds had outstanding senior securities. Also, the "leverage" factor created by these senior securities has often been used as an argument for buying closed-end funds. The two types are not as different as Mr. Nauheim would like to believe. They are both founded on the same principle—using other people's money to invest, or speculate, in securities. Mr. Nauheim says, "Either in ignorance or deliberately Mr. Ferris makes quite a point of the terrible things that hap-

pened to some of the big closed-end investment trusts in the '29 crash." It wasn't through ignorance. It was deliberate, because the truth is that these investment trusts, sold on the same assurances of professional management that are now used to peddle the open-end funds, did have a terrible record in the 1929-32 period.

5. The "yardsticks" which Mr. Nauheim mentions are all quite popular with writers of mutual-fund literature. All are relative, and I was not interested in comparing one mutual fund with another. Some funds do better than the various market averages, some do worse. As far as the little fellow is concerned, the important point is at what prices he can buy and sell. I disagree with Mr. Nauheim's statement: "He [Ferris] makes no realistic comparisons." I think a comparison of prices is the most realistic comparison possible. I don't see where Mr. Nauheim gets the impression: "Mr. Ferris shows no comprehension of the fact that any company or individual investing in common stocks, holding cash in a deep freeze, will see and has seen broad fluctuations in asset values." On the contrary, I am very well aware of this fact. It seems to me that it is Mr. Nauheim and other mutual-fund sales-promotion men who ignore this very important element of price fluctuations. It is my point that mutual-fund prices —or "net asset values," as the boys prefer—can go down in a bear market as readily as they have gone up in a bull market—a fact which the mutual funds blithely ignore when selling themselves to little investors.

6. All this is true and was not disputed in the original article. However, the phrase "long-term investment" can be questioned. This reminds me of the phrase "for the long pull," so ardently reiterated by securities salesmen in late 1928 and early 1929. No one really knows how long he can hold any investment, and a man buying a mutual fund today may find he will need to convert to cash at a time when he will get back less than he put in. That is a legitimate risk. I don't quarrel with it. But I do quarrel with the mutual funds' habit of refusing to mention the risk.

7. Of course, mutual funds give an investor a chance to keep pace with inflation—in other words, their net asset values go up when stock prices go up. But does Mr. Nauheim think inflation is perpetual, and that stock prices will advance forever? I doubt that the funds combat communism. Mr. Nauheim probably means socialism, anyway. This brings up an interesting point. More and more the element of patriotism is being introduced into the marketing of securities, apparently deriving its impetus from the success in selling government bonds on this pitch during World War II. It may prove a costly sales technique to the financial fraternity. What does Mr. Nauheim think will be the reaction of the little guy, who has been told it is patriotic to buy securities at prices exceeded only once in history, if the stock market, and mutual funds, enter a broad, sustained decline? I don't think the little guy is going to be too enthusiastic about Mr. Nauheim's economic system.

In essence, Mr. Nauheim seems to object to history. He doesn't like the idea that prices of funds, both closed-end and open-end, have suffered material declines when the stock market has declined. I'm sorry, but that is the way it happened. He also seems to object to any dissent from his view of the future —a perpetual inflation, an unending advance in stock prices.

WILLIAM FERRIS,
Market Editor, Associated Press
Chicago

CORRECTION: In its issue of August 9 *The Nation* stated that Senator McCarthy had been rated "the worst Senator" by a poll of Washington correspondents and that this conclusion had been indorsed by the American Political Science Association. The reference to the poll was accurate, but the American Political Science Association, as such, has not "indorsed" the rating, nor has it taken any position on McCarthy. The Senator was placed "at the very bottom" of the Senators with a low rating by Dr. Byron L. Johnson and Dr. T. E. Butt, two political scientists listed by the association as legislative specialists. Their judgment was quoted in a report of the American Political Science Association (see "The McCarthy Record" p. 64); hence the confusion. As a research and analytical professional organization, the American Political Science Association does not draw "conclusions" of the type drawn by Drs. Johnson and Butt.

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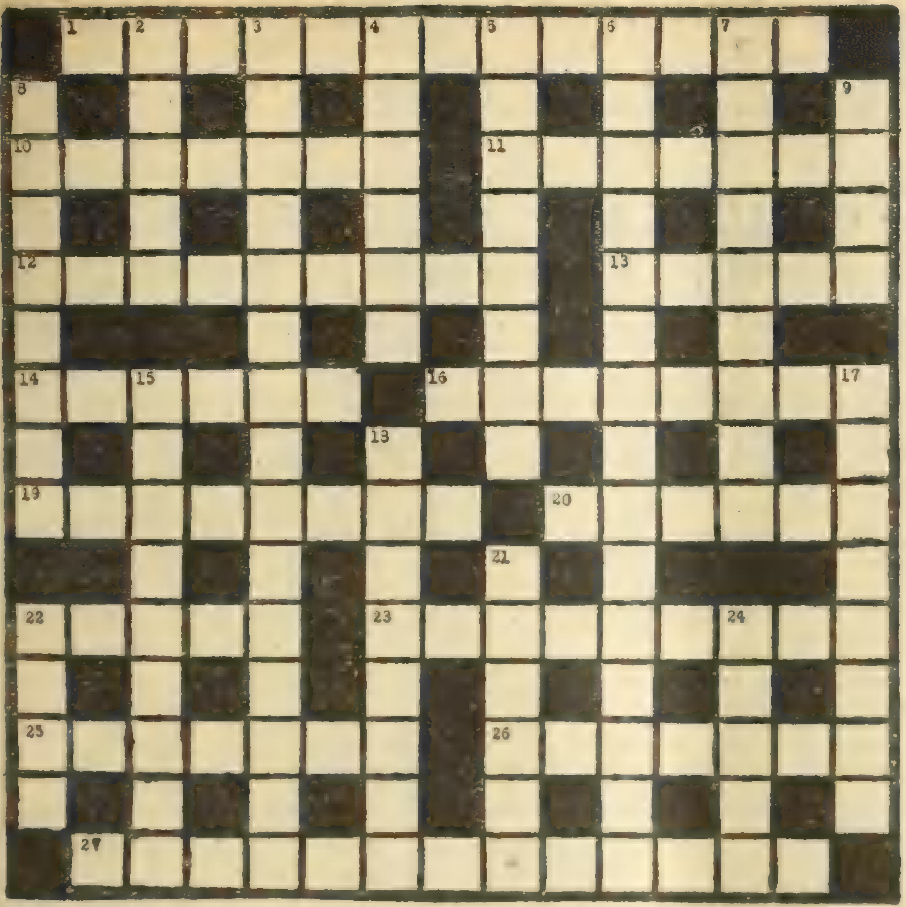
Crossword Puzzle No. 481

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Is it supposed to get the baseball team out of a jam? (1, 6, 2, 4)
10 This could be the way to get lost in [illegible] monkey or missionary, perhaps. (7)
11 Trail. (7)
12 Premeditates changing the disease, after you have dined out. (9)
13 One might associate girders with them! (5)
14 Feature attached to Abraham's home, on the street or in the sea. (6)
16 An integral part of television might be akin to checking the meter. (8)
19 The statesman of rank Lincoln made more or less notable. (8)
20 Life in the Woods, alternatively. (6)
22 Refuse to tease someone good-naturedly. (5)
23 One has to have them, but it sounds as though something has been added to the story of Goldilocks! (9)
25 They add a little touch to neckwear (and taste good, too)! (7)
26 It reads [illegible] though it might be on horseback. (7)
27 Voluntary confession? (But it's not intended to let you out!) (4, 9)

DOWN

2 Blots up checks, perhaps. (5)
3 I often think mice might apply to Pauline's salvation. (2, 3, 4, 2, 4)
4 Tomorrow does, according to Hamlet. (6)
5. Zig zag, perhaps, and charge around the right end. (8)
6 Drag in fish, except we get a flower instead. (8, 7)
7 Blown up, perhaps. (9)
8 It might be a blow to the factory worker, but the criminal gets quite attached to it. (8)
9 An uprising of 17 without his cohorts softens things up. (4)
15 Symbol of reputation in part. (9)
17 It's sort of strange to follow the sort of man who might follow him. (8)
18 Spread out. (8)
21 Improperly set in Erin, an opera by Verdi. (6)
22 A native of Egypt sounds commonly taken. (4)
24 Naomi, when associated with [illegible] group, is basically [illegible] radical. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 480

ACROSS:—1 PART-TIME; 9 REFRAIN; 10 SWEATER; 11 DESPAIR; 12 OXALATE; 13 LITTLE THEATRE; 15 POSTGRADUATES; 21 CHARADE; 22 JACOBIN; 23 FAIRIES; 24 CRATERS; 25 CONEYS; 26 ESCAROLE.

DOWN:—1 PARODY; 2 REFUSAL; 3 TEA-CART; 4 MINERAL WATERS; 6 AVERAGE; 7 OUTCAST; [illegible] SURVEYED; 10 SHORT SUBJECTS; 14 and 17 SPECIFIC GRAVITY; 16 and 5 across STATION WAGONS; 18 TOCCATA; 19 SUB-ZERO; 20 IN ESSE.

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The Nation Announces

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: 1952

• TO BE PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 27 •

The rise of Southern Negroes carries immense political implications. Nearly 2,000,000 of them—the country's greatest potential bloc of new voters, and unpledged to any single party—are expected to vote for President this November, a number almost sufficient to have given Dewey the victory over Truman in 1948. *The Nation* is planning to tell for the first time the story of "The Southern Negro: 1952." Prepared by outstanding experts in the field, the supplement will contain the following articles:

I. "THE SOUTH: GIANT OF TOMORROW," *by Henry Lesesne*, Southern regional correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, outstanding authority on the Southern socio-economic-political scene. "The spires of industry cast long shadows over the cotton and tobacco fields and the piney woods of Dixie," writes Mr. Lesesne, discussing the amazing socio-economic changes which have taken place in the South of recent years. It is, of course, these changes at the base of society which have begun to produce aberrant political behavior foreshadowing the demise of the "Solid South."

II. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH, 1952," *by Henry Lee Moon*, Director of Public Relations for the NAACP. Mr. Moon analyses the growth in the number of Negroes voting in the South and points up the significance of this phenomenon. Mr. Moon has given more attention to the Negro in politics than any other American authority. He is the author of *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (1948).

III. "THE NEO-DIXIECRATS," *by Tarleton Collier*. A native of Alabama, Mr. Collier has been an editorial writer on the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for the last ten years. He is the author of several studies about the South, including studies of its penal systems, and a novel *Fire in the Sky*. In this lively piece, Mr. Collier examines the basis of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress.

IV. "THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT IN CONGRESS," *by Clarence Mitchell*, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP. No one has ever been closer to the fight to secure enactment of an adequate civil rights program in Congress than Mr. Mitchell. Here, in full detail, is the complete story of the how, and the why, of the defeat of the civil rights program in recent sessions of the Congress.

V. "RECONSTRUCTION, NUMBER TWO," *by Lewis W. Jones*, Director of Research, Tuskegee Institute. An outstanding authority, Mr. Jones discusses the impact of recent socio-economic changes in the South as they affect Southern Negroes. "The economic emancipation of the Negro in the South may or may not have been anticipated as coming through the good offices of white-faced cattle and tractor-drawn farm machinery," writes Mr. Jones, "but these appear to have been the instruments most effective in releasing him from profitless hand-labor tasks and the share-cropper system."

VI. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN NATIONAL POLITICS," *by R. H. Brisbane*. A member of the faculty of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Brisbane discusses the significance of the Negro vote in national politics.

VII. AN ARTICLE BY LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, of the C. I. O. Organizing Committee, on the impact of the labor movement on the social, economic, and political outlook of the Southern Negro. Miss Mason, who has been actively engaged in the effort to organize Southern labor, is the author of a book—*To Win These Rights*—which Harper's will publish early in October.

In addition, the issue will contain an article by Dr. Ira de A. Reid, a series of short reports from key areas in the South indicating the present temper of Southern Negro opinion, and a report on the long and heroic struggle of Southern Negroes to achieve the right to vote.

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Warning from Chile—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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September 13, 1952

What Kind of Congress?

With Ike . . . With Adlai

BY WILLARD SHELTON

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African Auction

Cashing in on Old Imperialisms

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Hospitals for the People?

San Francisco

THE Hill-Burton act, passed by Congress in 1946, authorized federal aid for hospital construction to the amount of $1,125,000,000. Its stated goal was to "afford the necessary physical facilities for furnishing adequate hospital, clinic, and similar service to all the people." The nation's population had long ago outstripped existing hospital facilities; little private capital was available for hospital construction. To ease the acute shortage, the government agreed to bear one-third of the cost of a new hospital if the state and the local group building it would each put up a third.

The act was just what the doctors and the hospital administrators ordered. The only string Congress attached to the money thus appropriated was that the hospital must be built in an area where the state found existing facilities inadequate. The question of how much the public should be charged for care in Hill-Burton hospitals was left entirely to the state, the act declaring only that each state "may" require assurance that "there will be made available in each such hospital a reasonable volume of hospital services to persons unable to pay therefor."

Most states simply ignored this clause. Indeed, the California law governing public hospitals built under the act ordered them to charge "such rates as will permit [them] to be operated on a self-supporting basis." In order to break even, these hospitals are today charging on the average around $25 a day for a bed and routine services, such as X-ray, laboratory examinations, drugs, and dressings. This is, of course, considerably more than the middle-bracket taxpayer can afford. Even persons covered by some form of hospital insurance find their finances seriously strained by a long illness.

THE PEOPLE of Marin County, a suburban area just north of San Francisco, protested vigorously when they found that the new Marin General Hospital, which opened in May of this year, charged from $18 to $20 a day for a room alone. The 104-bed, ultra-modern institution had been built with $2,000,000 of local, state, and federal funds under the Hill-Burton act. The voters had taxed themselves to meet their one-third share of the cost after it had been dinned into their ears that Marin General was being built to meet the county's needs for more facilities. They had heard so much talk about a "public hospital," "federal aid," and "adequate service" that they had assumed the new hospital's rates would somehow be within their budgets. In reply to their angry protests the hospital's board of directors answered that the law was the law. They were charging no more than other hospitals in the area, and they should not be blamed for the high cost of hospital care in general.

The public's anger was heightened when the directors notified Dr. Rudolf Wolff, a popular Marin County physician, that he could not practice at the hospital because of alleged "incompetency." Dr. Wolff, a naturalized German Jewish refugee, is an outspoken critic of the "political activities" of the American Medical Association, an advocate of compulsory health insurance, and the only physician in the county affiliated with the Permanente Plan, a pre-payment system of panel medicine using its own doctors and hospitals. His attitude is of course anathema to the majority of the county's physicians, and it was upon their advice that the hospital's board of directors had barred him.

Dr. Wolff's patients were quick to declare that he was being persecuted. Marin General, they said, was a public hospital, built with public funds and administered by a publicly elected board of directors. Since Dr. Wolff was licensed by the state of California to practice medicine and surgery, he could not be barred from a public hospital. Again the directors quoted California law: "The rules of the hospital . . . shall include provision that membership on the medical staff be restricted to physicians and surgeons competent in their respective fields, worthy in character and professional ethics."

Dr. Wolff hired an attorney and prepared for a long fight. But his wife's health had been seriously affected by the controversy, and on the eve of a scheduled public hearing he withdrew his application to practice at the hospital "in the expectation that an interpretation of the hospital's standards will be arrived at to preserve my honor and dignity."

The issue of rates and the case of Dr. Wolff combined to make it very clear that the public had spent its money to build an institution not markedly different from a private hospital. "That's true," said a top hospital administrator, "but the people are blaming the Hill-Burton act for failing to do something it was never intended to do." "Well," commented a disgruntled taxpayer, "it's nice to have plenty of hospital beds even if we can't afford to use them."

A. W. HOPPE

[*The author is on the staff of the San Francisco* Chronicle.]

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · SEPTEMBER 13, 1952 NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

Setback for McCarran

Thomas W. Mechling's victory over Alan Bible, Nevada's former Attorney General and one of its best liked citizens, in the contest for the Democratic senatorial nomination represents a sharp setback for Senator Pat McCarran, who actively supported the hand-picked nominee of his machine. Mechling a newcomer to Nevada, campaigned as a New Dealer, opposing the Taft-Hartley act, favoring public-power developments, F. E. P. C., and other progressive measures. Resentment against McCarran's dictatorial control of the state's policies has been mounting, and Mechling took full advantage of this fact. He received unwitting support from the wife of Senator McCarran's law partner, who stood up in a meeting which Mechling had been invited to address and made a speech on white supremacy!

The cream of the jest is the fact that Senator McCarran actually financed Mechling's successful campaign. Mrs. Mechling worked for some years in Washington as McCarran's stenographer and carefully put aside a portion of her earnings against the day when her husband would decide to challenge the McCarran machine—an interesting side-light on the Senator's genius for personal relations. The campaign cost the Mechlings, who have been living in a trailer to save money, about $7,600. We hope McCarran's victims will pass the hat and help Mechling defeat Senator George Malone, the Republican nominee. Perhaps Mrs. Mechling can be induced to oppose McCarran in 1956.

The Bridges Decision

Attorneys for Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and his co-defendants, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, today announced their determination to carry the fight for the three labor leaders to the Supreme Court of the United States. At the same time the union itself was laying plans for a national campaign to reach all sections of the labor movement as well as professional people and workers in the arts.

The affirmation of the convictions of the three I. L. W. U. officers by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco met violent protests from the rank and file. I. L. W. U. Local 6, numbering 12,000 warehouse workers in the Bay area, was in constitutional convention as the decision was handed down and interrupted its proceedings to hear brief speeches by Bridges and Robertson. A motion of "wholehearted and unstinting support, morally, financially, and in every other way," was voted by acclamation. "The decision," the motion said, "is another round in the fight against a union that refuses to buckle under to economic and political attacks."

This is the third major blow directed at the I. L. W. U. this year by federal agencies and courts. First the Supreme Court sustained a $750,000 Taft-Hartley judgment against the union in favor of the Juneau Spruce Corporation. Last week a District Court in the state of Washington refused to grant a review of a judgment (for $270,000) against the union imposed when its members refused to handle "hot" cargo in 1948 at The Dalles, Oregon. In affirming the convictions of Bridges, Robertson, and Schmidt, the San Francisco court deliberately ignored previous decisions in the Obermeier and Marzani cases—made by higher courts in New York and the District of Columbia—which specifically refused to apply the war-time suspension act to cases of alleged "false swearing."

U. N.—the Stalemate Continues

The September session of the Security Council has already revealed that the East and West are as far apart as ever. Russia's proposal to admit simultaneously to the U. N. fourteen nations, nine from the Western bloc and five from the Communist, was rejected by the votes of the United States and five other Security Council countries. The Soviet delegate retaliated by making it plain that he will veto a United States-sponsored recommendation to admit Japan. Mr. Malik, whose replacement by Mr. Zorin continues to be the subject of lively speculation, seized the opportunity to compare the direct Soviet veto, "used as a protective measure against the violations of the Charter," with the indirect veto of the United States made possible only through a "mechanical majority." With this majority, Mr. Malik argued, the United States can permit itself the luxury both of not using the right of veto and of charging the Russians with abuse of that right. The Soviet delegation, he added, was determined to use the veto whenever it served the purpose of the U. N. regardless of any capital made of it.

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It is already clear that certain officials of the Secretariat who would have preferred uncontroversial sessions of the Assembly during the Presidential election campaign will be disappointed. Many thorny issues which cannot be ignored or evaded are up for discussion, among them Tunisia, Morocco, and Korea. The fact that a year has passed, and the weeks still go by, without the slightest prospect of a truce in Korea, is causing impatience in many delegates. After all, Korea is a United Nations affair, not solely the concern of the United States. Military authorities may be satisfied with the attempt to force a truce through the use of air power, but in the U. N. there is an increasing demand to place the issue of truce negotiations on the agenda of the Assembly that convenes in New York in October.

"The Senator from Madrid"

Enraged by the refusal of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union to settle its wage demands against the copper companies on terms which he approved, Senator McCarran, known variously these days as "the Duke of Nevada" and "the Senator from Madrid," has subpoenaed four officials of the union to appear before a subcommittee of the McCarran Internal Security Committee in Salt Lake City on October 7 and 8. Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, up for reelection this year, is a member of the subcommittee. The union opposes Watkins, as it has opposed the McCarran machine in Nevada. Residents of Utah who do not like the idea of politicians attempting to coerce their opposition will note the timing of the hearings—one month before the election—and mark their ballots for the Democratic nominee, who is likely to be Walter Granger. A major reason for McCarran's hatred of the union is to be found in the fact that Graham Dolan, one of the officials summoned, recently spent two weeks in Nevada investigating McCarran's record. Nor has McCarran ever forgiven the mine workers for their failure to support him in 1944. The union has invited Senator McCarran to its annual convention which will be held in New York this month. Unfortunately it lacks the power of subpoena.

"Exaggerated Campaign Oratory"

On the eve of the Republican primary in Wisconsin the Luce publications, which last year became involved in a quarrel with Senator Joe McCarthy, suddenly decided that Joe is after all merely a bad-mannered Republican who now and then stretches the truth a little too far. In an editorial in its issue of September 8 *Life* defined McCarthyism as "a form of exaggerated campaign oratory"—a venial, not a mortal sin—and cited the oratory of William Jennings Bryan as an early example of McCarthyism. Obviously disturbed by the response that the issue of McCarthyism has aroused, *Life* hastened to remind "all honest liberals" of the real danger—the

Great Sin Against Humanity—which of course is communism. *Time,* in its September 8 issue, devoted two pages to an article in which Elliot B. Cohen developed his favorite thesis that McCarthy is just an Old Dark-Bearded Bogyman and that only cranks like Justice William O. Douglas talk about "witch hunts" and the suppression of civil liberties. Why this last minute pre-election effort to minimize the importance of McCarthyism? The fact is, of course, that the attack on McCarthy has assumed dimensions that the backers of General Eisenhower do not relish. Eisenhower himself has been cruelly embarrassed by the issue. He is anxious to get on with his "inspirational" campaign and to avoid any questions of the kind that test one's devotion to moral principle. The High Churchmen who edit *Time* and *Life* see the problem and are anxious to assist the General. To call McCarthyism a form of campaign oratory may not be the Great Sin Against Humanity, but it is a sin all the same—a venial sin, that is.

Publishers Next

An all-out investigation of communism in the publishing industry is in the making. Until recently the textbook trade—which has borne the brunt of the attack—has been harassed only by patriotic and free-enterprise organizations (see The Battle of the Books, by Matthew Josephson, in *The Nation* of June 28). But what began as a skirmish is rapidly developing into a full-fledged engagement. A ruling of the Texas State Board of Education last month requiring a publisher who submits a book for use in Texas schools to file a non-communist affidavit marks the beginning of a new type of censorship at the state level. And will it stop there? Will not Congressional investigation of the foundations and the inquiry into the Radio Writers' Guild, an affiliate of the Authors' League of America—which will unquestionably be investigated if McCarran's charges against the R. W. G. stick—lead to the publishers' door?

Although none of the big New York publishing houses have been scared into buying *Counterattack's* employee-screening service, the industry is setting its house in order. Editors known for their liberal leanings, such as Angus Cameron, have been jettisoned. But perhaps the clearest sign of the impending attack is the fact that books are now being censored to suit the super-patriot and bigot. McGraw-Hill, one of the country's largest textbook publishers, is the latest to come to heel. Recently Governor Persons of Alabama took issue with a chapter condemning segregation and supporting F. E. P. C. in a standard high-school textbook, "The Challenge of Democracy." McGraw-Hill, the publisher, was notified by the Alabama State Board of Education that the book would be banned from the public schools unless the section was deleted. McGraw-Hill quickly complied.

Warning from Chile

THE hate-American campaign is making headway in Latin America. General Carlos Ibañez has just won a smashing victory in the presidential elections in Chile. Because he did not obtain the majority provided for in the constitution of the country, Congress must choose the winner from the two top men, Ibañez and Matte, the latter backed by the Liberal and Conservative Parties. No one in Santiago doubts that Congress will vote the General in thereby ending the fourteen-year regime of the Radical Party.

The former Chilean dictator, whose star has been in eclipse since his unfortunate presidential term in the early thirties, has made a sensational comeback; he received almost more votes than his three rival candidates together, including the government candidate. He has been brought back to power by a large section of the working class, the peasants, the young people, and women voting in Chile for the first time. His election is hailed by the Argentine press as another triumph for the principles of Peronism.

What kind of program did this once hated reactionary offer that was able to transform him into the most popular candidate? In the answer lies the particular seriousness of the Chilean elections as far as the United States is concerned. The program had three main points: (1) opposition to Yankee imperialism, (2) cancelation of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance with the United States, and (3) abolition of the law suppressing communism. The day after the election Ibañez's headquarters announced that he would reestablish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Ibañez makes the fifth Latin American President who is *persona non grata* to the Department of State. The others are Perón of Argentina, Estenssoro of Bolivia, Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador, and Arbenz of Guatemala. Mexico's newly elected President, Ruiz Cortines, who will take office in December, is well known for his firm opposition to any kind of military commitment that would involve the use of Mexican troops outside the country. In Uruguay the latest constitutional reform, on the model of the Swiss federal system, has opened the doors of the government to Alberto de Herrera, a political leader whose slogan has always been "down with Yankee imperialism!"

Curiously enough, this wave of *antiyanquismo* sweeping across Latin America cannot be ascribed to the activity of the local Communist parties, which have fought the candidacies of Perón, Paz Estenssoro, Velasco Ibarra, and Ibañez. Instead of seeking its cause in the intrigues of the Kremlin, we should explore our own good-neighbor policy. During the Pan-American conference in Washington in the spring of 1951 the disparity between the objectives of the United States and those of its neighbors to the south, democrats and dictators alike, was already apparent. The United States put its emphasis on the utilization of the resources of South America in the event of a third world war. The Latin American countries asked for the kind of economic collaboration which would allow them to develop a broadly based peace economy, not a war economy. United States insistence on bilateral military pacts gave demagogues like Ibañez a double-edged argument against the "impositions of American economic and defense policies."

Added to the resentment created during the inter-American conference is the disillusionment caused by seeing the United States back the colonial powers in their relations with the restive populations overseas. Our unwillingness to allow the cases of Tunisia and Morocco to be discussed in the United Nations has increased the suspicions of the Latin Americans who have grown up during the political fight against colonial domination. The exigencies of the cold war have made the United States, in Latin America as well as in the Middle East, the heir of the hatred that in the past was visited upon the colonial powers of Europe.

The warning from Chile is a serious one. Our diplomats will be ill advised if they think they can still count on the Latin American bloc in the United Nations.

Eight Years After

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

EIGHT years ago the eyes of every liberal and progressive in the world were focused on the great French Resistance. As it emerged from the battle against Hitler, full of heroic deeds and rich in new ideas, people could legitimately expect that the liberation movement would lead Europe toward a new era. The strength of the Liberation was the unity of its components—from Catholics to Communists. That strength was soon lost in a crisis of factionalism and division. The comrades of yesterday became the enemies of today, and as a result of the split reaction has regained as much influence in France and other parts of Europe as if Hitler had been victorious.

In a special issue, *L'Observateur,* an independent Paris weekly whose editor, Claude Bourdet, is well known to readers of *The Nation,* has revived the epic of the Resistance. For the first time in years it has brought together the following distinguished contributors: Pierre Guillain de Benouville, the unforgettable hero of "Sacrifice du Matin," today a deputy representing De Gaulle's Rally of the French People; Emmanuel d'Astier, Minister of the Interior in the Alger government, today a deputy of the Progressiviste group which Pierre Cot heads in the National Assembly; Albert Grazier, former secretary of the underground labor federation, today a Socialist deputy from the Seine district; Francisque Gay, a member of the M. R. P. and once, with Georges Bidault, one of the outstanding leaders in the National Committee of the Resistance; Pascal Pia, during the Resistance an editor of *Combat* and today managing editor of *Rassemblement,* the Gaullist paper; and Pierre Hervé of the Communist Party.

It is best to let the contributors speak for themselves. Claude Bourdet leads off:

> It seemed to us that the Third Republic could not be revived, any more than the agony of Vichy. We felt as if we were at the same time the tangible proof of this double death and the nails in the two coffins. Certainly we had no foreboding that after a mere seven years the Third Republic and Vichy would be joined in a monstrous marriage.

And he concludes:

> Today our Communist and Gaullist comrades join us, the stubborn defenders of an ideal that has grown dim but is not lost, in evoking our lost hopes. I wish that both groups, instead of attributing our failure to the power of wicked men, would ask themselves whether too many unrealized and unrealizable demands on the one hand and the timid distrust of the French people on the other have not reduced to dust the greatest French adventure of modern times. If this issue of *l'Observateur* has served only to make that point, it will have been worth while.

"The time of our great hopes will return," writes Francisque Gay. He expresses the dissatisfaction with present French foreign policy felt by a section of the Catholic Party to which he belongs:

> We shall not permit West Germany to set up the central administration of certain mines just because by a sudden and inexplicable turn of events we find our-

IN COMING ISSUES

THE ABSOLUTISTS

Whittaker Chambers and the Alger Hiss Case

BY JOHN STRACHEY

(British Member of Parliament, former Secretary of State for War, author of "The Coming Struggle for Power," "The Nature of the Capitalist Crisis," "A Faith to Fight For")

Mr. Strachey contributes a brilliant analysis of those new authoritarians and intellectual terrorists, the Absolutists.

* * *

Willard Shelton's current analysis of how the elections will affect the character of the Eighty-third Congress will be expanded in a series of round-up reports on key senatorial contests, with special attention to the "meat shortage" or "class of 1946" Senators—Jenner, Kem, Cain, Malone, and Watkins.

selves, in company with this same Germany and with Spain and Japan, engaged in a struggle between the Western world and the Eurasian bloc.

Pierre Hervé, the Communist, after blaming the other forces of the Resistance for the failure, writes:

> For the moment let us leave aside the origins of the present situation. Let us cease our theoretical debates. Since we are not, so far as I know, threatened with a Russian dictatorship, we should ask how we can get rid of the American protectorate, which is here.

His remarks should be read in connection with a dispatch from Paris in the New York *Times* of September 4 about the expected return to Paris of Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, and about the new Communist line in regard to collaboration with other political groups.

The special issue ends with the words: "All the hopes of yesterday are not dead." Its publication is an important event. It will dampen the hopes of those who believe that every political problem in Europe can be settled by a coalition government of rightist parties and raise the spirits of those who have never lost faith in the final victory of the people.

What Kind of Congress?

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

THE character of the Eighty-third Congress will depend largely on a relatively small number of voters in the "marginal" or doubtful Northern, Middle Western, and Far Western states. It will depend, that is, on whether the Democrats with Stevenson get a few more seats in the House and Senate than the Democrats with Truman got in 1948, or whether General Eisenhower, winning the Presidency, helps the Republicans to sweep the House if not the Senate.

One obvious way to assay the next Congress is to consider the assortment of character assassins, know-nothings, and reactionaries who will have been elected if Eisenhower and the Republicans gain complete control of the government. Another is to look at the men who will hold the committee chairmanships. No matter who wins, most of the committees will be headed by weary old veterans, selected under the seniority system, whose temper is unfriendly to the New Deal.

But this is not the whole story. The Eighty-first Congress of 1949-50 showed that with just a few more dependable liberal votes a forward-looking President could have put through a sound and forward-looking domestic program. The Eighty-second Congress proved that when the Democrats suffer setbacks in the marginal states, liberal legislation has no chance.

The Republicans face the serious danger that even if Eisenhower is elected, the Senate will remain in Democratic hands. Thirty-five Senate seats are to be filled in November, and the Republicans must win twenty-three of them to have a bare majority of forty-nine. This necessity presumably haunts Ike as he searches for a definitive attitude toward that precious pair, Senators Jenner of Indiana and McCarthy* of Wisconsin, who charge that Eisenhower's war-time mentor, George C. Marshall, is a "traitor" to America.

The whole Republican senatorial "Class of 1946," for that matter, poses a problem for Eisenhower. Nine of the thirteen members of this group, the "meat shortage" Senators first elected in 1946 and now seeking second terms, are a gross liability. They include, in addition to McCarthy and Jenner, Cain of Washington, Malone of Nevada, Ecton of Montana, Watkins of Utah, Kem of Missouri, Bricker of Ohio, and Martin of Pennsylvania. None of the nine have contributed anything to American life but negativism and scandal-mongering; all have been sharply to the right of other Republicans in the Senate on both foreign and domestic issues.

The other four are Thye of Minnesota, Ives of New York, Flanders of Vermont, and Williams of Delaware. No one would dream of classing them with McCarthy, but they are not invulnerable. Williams has a poor voting record from a liberal and labor standpoint: he did contribute to exposing the crooks in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, but he was guilty of distortion in charging that Truman and the Department of Agriculture deliberately depressed farm prices in 1948 for campaign purposes. Flanders, who likes to think of himself as a liberal business man, has a mediocre voting record on key issues. Ives, who was supposed to know something about industrial relations, was responsible in 1947 for the futile and vicious "national emergency" sections of the Taft-Hartley act. Largely through his efforts the bill was brought out of the conference committee in which it had been carefully rewritten so that the Senate would be sure to override Truman's anticipated veto.

Even if Eisenhower holds his nose and tries to reelect

WILLARD SHELTON writes frequently in The Nation *about developments in Washington.*

* McCarthy ran for renomination in the Wisconsin Republican primary on September 9.

all these thirteen Senators, he must still elect or reelect ten more Republicans to make up the magic forty-nine that would enable his party to organize the Senate. Republican professionals are telling him that control of the Senate is vital, that he cannot afford the luxury of repudiating anybody who claims the Republican label. He may find, however, that his refusal to repudiate at least McCarthy and Jenner will convince many voters that they cannot afford a Republican Administration.

Two House members "needed" by Eisenhower are Representatives Vail and Busbey of Chicago, who were also elected in the "meat shortage" election of 1946 and resemble Senators McCarthy and Jenner in various other ways. Vail and Busbey were beaten in 1948 and elected again in the mid-term election of 1950. Another Republican that Ike needs is a thirty-three-year-old candidate in Michigan's Eighth District named Alvin M. Bentley. The incumbent Republican from Bentley's district, Representative Crawford, made a spectacle of himself several years ago by hounding out of his job a Commerce Department official whose daughter went to work for Tass, the Russian news agency. Bentley, who beat Crawford in the primaries, promises even more quixotic operations. He is a wealthy former State Department career official who grandiloquently quit his post in protest against what he called "appeasement" and "socialistic" policies and who in 1950 contributed $5,000 to the campaign fund of Senator John Marshall Butler, Republican, against former Senator Millard Tydings, Democrat, in Maryland.

Caricature by Seligson

Senator Taft

The prospect for committee chairmanships next January is not reassuring even if the Democrats win. Senator McKellar of Tennessee, the senior Senate Democrat, is a lame duck, beaten in the primary by Representative Gore, and that is a gain. But with McKellar gone the senior Senate Democrat will be George of Georgia, who may either cling to his tax-writing power as chairman of the Finance Committee or become chairman of Foreign Relations in place of the retiring Tom Connally. Hayden of Arizona can claim McKellar's chairmanship of Appropriations. Maybank of South Carolina will continue to run Banking and Currency; Johnson of Colorado, Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Murray of Montana is a liberalizing influence as head of Labor and Public Welfare, but his power in the Democratic caucus depends on election results rather than on his own persuasiveness.

Generally speaking, a Democratic victory would mean that most committee chairmanships would go to Southerners, since Southerners have had the longest unbroken terms of service, and seniority is king. The New Deal-hating Representative Cox of Georgia may yet make the grade as chairman of the House Rules Committee: he has played second fiddle for a long time to the eighty-six-year-old Sabath of Illinois, who entered the House in 1907, six years before Wilson's first inaugural.

THE only more depressing thought is the possibility that the Republicans may gain control. In that case most of the committee posts would go back to the Congressmen who held them in the Eightieth Congress. For Representative Barden of North Carolina, now head of Education and Labor in the House and no friend of labor, the Republican substitute would be McConnell of Pennsylvania, labeled by labor groups wrong on every major foreign and domestic issue in the last Congress. "Meat Ax" John Taber of New York would take over House Appropriations, and Reed of New York would resume command of the tax-drafting Ways and Means Committee. Wolcott of Michigan would again head Banking and Currency, which controls legislation on prices, housing, and fiscal matters; Wolcott is so conservative that in the Eightieth Congress he successfully fought a housing bill sponsored in the Senate by Taft. Leo Allen of Illinois would succeed to the chairmanship of the House Rules Committee, where he served in the Eightieth Congress as faithful errand boy for Speaker Joe Martin.

In the Senate the Republican Old Guard would have almost absolute control. Taft could again claim the chairmanship of the G. O. P. Policy Committee and the Labor and Education Committee. Bridges of New Hampshire, once more chairman of Armed Services, would be president pro tem unless he wanted to stay as party floor leader. Capehart of Indiana would head Banking and Currency; Millikin of Colorado, Finance; Ferguson of Michigan, Judiciary; McCarthy of Wisconsin, if reelected, Government Operations. The Republican liberals would be Aiken of Vermont, Agriculture; Tobey of New Hampshire, Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Langer of North Dakota, Civil Service. A champion of bipartisan foreign policy, Wiley, Wisconsin's senior Senator, would head the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Eightieth Congress showed what could be expected from a body controlled by the Republicans—tax laws to favor the wealthy, anti-labor laws, laws to cut down public-power and reclamation expenditures, an attack on farm prices and cooperatives. This was the result when the House, in 1947-48, was composed of 245 Republicans and 188 Democrats, the Senate of 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats. The Eighty-second Congress showed what could be expected when the Democrats had only narrow control. The House was divided 234 to 199 in January, 1951, with one seat vacant and one occupied by an independent; the Senate, 49 to 47, shifting to 50 to 46 after the death of Senator Vandenberg and the appointment of Blair Moody in his place. This Congress barely held the line on foreign-aid appropriations—if "held the line" is a correct description of fund-slashing amendments—and turned sharply conservative on domestic legislation. It weakened price and rent controls, cut public-housing funds, passed a "states' rights" tidelands-oil bill, refused to give the President any power, except Taft-Hartley, to handle the steel strike, passed the McCarran-Walter immigration bill over the President's veto. Neither House nor Senate went to the trouble of voting on a major civil-rights bill or an attempt to repeal Taft-Hartley.

Contrast the record of these two Congresses with that of the Eighty-first Congress, elected in 1948 when Truman won the Presidency. The House then contained 263 Democrats, 171 Republicans, and one independent—the Democratic margin being bigger by 29 votes than it was to be two years later. The Senate contained 54 Democrats against 42 Republicans. Nobody would call the Eighty-first Congress ideal. It passed the tyrannical McCarran anti-subversives bill over Truman's veto and was marked by the emergence of rabid McCarthyism. The Senate adopted the notorious Wherry rule to facilitate filibusters and kill civil-rights legislation. But the Eighty-first Congress, with its stronger Democratic representation from "marginal" Northern, Western, and Middle Western areas, did pass the first post-war public-housing bill. It checked temporarily the inroads of private interests on public-power and reclamations projects; TVA steam plants were given approval. It liberalized the discriminatory displaced-persons law passed by the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. It extended rent control. By a majority of one the Senate approved Point Four.

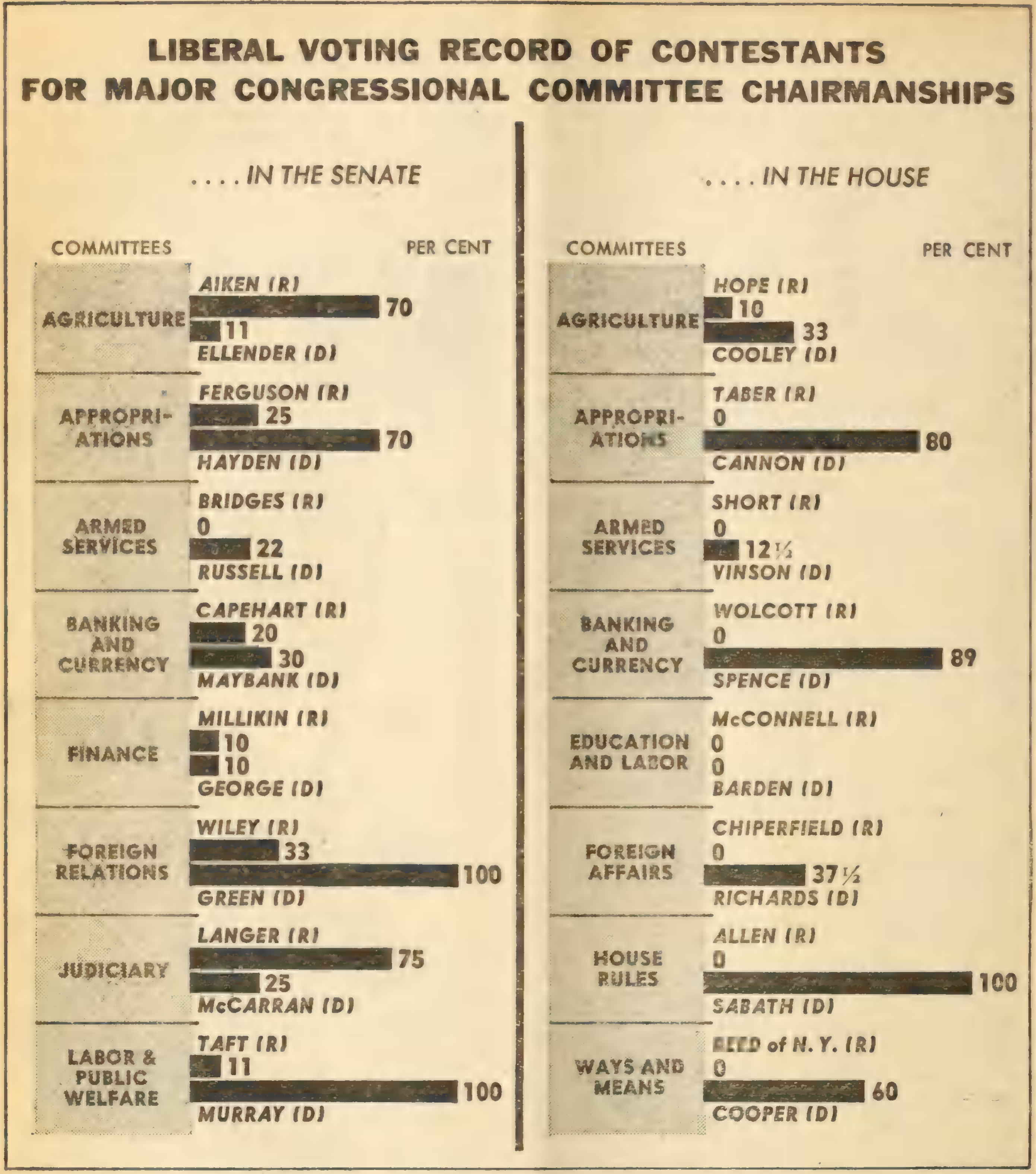
THE close votes by which legislation was passed or beaten are significant. The Kerr natural-gas bill passed both Houses but by such narrow margins—44 to 38 in the Senate, 176 to 174 in the House—that no attempt was made to override the veto. The Lucas amendment to knock anti-union provisions for injunctions out of the Taft-Hartley law was beaten in the Senate by only 46 to 44 votes; the Taft "package" amendments to Taft-Hartley, proposed as a substitute for the Administration-supported repealer, were passed by only 49 to 44. In the House the anti-labor Wood bill was substituted for the Lesinski Taft-Hartley repealer by a close 217-to-203 vote. On dozens of issues a shift of five to ten votes in the House, of one to four votes in the Senate, would have allowed a substantial part of President Truman's Fair Deal to be adopted. All this offers hope that if the non-Southern marginal districts send progressive Democrats to the new Congress, the bipartisan coalition of Southern and Northern reactionaries may lose control of legislation.

Psychological factors are not to be dismissed. Just after Claude Pepper won renomination in the Florida primary and a veteran Democrat snorted that "no one appeared to be in favor of the New Deal except the people," the first wage-hour bill was passed in the Senate. Similarly the election of liberal Democrats in critical states in place of the "meat shortage" Republicans of 1946 might have a profound effect on the new Congress. It might even cause the Southern bourbons to modify their attitude as they did after the 1932 and 1936 elections.

A major test of the new Congress will be what it does about civil rights. Much depends on the leadership of the President-elect, but the readiness of non-Southerners in the Senate to fight for the revision of the Wherry rule from the first day of the session is also a crucial factor. The rulings of Vice-President Barkley, who will occupy the chair from January 4 to January 20, will be important for this issue. The question is whether the Southerners will be willing to accept tolerable compromises and, if not, whether they will be finally overridden. Republican Senators voted with Dixiecrats in 1949 to force through the Wherry rule, and most votes against it were cast by Northern Democrats. It is not primarily a party issue.

The potential significance of Democratic majorities built up by victories in non-Southern states is underscored by comparing the Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congresses in merely one respect. With a 263-to-171 Democratic majority, the House in 1949 smashed the blockading power of its Rules Committee and the committee's conservative bipartisan majority. In 1951, when the Democrats lost strength in the North and Middle West, the anti-liberal power of the Rules Committee was restored. The House thus revoked a reform of major importance and served notice that defeat of progressive Democrats in districts which may swing either way means death for progressive legislation for at least two years.

Senator McCarran


LIBERAL VOTING RECORD OF CONTESTANTS FOR MAJOR CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS

TO GAUGE the liberalism of those members of the House and Senate, Republican and Democratic, who may become chairmen of major committees in the next Congress, *The Nation* has tabulated their votes in ten crucial roll calls taken during the last four years. In the field of foreign policy the issues were connected with Point Four and economic aid for Europe as distinguished from military assistance; the domestic issues were a Fair Employment Practices Commission, repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, expanded public housing, price controls, and whether President Truman's veto of the McCarran bills on internal security and immigration should be upheld. The figures in the chart show the percentage of times each potential chairman voted with the liberals.

Cashing in on Old Imperialisms

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

London

> I believe that we should make available to peace-loving people the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. . . . The old imperialism, exploitation for foreign profit, has no place in our plans.

THIS was President Truman's Point Four; in these words he held out to the backward areas of the world the hope of receiving generous and intelligent aid from the United States. Congress, however, has voted very small sums for the specific purposes of Point Four, though large sums are being spent through the Mutual Security Administration and other agencies to promote certain kinds of industry in colonial territories. Such spending is being presented to the world as a contribution to the development of backward areas; in reality it is merely imperialism in a new form.

Clear evidence of this is furnished by current activities in the Belgian Congo and British Central Africa. If any areas need the benefit of Point Four, these do. And as it happens they are also the greatest source of uranium in the Western world and a principal source of copper, chrome, cobalt, and other scarce minerals. Naturally, therefore, the United States feels intense interest in the region. The question is whether this interest is in any way related to the true development of these territories, whether it will raise the cultural and material level of the indigenous peoples as a whole.

Consider the case of Tanganyika Concessions, the biggest financial holding corporation in tropical Africa. "Tanks," as the London Stock Exchange lists it, possesses a large minority interest—large enough to be in practice a controlling interest—in a Belgian company called the Union Minière du Haut Katanga. This company operates the uranium mines of the Belgian Congo, from which the United States draws currently about 90 per cent of the uranium it uses. "Tanks" also owns 90 per cent of the stock of the Benguela Railway, which connects the uranium mines with the West African coast at Lobito Bay. Apart from these holdings, which alone would give it a quite inordinate importance, the corporation has a controlling interest in other mining companies, such as Kentan Gold Areas (Kenya) and Uruwira Minerals (Tanganyika). To complete the picture, it should be added that "Tanks" is closely connected, by capital ownership and interlocking directorates, with the British South Africa Company, which owns the mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia and in part of Nyasaland, and with the Anglo-American Corporation, which mines gold in South Africa and copper in Northern Rhodesia. In short, "Tanks" is engaged in the long-established and reputable task of exploiting British colonies. Its directors may argue that they are acting in the best interests of the native inhabitants, but they would never dream of denying that they are imperialists.

Lately "Tanks" has acquired a new partner. How this came about is a mystery, although the posthumously published memoirs of Senator Vandenberg throw some light on the subject. One or two facts are clear. "Tanks" has issued 3,831,412 ordinary shares. In April, 1950, the British government sold 1,677,961 of these shares, which it then owned, to an Anglo-Belgian group. This, it may be noted, was a strange transaction, for it amounted to the British government surrendering what was practically a controlling interest in an extremely important corporation. Then, in November of the same year, it was announced that 600,000 of these shares had been resold to an American group headed by Ladenburg Thalmann and Company and Lazard Frères of New York, in association with the International Basic Economy Corporation and David Rockefeller—that is, to the Rockefeller interests. What lay behind this deal? Senator Vandenberg's explanation is the only one available: according to his memoirs, one of the conditions of aid to Britain in 1948, duly accepted by the British, was that the United States be given a bigger share in uranium development in the Congo. To this extent, at least, the United States has joined the direct beneficiaries of imperialism.

In fact, the United States is now officially in business in Africa. Early this year the M. S. A. lent $1,640,000 to Uruwira Minerals, which will repay the loan with lead and copper. At the same time it advanced $100,000 to promote asbestos mining in Southern Rhodesia, this to be repaid with asbestos "of satisfactory grade." Last summer E. C. A. loans totaling about $24,000,000 for the improvement of railways in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and for the promotion of copper and cobalt mining in Northern Rhodesia were announced by W. L. Batt, head of the London mission. As usual, these loans are to be repaid, "to the fullest extent possible," in such strategic raw materials as copper, cobalt, tungsten, and chrome. Other loans, often

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in the form of indispensable equipment, have been and are being negotiated.

In the United States this is likely to be called "technical aid" for the development of backward areas. It deserves this label only in so far as all foreign investments must in the end contribute to economic development. If technical aid is understood as a direct contribution to the advancement of backward peoples, the label is completely false. The loans have no other purpose than to facilitate the extraction of raw materials for foreign profit. Urging "economic statesmanship," the President's Foreign Materials Policy Commission says:

> Companies cannot treat foreign concessions as reserves to be brought into production only when it suits the narrow objective of maximizing profits for the company. . . . A concession country has a right to the efficient development of its resources at a rate commensurate with its national interests as well as with the reasonable interests of concessionaires.

M. S. A. and other loans can be regarded as "economic statesmanship" only if the well-being of the territories receiving them is considered synonymous with the interests of their European exploiters.

That seems to be the view of the United States. It is no secret that the United States government approves the British government's current proposals for the federation of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the two protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These proposals are vehemently opposed by African opinion in the three territories because they would mean bringing the two protectorates, containing nearly four million Africans, under a government which practices the worst kind of racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. The white settlers, numerically outnumbered forty to one, want federation so as to be able to block the rise of "Gold Coastism" in Central Africa—that is, keep the Africans in political and economic subjection. "Obviously it is of advantage and interest to the United States if there is a federated government in Central Africa," remarked a well-informed member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council on June 24; "they want better security for the money they put out." In other words, having lent money for imperialist purposes, the United States is finding that it must draw appropriate political conclusions.

In the existing circumstances the policy of cashing in on the imperialism of other nations can have only one result for the United States. By sheer force of capital it will find itself the main support, not of a new deal for Africa, but of continuing exploitation. Its policies will not advance the welfare of the people or racial equality. They will bolster the doctrine of "white supremacy" and produce profits based on "cheap African labor."

Story of an Unknown War

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

WHAT I. F. Stone undertook to do for the Korean war in his book on its "Hidden History," Professor Philippe Devilliers in "Histoire du Vietnam, 1946-52" has done for the war in Indo-China. Devilliers served on the staff of General Leclerc in Indo-China and later, for a time, was correspondent of the Paris *Monde*. His book presents the most complete record and analysis we have of the events that led up to the war and of the establishment and failure of the Bao Dai regime. It is a long book—the true story of this "unknown" war could not be told briefly. Never before, except perhaps in Korea, has any war been treated so tendentiously in the press; never before has the news been so cynically "cooked" by public-relations officers; never before have so many vital documents been withheld from the newspaper reader.

The Vietnam war, which has cost 30,000 French lives and more in money than all the Marshall Plan aid France has received, and which continues to cripple the nation's finances, block its reconstruction, and ruin its military position in Europe, has from the beginning inspired an uninformed, emotional, and ideological quarrel in France between left and right. It is a sort of Dreyfus Case, to which no end is in sight.

The distant origins of the Vietnam war are found by M. Devilliers in (1) the existence, long before the French first landed in Indo-China in 1864, of a Vietnamese state with a civilization of its own and a genuine national consciousness—something really without a parallel in the rest of the French Empire; (2) the completely cynical oppression and exploitation practiced by the regime set up in Indo-China by the Third Republic; and (3) the immensely important fact that after the collapse of the Vichy regime and the Japanese occupation of 1945 the only genuine government existing in Vietnam was a nationalist government which

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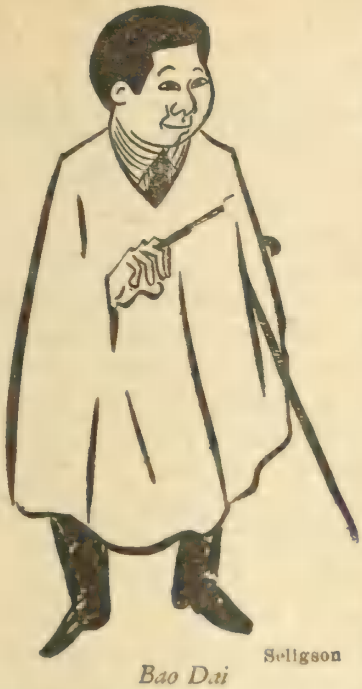
expected to be recognized as such by the great powers. Instead, the French, on their return, put the clock back and proceeded, to begin with, to turn a separatist Cochin-China, the area where the government of Ho Chi-minh was least well organized, into something remarkably like an old-time colony. Much more reactionary even than the Vichy High Commissioner, Admiral Decoux—who oddly enough gave greater home rule to the Vietnamese than the Third Republic had given them—De Gaulle's representative, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, became chief instigator of the reconquest of Indo-China. A large part of Devilliers's book is a complicated story of how the "Saigon clique" around the Admiral fought the more far-sighted men—General Leclerc, M. Sainteny, the French Commissioner in Tonking, and later General Morlière, the military commander in Tonking—who realized that nothing could be worse for the French than the withdrawal of Ho Chi-minh to the *maquis* and the outbreak of real war in Indo-China.

DEVILLIERS stresses the point that after Ho Chi-minh saw that none of the great powers were inclined to recognize the independence of Vietnam, he determined to seek an agreement with the French and not to sell out to either the Kuomintang Chinese—the Chinese Communists were still far away—or the United States. It was the right-wing, essentially anti-French and xenophobe nationalists who pressed hardest for a pro-Chinese policy and went so far as to treat Ho as a French agent. To Ho, a man imbued with French culture and relying on support from the French left, reconciliation with France was easily the lesser evil; and Devilliers's book, though extremely *nuancé* in parts, is a crushing indictment of the Saigon clique and of the M. R. P. ministers in Paris. It quotes extremely convincing documents to prove that Saigon could easily have avoided trouble. It was a Saigon stooge, dealing with an incident at Haiphong, who presented the local Vietnamese authorities with an unacceptable ultimatum and then ordered the battleship Suffren to shell the city, killing 6,000 civilians in the process.

Though the outrage poisoned French-Vietnamese relations, Ho Chi-minh continued to press for an agreement with the French. With the coming to power of the short-lived Blum government in December, 1946, he thought there was hope of avoiding war, but his message to Blum, Devilliers reveals, was deliberately "delayed in transmission" by Saigon and took a fortnight to reach Paris. During this fortnight the Hanoi incident of December 19 occurred and war broke out. Devilliers's account of the incident is a model of sobriety; he ignores none of the facts and comes to the conclusion that while neither the Vietnamese army under Giap nor the government of Ho Chi-minh—Ho himself was seriously ill at the time—was to blame for the attack which killed forty French civilians, some of the irregulars had got out of hand. Even after the war began, Ho Chi-minh continued to call for an armistice; not till 1949, when his government had been recognized by China and the Soviet Union, did his attitude change.



Bao Dai

Devilliers throws much light on Bao Dai. He describes him as a weak man, addicted to pursuing his personal pleasures, but does not dismiss him as a mere "night-club" emperor. He credits him, indeed, with a good deal of political acumen and a genuine desire to serve his country. True, he had welcomed the Japanese when they came to "liberate Vietnam from the French"—was that such a crime for an Asiatic?—but in 1945 he had surrendered his authority to the Vietnam Republic with dignity and graciousness and had later become Ho Chi-minh's "supreme counselor." When the French later decided to use him, he would not lend himself to the scheme until they had formally agreed to the "independence" of Vietnam—a concession Ho had tried in vain to extract from them at Fontainebleau.

Devilliers produces a large number of facts to show that Bao Dai's original plan was to strengthen his regime sufficiently to be able to enter into negotiations and reach a compromise with the Vietminh (the Independence Party), complete with a cease-fire and a democratic election, which might result in a coalition government, with the French gradually fading out altogether. There is also evidence in the book that for a time the Vietminh considered this possibility with some favor. But the new High Commissioner, Pignon, who had been one of the diehards surrounding Admiral d'Argenlieu, would not hear of it. After a short period of popularity, Bao Dai was discredited in the eyes of his own people, and his regime became a mere tool of the French in their war against communism. Leclerc's warning that "anti-communism in Asia is meaningless so long as the national problem has not been settled" was ignored.

The situation has been further complicated by the Korean war and the inclusion of Indo-China in America's strategic sphere. But Devilliers still thinks that only a Bao Dai–Ho Chi-minh compromise can save France from ruin. He even believes that such a solution might be compatible with world peace; the Vietnamese have no natural liking for China—rather the contrary—and the very limited help given lately by China to the Vietminh shows, he says, that China does not wish Vietnam to be *too* independent. He considers a Vietnamese buffer state a possibility; if the Americans will not allow Vietnam to become a satellite of Russia or China and China will not allow it to enter the American sphere, why not let it stew in its own juice and make the best of it?

The Old-Time Union Religion

BY JULES WEINBERG

Winter Haven, Florida

THE nomination of General Eisenhower brought only a moment's pause to the recent conference of the Southern Directors of the C. I. O. on Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga. Paul Harding, publicity director of the Southern drives, came into the room to announce the news. Then the meeting went on. Nine state directors were present to report on the progress that had been made in organizing the unorganized. Their brief nod to national politics was typical of their single-minded concentration on bringing the old-time religion of trade unionism to the Southern worker. It seemed as if the C. I. O. leaders in the South had renounced the luxury of intellectualizing current problems and turned to the simple quest of Sam Gompers's "more" for the workers.

I found this attitude fully embodied in the report of the director in my own area, William J. Smith, who was in charge of the drive in Florida's citrus belt. The nub of his report was in three sentences: "We won a few. We lost a few, maybe more. But now they are fighting us hard because they know we are there to stay." The other directors were equally down to earth. They showed no bitterness and used no rhetoric. I emphasize this point because I had been conditioned by Northern trade-union papers and labor theorists to expect to hear the South described in such hallowed terms as "fascist," "bourbon," "reactionary." These men had discarded labels and were concerned only with facts as they found them.

Taken together, the reports presented at the conference showed that the C. I. O. had to contend with two forces in the South—employers without a sense of history, and workers without an understanding of their own best interest. I had seen these forces at work. A few weeks before the conference the Citrus and Allied Workers' Division of the Brewery Workers (C. I. O.) began an organizing drive at Eloise, Florida. I was at Snively Groves, a citrus canning and packing plant, when the National Labor Board election was held. Until the last moment we were hopeful. But all during the balloting Snively's foremen and his son were hard at work inside the plant, cornering groups of workers, tearing away at the careful arguments we had woven into the organizing drive. In the end we lost.

There are relatively few great industrialists in the South but there are thousands of John Snivelys. They are big men in their communities, some with only modest wealth, others with genuine financial power. They would probably describe themselves as individualists, and the word is apt. They live in a world of their own cut off from contact with Northern industrial practices. One can hardly call them reactionaries, since they have not troubled to look at the past. But if some development makes them fear that their static world is threatened, they move violently to protect it.

In the North the employer encountered by organizers is usually an impersonal entity. The company is the antagonist, and management the symbol of its purpose. In the South the "boss men" are the enemy, and their plants are the expression of their attitude.

John Snively was a typical "boss man" in a typical situation. He has holdings throughout the citrus belt, where he is known as a tough marketeer, and owns supplier plants as far north as Georgia. The C. I. O. had organized one of his crate mills and called a strike, which he had smashed. As it moved into the citrus belt, he announced that its success with crate-mill workers could never be repeated with citrus workers. Then the C. I. O. won an election at the Roscoe Skipper plant, a Florida packing house in which Snively had a heavy investment. The victory shocked Snively, and his son warned an organizer: "You're not going to have it so easy in our plant." On the day of the election ordered by the NLRB, we were afraid he was right. We had been treated to the "textile technique," which means an intensive campaign against the union in the last few days of the drive.

Both the union and the employer deal with quicksilver. Many of the workers at Snively's were staunch men, true to their convictions, but the majority were swayed by sudden moods. Until Snively began his last-minute blitz they seemed solidly C. I. O.; afterward the organizers found they were pushing their converts rather than leading them.

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There is so much poverty in the South that the worker's sole aspiration is generally just to have a job. He listens to the labor organizer's recitation of the gains achieved by Northern labor as to a fairy story, a dream. In a general store near the Snively plant I stood with a C. I. O. organizer and watched a barefoot child trade two dozen eggs for a couple of ten-cent cans of beans. "Not only will that kid's family praise him for making a smart trade," the organizer said, "but they'll be thankful to the storekeeper who paid twenty cents for a buck and a half's worth of eggs. How are you going to organize people who think that way, and how are you going to negotiate for them?"

The vote against the union was 301 to 195, but the C. I. O. immediately called upon the NLRB to set aside the election because of management's tactics. John Snively, at any rate, had been given a severe jolt. "We've done one thing," Director Bill Smith commented. "We've stopped this anti-union drive of the citrus packers cold. We haven't pushed it back, but we've kept it from going farther. We got almost two hundred votes, and don't think John Snively isn't scared. With a switch of fifty-odd votes we'd have it, and he's going to worry about those fifty votes. He's going to worry a lot about the next election."

The successes of the C. I. O. in the South, though puny by Northern standards of mass unionism, have given organized labor a firm foothold in a region that employers have thought could not be organized. With every gain, the resolution of the workers is hardening, and another time there will be fewer who can be coerced into turning against us. The employers, too, are emerging from their isolation and self-deception. Only the John Snivelys hold fast to the belief that the unions can be beaten back.

A Vote of Confidence

BY JEROME NATHANSON

Amsterdam, Holland

A RESOUNDING answer to the twin absolutisms of religious and Communist dogma was given here a fortnight ago at the sessions of the First International Congress on Humanism and Ethical Culture. Meeting on soil which nurtured the beginnings of the American tradition of liberty, 250 delegates from a dozen nations created a permanent international organization, dedicated to combating authoritarianism in every area of life and to forwarding democratic values in the spirit of humanist science and ethics.

The keynote of the sessions was struck in the presidential address of Julian Huxley, when he declared:

> The world is undoubtedly in need of a new religion. . . . The prerequisite today is that any such religion shall appeal potentially to all mankind; and that its intellectual and rational side shall not be incompatible with scientific knowledge but, on the contrary, be based on it. . . .
>
> There is at the moment a well-marked revival of Christianity; but this, with its supernatural theology, cannot satisfy the humanist, while its claims to the possession of absolute truth and the special features of its theology are bound to put it into conflict with other traditional religions, and to invalidate its claims to be a universal system.
>
> Communism, on the other hand . . . is dogmatic; it is totalitarian and subordinates the individual to the state; in its present form at least, it cannot do without the idea of an enemy—the bourgeoisie, capitalism, idealism, and now internationalism—and so vitiates its own potential universality. . . .
>
> If we take a comprehensive view, the developed individual human personality emerges as the highest product of evolution. . . . Only in promoting the development and dignity of individuals shall we find a criterion of further advance, or be accomplishing our destiny in a satisfactory way.

In the spirit of Mr. Huxley's observations and the discussions which revolved around them the congress registered its attitude by means of a series of propositions. Rejecting both religions based on revelation and totalitarian systems of government as solutions for the present crisis of civilization, it declared that the only alternative was humanism, and for the following reasons:

1. Humanism is democratic. The democratic principle can be applied to all human relationships and is not restricted to matters of government.
2. Humanism seeks to use science creatively, not destructively. Humanists believe that the tremendous problems with which mankind is faced in this age of transition can be solved. Science gives the means, but science alone does not propose the ends.
3. Humanism affirms the dignity of man and the right of the individual to the greatest possible freedom of development compatible with the rights of others.
4. Humanism insists that personal liberty is an end that need not and must not be sacrificed in order to improve material conditions. Without intellectual liberty, the progress of fundamental research, on which all other progress must in the long run depend, would not be possible.

These propositions were the answer of the First International Congress on Humanism and Ethical Culture to the pessimism and absolutism of the times. After they were approved, a British delegate observed, "We are casting a vote of confidence in man."

JEROME NATHANSON, a leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, was one of the organizers of the Amsterdam congress. He is the author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of the Democratic Life."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Parties and Politics in the South

A TWO-PARTY SOUTH? By Alexander Heard. The University of North Carolina Press. $4.75.

THIS important book is one of the products of an intensive three-year research project in the study of Southern politics. The project was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Roscoe Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, was fortunate in persuading Professor V. O. Key, Jr., now at Harvard University, to become director of the research staff. Key was brilliantly aided by an astute group of young political scientists, including Alexander Heard and Donald S. Strong. Beginning in September, 1946, this staff began accumulating raw materials for the first definitive study of Southern politics. Thus far this collective enterprise has produced Key's magnificent "Southern Politics in State and Nation," "Southern Primaries and Elections, 1920-1949," prepared by Strong and Heard, and now Mr. Heard's superb analysis of the prospects for developing a two-party system in the South.

Drawing upon a vast collection of detailed statistical information and more than five hundred interviews with politicians, officials, and observers in eleven Southern states, Heard provides a handbook for "practical" politicians of each party. In five sections he presents a history of the one-party South, demonstrates the bankruptcy of the Dixiecrat movement, indicts the leadership of both major parties, and concludes that the Negro vote in conjunction with organized labor offers the principal hope for creating real party politics in the South.

A variety of factors are operating to create a two-party South. As a result of New Deal programs, the national Democratic Party has become less dependent on Southern electoral votes and at the same time has increased its attraction for Southern Negroes. Such Southern leaders as Hodding Carter and Jesse Jones came out for Thomas E. Dewey in 1948, a boost for recognition of the Republican Party as an alternative. There has been a marked increase in Negro voting since the 1948 Supreme Court decision invalidating the white primary. More important than this formal action has been a growing popular guaranty of Negro voting rights. Many Southerners have discovered that giving the Negro citizenship did not cause the roof to fall, and it has proved a useful tactic in opposing the Talmadges and Bilbos. There has been a general improvement in race relations, though "a movement appealing to those worried about the Negro will be assured of an audience and at least a measure of support for a long time to come."

Undergirding all these developments are two that are almost revolutionary. Opposition to Negro political action and racial tensions have been most bitter in rural areas where Negroes are concentrated. But in recent years there has been a decline both in the number of areas of Negro concentration and in the Negro proportion of the Southern population. Regional homogeneity is being destroyed by changes in economic and social foundations. Southern economic interests, as a result of industrialization and of diversified and mechanized agriculture, are no longer distinct from those of other sections. C. I. O. and A. F. of L. organizing attempts, though not as successful as could be desired, have increased the number of union members and given them "a start toward political cohesiveness hitherto unknown in the South." At the same time the new industrialization is creating "a class of business, commercial, and industrial managers, some of them from outside the region, who inclined toward the national policies of the Republican Party as the new proletariat inclined toward those of the Democratic Party."

It does not follow that the Republicans can sweep the South this year, or that an effective Republican Party can quickly be constructed to supplant those who have a vested interest in rotten-borough politics. "The intensity of hereditary Democratic and Republican strength in the South should sober those tempted to believe party realignments can occur over night." Though Eisenhower may split the South for this election, that alone will not create two-party politics, for "any shifts in the political balance in the South will almost certainly take place piecemeal." Heard makes it plain that Southern Republicans have been content to play Presidential politics. The leadership has not deigned to build a party organization, and national Republican leaders have not assisted those able Southerners who have tried to break this pattern. In most of the Southern states Republicans have failed even to run candidates, and in Texas in 1948 they unsuccessfully offered the party's Senate nomination to W. Lee O'Daniel and Martin Dies! With honorable exceptions most Southern Republican leaders have been interested in cash and patronage, not in winning elections. "To a greater or lesser degree in every Southern state there must be changes in the high command if the party is to grow." To date there is little evidence that Eisenhower has surrounded himself with men desirous of eliminating the "negative corruption" which has characterized Southern Republicanism.

In summary these seem to be Mr. Heard's major conclusions: Short of a basic institutional modification in the manner of electing the President or Congress, the source of any broad change lies in economic and social developments. "Changes in the nature and importance of the historical rural, agricultural society have changed the bases of political controversy in the South—as well as in the nation." With these changes it becomes apparent that "in the long run Southern conservatives will find neither in a separatist group (e. g., Dixiecrats) nor in the Democratic Party an adequate vehicle of political expression." Therefore, "for those with the courage to face it, the hope of the South for real party politics rests in the Republican Party." At the same time liberal factions of the Democratic Party will be strengthened by these same social and economic changes. Releasing the hold of conservative Democrats may depend more on successes in organizing labor than on any other factor. Joined by other low-income groups, including Negroes, the politicized working class could provide a basis for a liberal core in the Democratic Party of every Southern state. They would thereby "give conservative Southerners an incentive to seek refuge and allies in the Republican Party." This should prove a boon not alone to the South but, in so far as it contributed to a politics of principle and rationality, to the United States. These developments can only come about, Mr. Heard emphasizes, if it becomes increasingly difficult to divide components of the liberal nucleus by racist appeals.

H. H. WILSON

Some Recent Fiction

THE GATHERING DARKNESS. By Thomas Gallagher. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

PORTRAIT OF MELLIE. By Diana Petre. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

THE RISE OF SIMON LACHAUME. By Maurice Druon. Translated from the French by Edward Fitzgerald. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

"THE GATHERING DARKNESS," a first novel about New York during the depression, is not designed to be pleasant. An abortion performed in the fastnesses of Corona (Queens) stands out sharply in recollection; there are detailed accounts of what used to be known as wild parties. Such items are likely to make a best-seller, except that Mr. Gallagher is passionately serious about his writing and this is, on the whole, a good book. His subject is the disintegration of an Irish Catholic family. His villain is the failure of love. The action begins with the crash and ends in 1942. Mr. Gallagher traces the individual destinies of the four McPeeks as slowly and tortuously as life. The most impressively realized member of the family is the younger sister, Sheila. Driven by self-hatred, infantilism, and an incapacity to love, though she demands love rapaciously, she is destructive and, finally, self-destructive. The real torments and the manifold nastinesses of the individual who clamors to live out the great lie of romantic love—to be loved, as Auden says, for oneself alone—are frightening and authentic. The prose is deliberately turgid as it seeks to capture the turnings and returnings of minds brooding, looking for a bearable way of life or, simply, for surcease, and asking themselves hourly exactly where everything began to go wrong. Mr. Gallagher also knows how to convey a sense of place; the neighborhoods in this novel are very well done, and so, too, is the feeling of New York, cold and impersonal, during the depression years.

"Portrait of Mellie" is also a first novel and concerned with much the same kind of woman as Mr. Gallagher's Sheila, except that Mellie is English and rich. She declines and falls as she sets about, ruthlessly, getting her own way. Finally she loses the affection of her children, whom she cannot even like though she demands love of them. Her problems, with which Miss Petre has—it is almost too apparent—no sympathy, are complicated by her conflict with a sinister Scotch Presbyterian housekeeper who has brought the children up and by a female leech who pretends to be psychic. On the strength of these characters one over-enthusiastic English reviewer has declared that the narrative "gathers the impetus of Henry James's 'The Turn of the Screw.'" It does not. But this small collapse of a trivial, unpleasant, and trapped woman is very carefully studied and holds one's attention to the end.

"The Rise of Simon Lachaume," winner of the Prix Goncourt, is the kind of novel American and English novelists have never done very well; they do this sort of thing better in France, though not, I think, so well as is generally supposed. It belongs to the school of fiction which traces, on a grandiose scale, the history of families and fortunes through the generations. Such writing, in which the chief emphases are always panoramic, must arise out of a laudable but unfortunate desire to imitate "War and Peace." (In this country it may also be intended as an answer to the demand, voiced regularly since before 1900, for "the great American epic.") It has produced innumerable bad novels and very few good ones. There are always too many characters, all of them types or sketches, and too many plots. Anyone who wants

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The Little Big Stick

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. THE BIG STICK, 1905-1909. Vols. V and VI. Selected and Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard University Press. $20.

THIS third two-volume instalment of Theodore Roosevelt's letters covers the period—1905-09—of his last term as President. As he himself was fond of mentioning to friends, nobody ever enjoyed the White House more than he—and his family. He could have had still another term in all probability, and in correspondence included in these volumes he admitted that he would have loved it but felt it was not, under the circumstances, appropriate for him to seek it, short of a war or other great crisis. He felt too, at the period covered by these letters, that William Howard Taft was the best possible man to carry on his principles and policies, an opinion he was later to change.

From 1905 to 1909 Roosevelt dealt with great problems, national and international. He was concerned with curbing the arrogance of corporate business, controlling social unrest, and conserving natural resources, with the construction of the Panama Canal and Latin American unrest, with efforts to control the erratic Kaiser and prevent European war, to keep out Japanese immigrants without provoking war with Japan. And, significantly, these letters show that he had to cope with all these problems while working with an already outmoded instrument—the Republican Party. That his accomplishments as President were limited, in comparison with those of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, was due to the impossibility of bringing his own party up to date; by the time he took the great plunge and abandoned his party in 1912, it was too late to prevent Democratic victory. He was conscious of the difficulty his party presented when he wrote to his son Kermit on October 20, 1908, that "the labor people have just cause of complaint with the Republican Party taken as a whole, because Congress under the lead of Cannon treated them badly, and the courts, representing both the old-school Republicans and the old-school Democrats, have been curiously disregardful of their interests." But he was so determined to prevent what he called "wild radicalism" that he himself as President failed to curb monopoly, and accomplished only a small degree of social reform. He wrote the English writer Sydney Brooks after the success of Taft in the 1908 election: "In 1896 and again in 1900 we won a victory which was really a victory for ultra-conservatism against wild radicalism. If things had been allowed to continue in our party just as they were, we should have been upset with a smash soon afterwards. My business was to take hold of the conservative party and turn it into what it had been under Lincoln, that is, a party of *progressive* conservatism, or conservative radicalism; for of course wise radicalism and wise conservatism go hand in hand."

Theodore Roosevelt was so closely tied to people of his own kind of upbringing and to people who were his loyal subordinates that he could regard the election of Taft, which he helped so much to engineer, as part of the process of "progressive conservatism." Later, when he returned from Africa, he was to realize that Taft had moved far to the right, while the American people had moved to the left.

The reasons why the stature of Theodore Roosevelt has diminished since his Presidency and also why it has diminished somewhat too much are made clear in these letters. Roosevelt was chafing at the bit to transcend his antecedents, but he could not in the end break away from them. His hates were indiscriminate and intemperate. They included roughly anyone who did not agree with him at least 90 per cent, and in that category were such strange bedfellows as E. H. Harriman and Oswald Garrison Villard, Winston Churchill—as bumptious then as Roosevelt himself—and Big Bill Haywood. One gets the impression that Theodore Roosevelt was profoundly convinced that he had done everything single-handed with his little big stick and the aid of Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, Philander C. Knox, and other men whose dislike for corporate obscenities was equal to his but whose conservatism was so deep that they could not face even minimal reforms.

The footnotes in these two volumes, though they contain valuable material on people and events of the period, frequently fail to identify individuals sufficiently for the reader who is not also a historian, and in the effort to be amusing they sometimes show an unbecoming frivolity. The editors might well have controlled themselves, for instance, in the footnote on page 1384, where they could not avoid writing of the late Hall Caine: "Though in his genre he was extremely popular, he remained for the judicious student of romance and sensation a pale horse beneath the Haggard Rider." There is altogether too much editorial opinion and wisecracking comment in these footnotes. Mr. Morison's own introductory essay is a thoughtful attempt at the difficult task of appraising the restlessness of Theodore Roosevelt. M. R. WERNER

Verse Chronicle

RETURNING from pleasant and profitable days where the Rockies meet the plains, I find awaiting notice mostly—is this a trend?—books of translated poetry. Three, at any rate, with wide variety of time and clime.

T'ao Ch'ien lived from 365 to 427 A.D. Sixty of his poems, under the title "T'ao the Hermit" (Thames and Hudson, $3.50) are presented in translation by William Acker, who contributes to the present volume also an account of the author's life and times, a comparison of this poet with some others, and a discussion of the special problems Chinese poetry poses for the translator: this second appendix is of considerable interest. Most Chinese poetry, Mr. Acker points out, is reflective and meditative; T'ao Ch'ien is gentle, quiet, a little repetitive, now and then platitudinous, occasionally troubled, more often composed and serene. Whether he draws pictures or conclusions, his work is done simply.

Not by any means could one call simple the Gothic grandeurs, grotesqueries, and, it must be admitted, tediums, of Goethe's "Faust," which appears in an abridged version by Louis MacNeice (Oxford, $4). This translation was made for the British Broadcasting Company in commemoration of the Goethe centenary. There has not yet, many have observed, been a readable translation of "Faust" and Mr. MacNeice's version is no exception, though it was, of course, not intended to be readable, only hearable. But even so. Granting, as we should, Mr. MacNeice's competence, we seem forced to dismaying inference that even in the original this great work assays a very high proportion of the most boring doggerel. Mr. MacNeice, in his own rather scathing references to the cutting he has done, about a third of the original, lends some countenance to this heretical notion. Still, there must have been some nobility, some eloquence, even some poetry, in the German text; here one finds very little. Sorry.

"The Poems of C. P. Cavafy" (Grove Press, $3.25) have been translated by John Mavrogordato, with an introduction by Rex Warner. Constantine Cavafy, 1863-1933, wrote in Greek but identified himself rather with Alexandria than the mainland or its patriotic *risorgimento*; he was known to E. M. Forster, who introduced him in Pharos and Pharillon and has reviewed the present volume for the *Listener*. Cavafy is most interesting in his detached yet sympathetic, ironic but delighted, view of the Alexandrian culture, whether contemporary or ancient; his tone can express, sometimes in the same poem, both resignation and affirmation. His frankly homosexual love poems are not, anyway, mincing. The translations by Mr. Mavrogordato are excellent, the language and line firm, the fancy poetic epithet rare, words seldom dragged in for the rhyme's sake. When they are, the translator usually says so in a footnote, and these rhyme's-sake passages seldom obtrude on the meaning. The pages are copiously annotated, and while the looking down and then looking up again is a trifle distracting, this seems to be a case where it is better to have a little too much than a lot too little; the footnotes do improve our understanding of the poems.

Two original volumes seem worth

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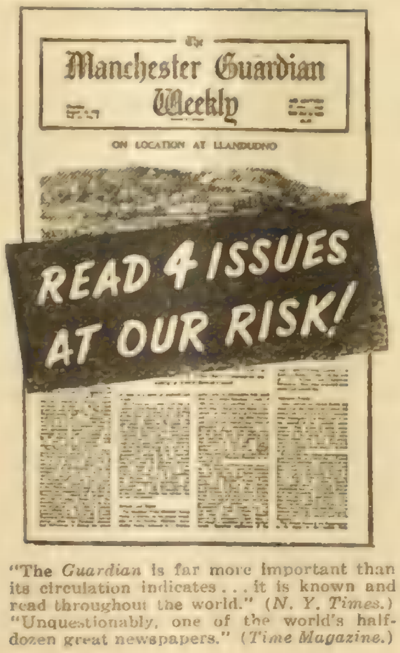

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remark: "Grand Tour, and Other Pomes," by Mary F. Lindsley (Philosophical Library, $4.75! Wow!), and "Ring Song," by Naomi Replansky (Scribner's, $2.50). The former book seems designed to make the page as unreadable as possible; there are too many long or semi-long narrative poems in it for my taste, and occasionally the author takes off into flights of inspired nobility where one cannot sympathetically follow. But there are some honesty and jollity here, by no means imperceptive, and some good sound writing. Jolly is not an adjective that could, by any stretch of the imagination, be applied to the poems of Miss Replansky, but she has an imagination, a feeling, still tentative, for variety in her technique and an earnestness that is almost frightening.

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Books in Brief

BARBARIANS IN OUR MIDST. By Virgil W. Peterson. Little, Brown. $4.50. A history of crime and politics in Chicago by the operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission. A sensational and appalling story told in a quiet, factual style that carries conviction and adds to the impact. That any city could survive so many years of anarchic disorganization and wholesale robbery is a wry tribute to the adaptability of the human species.

DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. By the Editors of *La Prensa.* John Day. $4. The first half of the book tells the story of Perón's seven-year campaign to control or destroy this great liberal newspaper; the last half is a selection of its editorials. One genuflects to the paper and to the courage of its publisher and editors; nevertheless, it must sadly be admitted that most North Americans, in reading the book, will find respect waging an unequal contest with boredom.

Films

MANNY FARBER

BY WAY of the characteristic reticence of John Ford, you probably know that he considers "The Quiet Man" to be the best of his 108 pictures. The new film is an old-fashioned confection idealizing the scenic beauties and quaint customs of Ireland; it is no better than the overrated "Informer" and a bit worse than the recent potboiler called "When Willie Comes Marching Home," the only film of Ford's that was not hampered by his bellicose, barroom sentimentality or falsified by the unstinting use of fancy scenic effects. Often during "The Quiet Man" the audience finds something laughable (the town drunkard and gossip muttering when he is offered buttermilk instead of whiskey, "The Borgias would do better"), but mostly the moviegoer has to put up with clumsily contrived fist fights, musical brogues spoken as though the actor were coping with an excess of tobacco juice in his mouth, mugging that plays up all the trusted hokums that are supposed to make the Irish so humorous-sympathetic, and a script that tends to resolve its problems by having the cast embrace, fraternity-brother fashion, and break out into full-throated ballads.

In the midst of it is the formless love story of two champion poseurs, one of them a strong, silent ex-boxer' from Pittsburgh, Massachusetts (gag), who returns to the thatched cottage of his birth and spends the film wistfully lapping up luxurious scenery around Galway; the other, a hot-tempered, shy country wench who runs through streams clutching her broad-brimmed hat or compulsively glancing over her shoulder as she backs off to the very bottom of the screen. The characters are paper-thin types with traits taken from pulp stories, nineteenth-century novels, and a dozen British films starring members of the Abbey Theater. The noble close-mouthed hero developed his tungsten muscles in Pittsburgh's mills, learned about Ireland's beauties at his mother's knee, and lost his urge to fight when he killed a ring opponent. All this is revealed by way of dialogue, so that there is nothing for John Wayne to impersonate except John Wayne. Maureen O'Hara plays the windlike heroine out of "Wuthering Heights," and the Ford stock company (Arthur Shields, Ward Bond, McLaglen, Natwick, Fitzgerald) goes through the dated mimicry of such stereotypes as the tippling village cabby, the thickheaded, bellicose squire, and the jovial village priest who curses, jokes, and fishes from start to finish of the film.

Some of the technicolor photography is pretty original—a dense, gray atmosphere takes most of the hue and intensity out of the scene and makes for a curious picture that takes place in daylight yet has some of the sunless, remembered look of a surrealist painting. Ford's ability to lyricize a movie with scenic effects is manifest wherever the camera moves: Barry Fitzgerald driving his sidecar beneath a little bridge as the train passes over it, the old business of the wedding photograph burlesqued like a quaint valentine, wind delicately whipping a pile of sweepings. But all this padding of what is supposed to be an illusive, impressionistic study of a land and its people is disturbing because it becomes the underlying motive for the scenes, revealing the limited significance of every pub brawl, horse race, or pastoral event almost before the scene is under way.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OF OUTSTANDING importance among the first HMV LP records issued here by RCA Victor is the one that gives us Mozart's Piano Concertos K.466 and 491 played by Schnabel with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind's direction. The two works are distinguished from the other great members of the series by their powerful first movements in minor mode; after which the slow movement of K. 491 is a quiet interlude leading to a fine variation finale with powerful episodes for the piano; while the slow movement of K.466, beginning with a passage that is almost excessively sweet even the first of the too many times it is heard, goes on to one of the episodes of eventful sustained cantilena that Mozart sometimes put into these movements, and to a dramatic episode in minor, and leads to one of his breathless finales, with the winds providing a characteristically humorous coda. Schnabel's playing exhibits the subtle articulation and clear outlining of phrase, the delicacy and yet the cohesive inner tension, the limpidity and yet the strength, that made his Mozart playing unique; and the orchestra plays beautifully. Now and then the piano is not heard clearly; but this seems to be the only evidence of the fact that the recordings were made several years ago. And it is to be hoped that HMV will issue Schnabel's other post-war recordings here, including the ones of Schubert's Impromptus and of the marvelous performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4.

Another HMV record has provided me with my first hearing of music of the English composer Rubbra, his Symphony No. 5, in which he organizes traditional materials competently but achieves nothing individual in the result that makes it worth attention. The performance, however, provides evidence of the fine instrument Barbirolli has created in the Hallé Orchestra. On the reverse side is Sibelius's Symphony No. 7, whose substance I again find engaging, but whose inadequacies as a symphonic structure are more apparent with each hearing. Sibelius's first title for the work, Fantasia Sinfonica (according to the notes on the record envelope), was the correct one. The performance seems to me over-deliberate at times—expressing not only the excessive solemnity with which the English still regard Sibelius, but an old weakness of Barbirolli's—but is otherwise good.

The English have begun to talk with similar solemnity about the Danish composer Nielsen; and now that, thanks to HMV, I have heard his Symphony No. 4 ("Inextinguishable") I know why: his music is a Danish version of Sibelius's —not an imitation, but similar to Sibelius's Fifth, for example, in its fluent use in large and dramatic forms of material that is engaging in its folklike character and its regional flavor. The work is well performed by the Danish State Radio Symphony under Launy Grondahl's direction.

London offers all of Tchaikovsky's music for the ballet "Swan Lake" played by the London Symphony under Fistoulari's direction. I haven't a score to check with; but if the performances of the so-called "Black Swan" pas de deux from Act 3 that we have seen are correct, then the Tempo di valse and Adagio at the beginning of side 4 should be followed by the music for the two solo variations and coda, which is missing. And there may be other cuts (I can't figure out all the music required by the synopsis of Act 1); but most of the score certainly is given, and what is given includes a large number and variety of pieces whose lovely melodies and wonderful strokes of harmony, rhythm, and orchestration illustrate Tchaikovsky's extraordinary powers of invention, craftsmanship, and taste in the manipulation of the entire complex of musical line, color, texture, and mass. One's enjoyment of them is the greater for their being played by a finer orchestra than one normally hears at a ballet performance—though I must add that my own enjoyment of the Danse des petits cygnes in Act 4 (which Balanchine used for his enchanting pas de neuf) is the less for Fistoulari's dragging tempo, and my enjoyment of the Adagio of the Act 3 pas de deux is the less for Alfred Campoli's playing of the violin solo. And one's enjoyment of them would be even greater if they were correlated with the things they go with on the stage (the synopsis and labels are no good for this purpose). I hope that London will also record the music of "The Nutcracker" and "The Sleeping Beauty."

Roy Elihu Travis's Symphonic Allegro, which won the seventh annual Gershwin Memorial Award of Victory Lodge, B'nai B'rith, fills several minutes with explosive energy. The piece seems to be well performed by the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos's direction, with their previously issued performance of the Couperin-Milhaud Overture and Allegro from "La Sultane" on the same Columbia record.

Columbia also offers four excerpts from Walton's "Façade" and three dances from Leonard Bernstein's "Fancy Free," excellently performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra "Pops" under Hilsberg's direction.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Teacher's Testament

Dear Sirs: Another teacher has been sacrificed on the altar of conformity. Marston A. Hamlin, an art instructor at Ohio State University, lost his job recently for refusing to answer questions about his political beliefs before the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities. In explaining his refusal, Mr. Hamlin said:

> I do not know what sort of gossip or "tip" led the commission to decide that I was to be honored with a subpoena. However, I could see from the tenor of the questioning that anyone expressing a strong interest in social problems would automatically appear suspect. The whole experience confirmed what is beginning to be common knowledge—that such investigations restrict freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, and enforce political and intellectual conformity.
>
> Some of our more backward political leaders would truly like to replace free academic inquiry with comfortable stereotypes. I'm opposed to thought control, political repression, and the education by dogmatism that flows from them.
>
> There is a strong legislative tendency to broaden the area of answers "which might tend to incriminate" a person, so that the innocent acts of yesterday may become the crimes of today or tomorrow. I feel that loyalty oaths in themselves assume a power . . . over the thoughts and actions of the individual beyond anything implicit or explicit in the Constitution, and are therefore unconstitutional.

To the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities, Mr. Hamlin made this statement:

> I do affirm my opposition to fraudulent, forceful, or violent overthrow of our constitutional government. However, I intend to refuse to answer any questions concerning such alleged activity, or alleged participation in activities regarding unlawful alteration of our constitutional government, or alleged knowledge of persons having such unlawful acts as their objective, on the basis of constitutional safeguards protecting me from bearing witness against myself.
>
> A further problem exists in that today any organization may apparently be designated as subversive or as a Communist-action group solely on the basis of the suspected beliefs of an undefined portion of its membership. As a consequence the possibility of bearing witness against myself is inherent in any inquiry at all regarding my associations or affiliations. . . .
>
> Freedom is being curtailed under cover of a frantic searching for subversives. Indeed, the label of subversion is being extended to include all liberal thinking and just plain disagreement with official policy. Such a trend must be stopped if academic and political freedom are to be realities. To submit to questioning at this public hearing concerning my beliefs, ideas, and political thoughts, having no connection with unlawful destruction of our constitutional government, is to reveal my private views for you and the public to approve or disapprove. If disapproval follows, I may be fired from my job or ostracized because of my lawful private beliefs. The fear that such results could follow might tend to force me to forsake lawful beliefs I might otherwise continue to hold. This is thought control, and I will not submit to it.

Unhappily, what Mr. Hamlin feared would occur if he gave testimony before the commission happened anyway. As a result of his refusal to "talk," Howard L. Bevis, president of Ohio State, fired the young art instructor.

Columbus, Ohio HENRY F. STEVENS

Mr. Schmitt Talks On

Dear Sirs: Just a word, from a first-hand observer, about the Len Schmitt talkathon in Madison.

I volunteered to go out and collect money from people who phoned in their pledges. It gave me a good deal of confidence to know that, by and large, our citizens are decent people who feel a sense of guilt that McCarthy comes from this state.

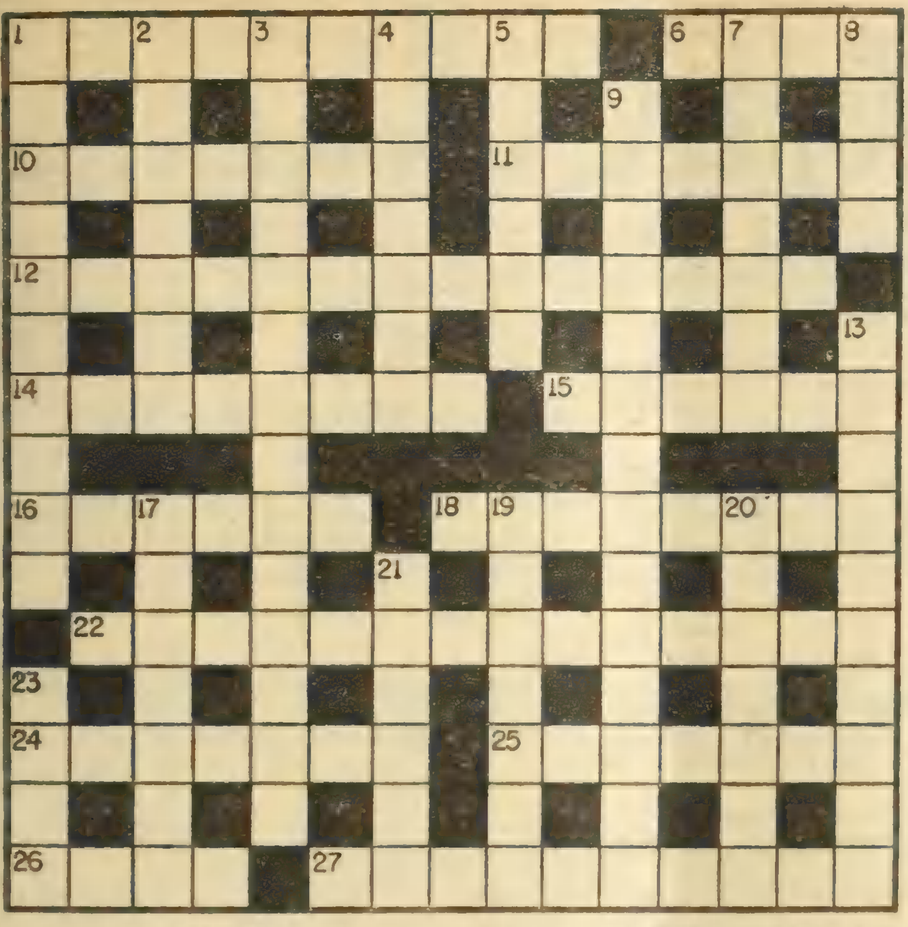
Most of the money collected came from the east side of Madison—the industrial section. Very little came from the west side, where the people are in a higher income bracket. Is this an indication that well-to-do people are not immune to the scurrilous charges of a demagogue?

The Republican Voluntary Committee at first laughed off Len Schmitt, but the other day Governor Kohler said that the novelty of the talkathon would soon be exhausted, which is one way of saying that he and the rest of the Old Guard in the state are becoming worried. Most of the political observers say that Schmitt doesn't have a chance, but with a few more of these talkathons, I venture to predict that the result on September 9 will surprise a good many people.

Madison, Wis. PHILIP SIEKEVITZ

Crossword Puzzle No. 482

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Anathema is unnecessary with firemen. (2, 2, 6)
6 What is in the heart of Ferdinand's wife might suggest murder. (4)
10 Hurried movement. (7)
11 Rain, not the sort that Marie Antoinette liked. (7)
12 The implication of frozen features to Rain-in-the-Face? (4, 2, 3, 5)
14 Dipnoan found in Flushing. (8)
15 Proving a long depression is more than rough. (6)
16 A broken leg can go off in a different direction. (6)
18 The way to put the arm up, or a well-loved individual appears. (8)
22 It's nurses out of luck, perhaps. (14)
24 Affiance. (7)
25 To repeat, a pound on the head would make it educated! (7)
26 and 8 down. It's not your business, mainly, to define the limits of play! (4, 4)
27 One short day that seems to go on and on (when you're alone, perhaps). (10)

DOWN

1 The way to tell character from character, perhaps. (10)
2 Noninferential knowledge is in this. (7)
3 Getting a good look? There's just a little more in it than a way to get to heaven! (14)
4 A constitutional disease is enough to show these animals up. (7)
5 There's an Old Testament book of this name. (6)
7 It might be 13 around and still equivalent to 6⅞ around. (7)
8 See 26 across.
9 Does it suggest angle and bow if you get tied up with it? (10, 4)
13 Their cross, quite logically, might be found in church. (10)
17 Taken as one's own. (7)
19 Another name might suggest the cap of the capuchin or the poison of the pack. (7)
20 The poet is in a bad way, and it's about time to run. (7)
21 Dry, but a plural form is on horseback. (6)
23 Declines. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 481

ACROSS:—1 A STITCH IN TIME; 10 APOSTLE; 11 DRAGGLE; 12 DISTEMPER; 13 LOINS; 14 URCHIN; 16 SCANNING; 19 FRANKLIN; 20 WALDEN; 22 CHAFF; 23 FOREBEARS; 25 PATTIES; 26 ASTRIDE; 27 FREE ADMISSION.

DOWN:—2 STOPS; 3 IN THE NICK OF TIME; 4 CREEPS; 5 INDIRECT; 6 TRAILING ARBUTUS; 7 MAGNIFIED; 8 HANDCUFF; 9 RETS; 15 CHARACTER; 17 GANGSTER; 18 DIFFUSE; 21 ERNANI; 22 COPT; 24 AMINO.

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Hubbub Over UNESCO

Los Angeles

AFTER a week of rowdy meetings the Los Angeles Board of Education finally handed down its verdict: no more teaching of the meaning and importance of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) in the Los Angeles public schools. The leading spirit in this antediluvian policy was Edith K. Stafford, and all the other board members except Arthur Gardner supported her. Encouraged by the example of Los Angeles, nearby Long Beach is now ready to take similar action. If other American cities decide to follow suit, liberal education may soon be supplanted by something harmless called factual, non-controversial teaching. It will not be education.

One of Mrs. Stafford's supporters, Mrs. Ruth Dunne Cole, said that the entire row boiled down to a conflict between those upholding individual freedom and those seeking the collective welfare. Arthur Gardner said Mrs. Stafford's resolution was "tantamount to a resolution against sin." "The school system," Gardner reminded his fellow board members, "exists to teach facts and skills and to develop an ability in children to understand and appraise their material and social environment." The U. N. and UNESCO, he affirmed, were "part of that environment."

At previous board meetings Dr. Hugh Tiner, president of Pepperdine College at Los Angeles, and Paul G. Hoffman were two of many speakers who had to endure boos and catcalls from unruly audiences. Hoffman reminded his hecklers in stentorian tones that he was accustomed to addressing predominantly Communist audiences in Europe and could not be intimidated.

The ruckus goes back to January of this year when the schools withdrew UNESCO material from their curriculum on the ground that it was subversive. After six months' study of the matter, a committee of curriculum heads, principals, supervisors, and teachers found the charges without foundation and recommended that the booklets in question be reinstated. But the charge that UNESCO sought to undermine the federal government was still pressed, and the board meetings, as a consequence, were attended by a public very audibly divided.

One attacker went so far as to label UNESCO a tool of the Communists, lamenting that it would ultimately reduce all mankind to the common denominator of slaves. A defender of UNESCO pointed out that opposition to it paralleled the Communist Party line, since Russia and its satellites have boycotted the organization.

Both factions in the dispute revealed almost complete ignorance of the actual material the schools had been using. UNESCO had put out a series of booklets, of which one, "The 'E' in UNESCO," had been distributed by Superintendent of Schools Alexander J. Stoddard and his staff as a guide to individual teachers. The pamphlet called for no particular lectures or sessions about the U. N. but suggested that teachers keep in mind the U. N.'s importance and its bearing on world affairs.

Other pamphlets called "Toward World Understanding" have drawn even more virulent attacks from enemies of the U. N. The fifth of the series, dealing with school children under the age of thirteen, says in one place: "As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world-mindedness can produce only precarious results . . . it is frequently the family that infects the child with extreme nationalism." This is said to teach children that their duties as Americans are subordinate to their loyalty to world citizenship. Angry criticism has also been aroused by the statement that while the United States is a leader in the realm of human liberties, there are still people in this country whose freedom is limited. The pattern is changing for the better, the pamphlet notes, but it adds that students should learn how to aid those with limited rights and should know why their own rights must be exercised completely and intelligently.

Opponents of UNESCO's philosophy claim that it is Communist-inspired and that it would lower America's standard of living to the level of the world's poorest. Nationalism, they shout, should be taught in the schools; to teach the importance of world government is subversive. UNESCO has also been called atheistic and criticized for advocating birth control. The report that the Catholic church is firmly against UNESCO was enough to induce the Knights of Columbus to rebuke it. On the other hand, the Catholic Education Association and the Catholic Welfare Conference back the organization, and the K. of C. resolution drew a flood of telegrams.

The ban on the UNESCO booklets imposed by the Los Angeles Board of Education is of national interest. America is today one of the few great democracies remaining on the face of the earth. If the brotherhood of man and world government cannot be taught in Los Angeles public schools as truth or even as opinion, educators everywhere should rise up and protest. Only those who know the truth and will the good can be free.

AUBREY B. HAINES

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The Shape of Things

The U. N. and 1955

The articles in this issue by Richard Friedlich and Aubrey Haines describe the vicious, many-sided, nation-wide attack on the United Nations now getting under way in this country. The campaign is moving rapidly from the blueprint to the first "operational" stage. We shall have a great deal more to say in subsequent issues about the sponsors, objectives, and methods of this campaign and about ways to counter it. Here we merely note that it is proceeding on a carefully planned time-table. The strategy of those directing the assault is to whip up a frenzy of agitation against the U. N. between now and 1955, the year in which the Charter will be up for revision. By that time, the plotters hope, public sentiment will demand either that the United States withdraw from the United Nations or that the Charter be amended in a manner that would make it acceptable to Senator Jenner and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The attack should not be taken lightly. It has been carefully planned. It has powerful behind-the-scenes sponsors. It is well organized. The objective is to destroy the United Nations or, failing this, to weaken it to the point where it would cease to be even an "embarrassment" should we decide to implement Mr. Dulles's policy of "liberation."

Report from Kasson

Minnesota Republicans made quite a production of Ike's participation in the plowing match at Henry Snow's farm near Kasson, Minnesota, on September 6. From a big booth at the entrance to the farm Republican city slickers distributed 75,000 reprints of a *Saturday Evening Post* article—Wow! Did Truman Fool the Farmers in 1948!—while sky-writing pilots, circling overhead, traced out the slogan "I Like Ike." Helmets, caps, and buttons with the same slogan were distributed wholesale. Yet not a single farmer was on hand to meet Ike as his plane landed at the Rochester airport. In fact, a good many of them seemed to find the farm-machinery exhibits more interesting than the General's speech, which was full of tidbits about what farm life was like when he was a boy in Abilene, interlarded with rhetorical assaults on the "agricats" in Washington.

Governor Stevenson arrived without fanfare but was warmly received, thanks in part to the foresight of his managers, who had arranged to have him introduced by Henry Snow, owner of the 160-acre farm where the plowing matches were held. Stevenson merely had to remind his audience of the conditions that farmers faced in the 1930's to win his first good round of applause. In June of this year, he pointed out, more than half of the Republican members of the House voted against the law which extended price support at 90 per cent of parity through 1954. He also stressed the fact that the number of farmers who own their own farms has increased from 43 per cent in 1932 to 75 per cent today. Most observers gave the Governor slightly better than a draw in what was, given the General's me-tooism on farm policies, only a sparring match. "Farmers in this part of the country," writes our correspondent, Dick Bruner of the Mankato (Minnesota) *Free Press,* who attended the Kasson gathering, "are not buying the flexible-price-support talk that Allan Kline, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, is handing out. They like 90 per cent of parity just fine."

Postscript to a Crime

The signing of the agreement between the Bonn Republic, the government of Israel, and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, committing Western Germany to pay $822,000,000 in compensation for Nazi damage to Jewish property, brings to some kind of token moral conclusion perhaps the most barbarous chapter of World War II. To Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency and chairman of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, comprising twenty-four world Jewish organizations, goes a large share of the credit for reaching a decent compromise on the initial sum asked by Israel and the Jewish organizations. One can imagine Dr. Goldmann's feelings in signing the agreement. For it was he and the late Stephen S. Wise, as head of the World Jewish Congress, who presented to the world the

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documentary proof of Hitler's extermination plan—a plan that was carried out with no effective interference from the Allied nations.

The compromise figure of $822,000,000 represents only a small fraction of the material claims of the Jewish world against Germany. And no monetary reparation can ease the conscience of mankind or dispel the tragic memories of the Jews. But one can accept the view of Moshe Sharett, Israeli Foreign Minister, that for Western Germany "it is a momentous departure because the pledge was undertaken not under duress but in obedience to a code of moral responsibility."

Government by McCarthy

A fortnight ago a seven-year-old boy was found drowned in a pond on his mother's estate. He was Willard Whitney Straight Dolivet, the son of Louis Dolivet, former head of the Free World Association and former editor of the *United Nations World*, and his divorced wife, Beatrice Straight, now Mrs. Peter Cookson.

Louis Dolivet, who had lived in the United States for some ten years, is in Paris, barred from the United States on charges of Communist and pro-Communist affiliations. For a week he sought a forty-eight hour visa to the United States to attend the burial of his child. The French government intervened in his behalf. Senator McCarran, author of the law under which Dolivet was denied admission without an opportunity to rebut the charges against him, intervened in his behalf. McCarran informed the State Department that even if Dolivet were a Communist he could see no danger in permitting his admission, if necessary under surveillance, for forty-eight hours.

The plea for a brief act of humanity reached the highest officials of the State Department, including Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The request was turned down. Did the State Department believe that Dolivet would come to the United States carrying an atomic bomb or some other Machiavellian instrument that could destroy the country in forty-eight hours? No! The State Department refused the request of the French government, Senator McCarran, and Louis Dolivet's official representatives out of fear—fear that Senator Joseph McCarthy would assail it for an act of common decency.

Mexico Points the Way

Through its distinguished representative in the United Nations, Luis Padilla Nervo, Mexico has taken the lead in urging a prompt cease-fire in Korea. As spokesman in the U. N. for those who are impatient with the handling of the Korean truce negotiations by military authorities, Mexico has submitted a plan for ending the deadlock on the issue of exchange of prisoners. It provides for the prompt exchange of prisoners who have clearly indicated a desire for repatriation and the removal of the rest to asylum in countries not directly involved in the Korean fighting. Mexico maintains that the war in Korea is a United Nations war and that the United Nations, as such, should take the initiative in bringing it to a speedy conclusion. Its plan has been widely discussed in Europe and was the subject of conversations in London between Foreign Secretary Eden and U. N. Secretary General Lie. The lack of attention paid to it by the American press is indefensible.

Wisconsin: Wave of the Future

THE results of the Wisconsin primary should end the long late-summer daydream which the Democratic Party, its nominees, and a large section of the liberal and labor movements have been enjoying since the conventions. For McCarthy's thumping victory reveals the existence of a strong groundswell of fear, irrational hatred, and a compulsive drive to subordinate every issue, foreign and domestic, to the negative purpose of "fighting communism." Wisconsin is not a special case. It is the most conspicuous and recent example of the extent to which unreasoning fear can be played on to subvert the common sense and civic decency of the American people. The threat to democracy implicit in McCarthy's victory is unmistakable.

Wisconsin has a fine tradition of social reform, pride in good government, and a liking for progressive legislation. For months now two of the state's best newspapers have brilliantly exposed McCarthy's record; few voters can plead ignorance of that record or its meaning. Within the state a group of distinguished civic leaders have voiced their repugnance to McCarthy with vigor and eloquence. Yet Wisconsin voters, Republicans and Democrats, flocked to the polls on September 9 to vote for McCarthy. In anticipation of this fact we suggested on August 9 that certain bitter conclusions would have to be drawn from it. Some of them are superbly stated in H. H. Wilson's article in this issue.

McCarthy did not win by any last-minute pressure or trickery. On the contrary he conducted a remarkably quiet campaign. He did not win because of the weakness of his opponent. Leonard F. Schmitt proved to be an able candidate who conducted a heads-up, intelligent campaign. The harsh truth is that the voters of Wisconsin, with full knowledge of McCarthy's record, turned out for him in droves. Many who voted for him said that they did not approve of the man, his methods, or his morals; they cared only that he was the loudest of the "anti-Communists." Apart from McCarthy's "anti-communism" there is literally nothing in his record to commend him to the voter. "The result," as Mr. Schmitt said, "is an appalling thing." "What is important," he continued, "is that a man with the most corrupt record ever made by a Wisconsin Senator is overwhelmingly indorsed by Wisconsin voters. The most amazing and fraudulent hoax ever practiced by a high public figure upon the voters of any state is approved by the people of a state which once insisted upon the highest standards of integrity, honesty, and decency in public life."

It is significant that McCarthy was enthusiastically supported by "the better elements." Residents of Milwaukee's silk-stocking suburbs voted for him en masse. The turnout in such wealthy districts as White Fish Bay was unprecedented. According to a poll conducted by the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the clergymen of the city supported McCarthy in the ratio of three to one. At his sole appearance in the prosperous suburb of Shorewood, McCarthy was able to arouse his listeners to "paroxysms of hatred," according to Joseph Alsop. Although McCarthy had strong organizational support, including the personal indorsement of Arthur E. Summerfield, Republican national chairman, and the tacit indorsement of General Eisenhower, his victory was a personal, not an organizational triumph. Fred Zimmerman was renominated for Secretary of State by a two-to-one margin despite the fact that he had defied the Republican organization by repudiating McCarthy.

McCarthy's victory is bound to shape and color the campaign. General Eisenhower will now be tempted and urged to go all out on the McCarthy-Nixon theme of China, Communism, and Corruption but mostly Communism. Paul Hoffman, frustrated in his efforts to keep the General in good company, has apparently withdrawn from the G. O. P. councils. Senator Morse has decided to sit this campaign out. The Chicago *Tribune*, elated that Ike came out for Senator Jenner before McCarthy's victory in Wisconsin, is now prepared to forgive and forget. What started out as a maneuver by Ike to outflank the right wing of the Republican Party has ended in his encirclement.

THE meaning of all this to Stevenson and the rest of us is clear. The Governor must immediately transform the fight against McCarthyism into a reaffirmation and defense of the American way of life against those who would subvert it. He must do this by projecting, as he has begun to do, a foreign policy that will unite the country by capturing the imagination of the people. It cannot be a policy based on fear or the delusion that military power can "contain" an idea. Stevenson must cut the ground from beneath the McCarthys by scotching once and for all the ridiculous notion that communism *per se* imperils this country. Sanity cannot be restorted to the discussion of foreign or domestic affairs until, as Charles Merz and Walter Lippmann once pointed out in a study of news distortion, "public opinion has been cleansed of fictions and bogies by therapeutic contact with honest and relevant fact."

If those who believe in American democracy capitulate to the fear of communism, they betray the faith they purport to defend. The other day Dr. Bella Dodd, an ex-Communist recently converted to the Roman Catholic church, testified before the McCarran committee that she had done great harm as a teacher although she had never sought to teach communism: "I taught children," she said, "to have open minds." The fear of communism usually leads to this blind and abject passion for conformity. Let Governor Stevenson give the right name to this "wave of the future" which, to the shame of the state, has swept over Wisconsin. The Germans had a word for it.

The Balkan Triangle

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE NATO conference due to meet in Paris in December will show to what extent the manifest failures of the West's rearmament program can be overcome. Meanwhile the military planners are not wasting time. The Atlantic coalition is trying to extend itself in all directions, beyond its geographical limits, wherever men are capable of bearing rifles. Without waiting for the Paris and Bonn governments to ratify the German agreements, German rearmament proceeds *sub rosa*; it is now at the stage of preparing officer cadres and a system of recruiting—a slow and difficult process as the experience of France, Belgium, and other countries has shown.

With the situation in the Middle East extremely confused, the Western Allies are constantly trying to come to terms with Egypt, in whose new leader, General Naguib, they seem to place great hope. In Syria, ruled by another soldier, Colonel Sheshekly, and in Lebanon, where a general may seize power any day, they are maneuvering to obtain agreements which will permit them to carry out their strategic plans even if a united Middle East command is delayed. The policy of "protecting" Iraq and its annual flow of oil to Mediterranean ports is continued; efforts to win over Iran to the side of the West have not been checked by the abrupt rejection of the Truman-Churchill offer.

But it is above all the Balkan triangle—Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia—on which the military planners are focusing their attention. Greece has ten divisions, partly trained but fully equipped with modern arms supplied by the United States at an enormous cost in dollars—the Greek generals have been as eager to make a profit on their patriotism as Franco's generals are now. Turkey has twelve divisions, well trained and in the main well equipped. Yugoslavia, not a NATO member, has thirty-three well-trained divisions the deficiency of whose equipment is being rapidly remedied by growing deliveries of American arms. Taken together, the armies of the three countries form an effective fighting force.

The problem is whether these armies *can* be considered as a whole, whether the bitter rivalries that have so long divided the three countries can be overcome. This important diplomatic task was first intrusted to General Ridgway, who is just back from a political and military trip to the Balkans, and now has been turned over to the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, who will shortly pay a visit to Belgrade. Mr. Eden's principal objective is to persuade Marshal Tito to become less intransigent with respect to Trieste. At the same time the Vatican, which makes the Big Four really the Big Five, is apparently moderating its hostility toward Belgrade. Opposed as he is to communism in Yugoslavia as elsewhere, the Pope puts a united front against Russia above everything else. That is also the view of the United States. An added indication of the interest American military strategists are taking in Tito's army is the arrival in Washington of Major General Franc Poglajen, chief of the military-aid section of the Yugoslav general staff. A Yugoslav military mission has just gone to Athens.

Prompted by the expectation of eventual conflict with Russia, every effort will be made to bring about the articulation of the Balkan triangle. The Greek Chief of Staff, visiting Ankara, said this in praise of the new Turkish-Greek collaboration: "We are witnessing the realization of what seemed an impossible dream." When General Ridgway returned from his Balkan visit he seemed to have got relief from the headaches caused by the slow rearmament of France and other NATO members.

In the United States Presidential campaign, the controversy on foreign policy has served to clarify the difference between "containment" and "roll-back" or "liberation." Some partisans of "containment" have defended themselves against the reproach that their policy was too static and ineffective by saying that it meant in practice "a little more than containment." To carry out the Turkish military maneuvers in the high presence of General Ridgway a few miles from the Russian frontier certainly seems like "a little more." But the entire conception of a Balkan triangle, completing the other triangles and quadrangles, indicates how far we have moved from the idea of negotiation and how governments are thinking now in military rather than diplomatic terms. It was difficult enough, psychologically, to pass from an attitude of "containment" to one of negotiation. To pass from "roll-back" to negotiation is practically impossible. And every time a new triangle is created it will strengthen the temptation to carry "containment" a little farther. Without understanding this fact no one can grasp the present international situation as a whole.

Why They Voted for McCarthy

BY H. H. WILSON

SOME Americans and many foreign observers express astonishment that a powerful and secure democratic nation should tolerate the erosion of civil liberties now going on here. American liberals have expressed concern, but there is a general failure to recognize that the very texture of our society is being modified. Instances of civil-liberties violations are noted as if they were unrelated events, and reliance is placed on the courts to stem the anti-democratic tide.

The fact is that with the polarization of conflict between nation states the struggle for power between groups in society is also intensified and the rules of polite rivalry are stretched or ignored. It is not unreasonable to suppose that if powerful forces in the United States did not find the Zolls, McCarrans, McCarthys, and Harts useful, such men would not long survive. When major corporations contribute to these and similar individuals—and also hire ex-F. B. I. agents and subsidize such publications as *Counterattack*—it may be assumed they do so in the conviction that they are thus furthering their own ends. Similarly, it is difficult not to conclude that a respectable conservative like Senator Taft supports McCarthy and General Eisenhower fails to repudiate him because they believe his tactics redound to Republican advantage.

A number of often-forgotten explanatory generalizations about the United States help us to understand the ease with which remodeling essential to the establishment of the garrison state is conducted. In the first place, this has never been a "liberal" country in the nineteenth-century sense. The doctrines of John Stuart Mill never pervaded American thinking. The resulting difference between American and British practice was dramatically illustrated when at its 1952 annual convention the British Legion, counterpart of the American Legion, rejected by a vote of 430 to 126 a resolution to bar Communists from membership. In this country two streams of influence, two equally American traditions, have always operated—one, narrow, bigoted, chauvinist, and intolerant; the other idealistic, humane, democratic, and progressive. Our history reveals frequent conflicts between these two forces, and some of our proudest moments and noblest leaders are associated with efforts to make the second predominant.

Secondly, it is not unreasonable to suggest that we have not adequately understood either the nature of the political process or the imperatives of a democratic society. Too few of us seem aware of the relationship between freedom of speech or association, for example, and the survival of democratic politics. Were this not the case it is unlikely that the tactics used by Congressional and free-lance Neanderthal men could have so devastating an impact. Perhaps even more revealing on this score than the successful assault by the primitives is the capitulation of men of good-will, even as they earnestly seek to prevent the erosion of democracy. Thus the Librarian of Congress, while warning against efforts to force books out of our libraries, surrendered his case by conceding in regard to the author of a specific book that "if he were preaching communism, it would be O. K. to remove the book."

In addition to these traditional influences we face today a comparatively new phenomenon—the frenetic drive for respectability by erstwhile "left-wingers" and even some trade-union leaders. These persons, in their desperate efforts to prove their purity, are prepared to attack those who persist in defending democratic principles in a hostile environment.

Finally, public apathy to the persistent inroads on all civil liberties drives one to the harsh conclusion that for a majority of the American people these fundamentals have little meaning. In what other democratic society has the leader of a security police become a national hero, ranking with movie stars and baseball players? What other democratic society has given public testimonial banquets to police informers? What other democratic society has rewarded with an academic post and sizable emoluments a professional perjurer? In what other democratic society does one judge accept extraordinary honors for doing what, presumably, he was appointed to do, while another is hounded from his home state because he upheld the Constitution? These questions are not to suggest that other societies do not have comparable institutions, individuals, and incidents, or that security measures are unnecessary. Presumably we also have to have public executioners; the question is whether we need to glorify them.

It is the absence of a deep commitment to the democratic process revealed by these things that has made us peculiarly vulnerable to slick operators who use the democratic rhetoric to their own ends. And it is this general indifference of a considerable percentage of the American people that gives significance to individual examples of violations of civil liberties.

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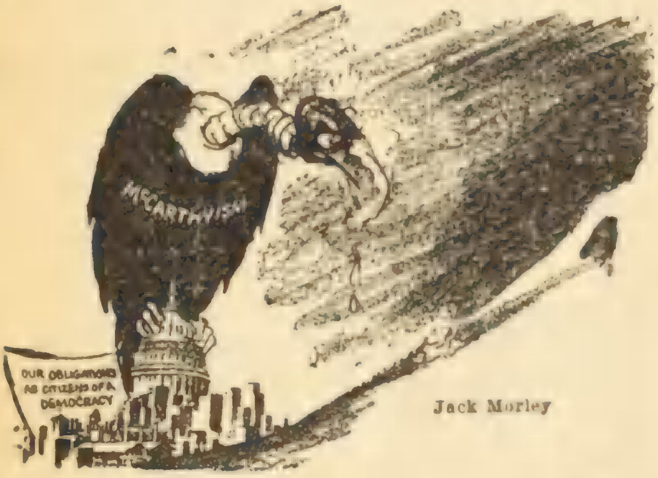
ALTHOUGH a certain amount of remodeling is undoubtedly taking place, it would be extreme to say that we are moving toward fascism. But it is not extreme to say that American society shows certain characteristics which it would be generally agreed are not those of a confident society strengthening its democratic institutions and reaffirming its faith in democratic values.

First, there is the growth of conservatism—perhaps, "indifference to new ideas" is a more accurate term; this is especially marked in the field of social and political organization. What experimentalism exists is chiefly in the technological field. The positive hostility to social experiment is primarily significant because it contributes to our failure to devise new procedures or techniques to offset the by-products of a centralized society.

Related to this conservatism is the prevalence of insecurity. In part insecurity is a corollary of the loss of independence-granting productive property, the fact that three out of four Americans who work are on someone else's pay roll. Beyond this, it stems from an awareness of forces beyond the control of the individual—war, depression, inflation. Manipulation of an apprehensive people for political ends is standard technique for all anti-democrats.


McCARTHYISM
OUR OBLIGATIONS AS CITIZENS OF A DEMOCRACY

Jack Morley

A third development is the remarkable weakening of traditional instruments of protest, the absence of militant groups. Trade unions are being incorporated into the productive apparatus. There is at least a tendency for labor leaders to think as members of a managerial élite: disagreements with management center on division of the product, on issues of relative prestige, and, in extreme cases, on threats to the survival of the union. Agrarian protest movements, whose members were once the most vocal critics of the industrial order, have disappeared; some have been absorbed into the bureaucracy of the welfare state; others have seen their leaders become colleagues of the managerial élite. It is only barely too sweeping to suggest that no important social critics are now able to obtain a following in the United States.

Fourth, one must consider the impact of the dominant educational forces in this country—press, radio, television, and movies. What values and standards do these instruments inculcate? C. Wright Mills's charge that "they trivialize issues into personal squabbles rather than humanize them" and that "they spin records of political emptiness" can hardly be discounted. These results may be credited to the "group-think" operators who seem to dominate the communications media. We may well ask ourselves what forces have produced a high-school generation that reveals contempt for democratic principles and devotion to authoritarianism.

Regimentation is becoming perhaps the dominant characteristic of this society. Lip-service, to be sure, is still paid to individualism, chiefly expressed by condemning government and opposing any restriction on the right to exploit it in the economic area. Primarily this modern regimentation, as Karl Mannheim and Herbert Marcuse have brilliantly remarked, is the result of industrialization, of mass production. The machine process, the organization of technology, imposes upon men patterns of mechanical behavior. "Individuals are stripped of their individuality," says Marcuse, "not by external compulsion, but by the very rationality under which they live." Significantly, there is no consciousness of loss, no sense of submitting to a hostile force. On the contrary, the organization to which the individual submits is so rational and so productive of material goods that individual protest appears both hopeless and irrational.

Accompanying this regimentation is the intensive development of new techniques for manipulating men. "The spectacle of an efficient élite maintaining its authority," comments E. H. Carr, "and asserting its will over the mass by the rationally calculated use of irrational methods of persuasion is the most disturbing nightmare of mass democracy." Psychological insights are being utilized to shape the human material to the productive apparatus. The "engineering of consent to authority," notes Mills, "has moved into the realm of manipulation where the powerful are anonymous. Impersonal manipulation is more insidious than coercion precisely because it is hidden." Manipulation thrives on apathy and indifference, and the "mechanics of conformity" move from the industrial organization to other areas of society, to schools, entertainment, politics.

THE corruption and degradation of the individual have profound implications. Democracy is predicated on the possibility of developing responsible, mature, and independent individuals capable of working with others but without a compulsive need to dominate them. At present prosperity and material well-being seem to have weakened our devotion to non-material values. There is a growing tendency to accept the shriveling of democracy if only we can continue to be comfortable.

More insidious, however, is what appears as a widespread contempt for human personality. Signs of this range from the relatively innocuous captive-audience technique of pumping advertising into bus passengers to the steadily multiplying invasions of privacy with which we are more and more afflicted, notes Harold Lasswell, "as the garrison-prison-state pattern is more closely approximated." It is expressed by the use of hidden microphones to eavesdrop on department-store personnel, by the subjection of government employees to lie-detector tests every three months. One employee wrote me recently:

> You have a rough idea of what I do in this job; you know that some of the things I don't do are interrogation and investigation; about these things I am supposed to know nil. Today the following notice came to me from the Passport Division of the Department of State: "It would be appreciated if you would call to the department's attention any application for passport executed by a person whom you have any indication of Communist or subversive activities, in order that an appropriate investigation may be made before the department acts upon the application. *This should be done even though the information which you may have seems vague or inconclusive*" (my emphasis).

It should not be forgotten that one of the by-products of the "loyalty" investigations is to make individuals despise themselves by forcing them to grovel, to serve as informers and stool pigeons, in order to keep their own jobs. Loss of confidence in ourselves and our fellows is reflected in the growing pressure for conformity, the distrust of independence and the demand for psychic security, and the intolerance of dissent. Quite properly *Time* may observe that "young people seem to have no militant beliefs. . . . Today's generation, either through fear, passivity, or conviction, is ready to conform."

These developments have been accompanied by a discrediting of public office and governing institutions and even by a growing belief in the futility of the political process. Contributing to this cynicism have been violations of the Constitution and the law by public officials, the conduct of Congressional committees, wire-tapping by the F. B. I., the unprecedented influence of the military, and the spread of the anti-democratic doctrine that the end justifies the means. Increasingly individuals fail to see the connection between significant issues and political action. Parties seem designed to obscure or avoid the presentation of meaningful choices.

Operating both as cause and effect is the absence of a vital common purpose and an adequate political or social theory. Where are we headed? What great idea motivates our collective life? A nation is unlikely to sustain greatness merely by resisting the Soviet Union or even by launching an "Operation Killer." This lack of purpose does not mean that a common goal has been lost, for liberal democracy never offered one. Rather the problem has been newly created in the course of moving from an individualistic society to a collective one—collective, that is, in the physical and organizational sense.

THE need is now to develop a pervasive sense of social purpose, with certain common ends explicitly stated. We have never faced up to this before because the primary problems have been those of mastering the physical environment rather than of relating man to society. There has been a persistent failure to recognize that in a complex society it may be only through collective action that the individual obtains freedom. There is still a strong tendency to emphasize the necessity for change in individuals, while neglecting the need for institutional change.

"The more intense an individual's concern with power over things," writes Max Horkheimer, "the more will things dominate him, the more will he lack any genuine individual traits, and the more will his mind be transformed into an automaton of formalized reason." Inevitably our society, operating from these premises, underestimates the individual in assuming far too narrow a range of human motivation. We have couched our incentives too narrowly, as if the individual would respond only to fear, profit, and power.

Finally, it is obvious that the attention of people is increasingly being diverted from these internal developments to external problems. One result is that the discontent or frustration which might stimulate a politics dealing with fundamentals is channeled outward and focused on the Soviet Union and communism. This external challenge in turn provides a rationale for procedures which, no matter what the intent, hasten the erosion of the democratic political process.

One is forced to conclude that passive defense of our civil liberties is simply not enough. Reliance upon judicial decisions, even if they dare run counter to prevailing opinion, will not preserve our liberties. What is called for is a change in the climate of opinion, a reassertion of confidence in our democratic system, and the rise of a generation prepared to challenge and to alter any institution or practice which implements anti-democratic power. For the individual this means that to be useful he must "never take a course that will silence" him. As a beginning it is difficult to improve upon John Jay Chapman's advice:

> Refuse to accept anything that implies collusion, whether it be a clerkship or a curacy, a legal fee or a post in a university. Retain the power of speech, no matter what other power you may lose. If you can take this course, and in so far as you take it, you will bless this country. In so far as you depart from this course you become dampers, mutes, and hooded executioners.

The Campaign Against the U. N.

BY RICHARD FRIEDLICH

THE United Nations, compelled by its nature to adopt a neutral attitude in American politics, nevertheless indulged in some private rejoicing over the outcome of the two conventions. In the Republican case it was cheered by the negative fact of Taft's defeat rather than by Eisenhower's triumph, most of the disparate right-wing elements which have attacked the U. N. with increasing virulence in recent months having been Taftites. In the Democratic case Stevenson was recognized as a more militant U. N. supporter than the other Democratic candidates and as an internationalist who if elected could be expected to back up his party's verbal nods to the organization with action to strengthen its role in the struggle to keep the peace. The U. N. knew from experience that an Administration which though friendly is something less than devoted can leave it badly exposed to sniping from the right.

Between now and November the U. N. will keep its sentiments discreetly veiled, but privately it will be for Stevenson. It feels that an Eisenhower victory would sweep into Congress so many McCarthys, Jenners, and Brickers that the decline of the U. N. as an instrument of United States foreign policy could not be checked, even though Eisenhower himself favored its use. The grave dangers to the U. N. that have developed under the somewhat less than fervent sponsorship of the Administration were pointed out recently by Porter McKeever, who served six years as chief press officer of the American delegation. The Administration has cut down the U. N., he told reporters, from being the cornerstone of our foreign policy "to the size of a pebble," and added that public support of the organization appeared to be rapidly "slipping away."

Actually, public support of the U. N. seems to have changed qualitatively rather than quantitatively. A poll taken in June by the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago found that 85 per cent of the people in the country favored continued United States membership, compared with 78 per cent the year before, and that 47 per cent were "satisfied" with the organization, compared with 43 per cent in 1951. The most recent Gallup poll, taken last December, showed 73 per cent favoring continued United States membership, a moderate decline from 75 per cent the previous June.

But statistics do not measure the increased sharpness of the criticism or the growing apathy and doubt among people who would still list themselves as supporters of the U. N. A citizen might tell an interviewer that he favored the U. N. and then reply with a series of noes to specific questions about whether he backs the action in Korea or the effort to write a treaty on human rights.

Enemies of the U. N. find that the simplest way to enlist support is to smear it as one big Communist plot. They have used the appearance of a number of U. N. employees before Congressional and grand-jury inquiries into communism as jumping-off points for their attacks. Their goal is to effect the complete divorcement of this country from the world organization. The people who have ganged up on the U. N. in this fashion are often in the vanguard of divers anti-democratic movements. They include the most irresponsible of the red-baiters, the professional anti-Semites and Negro-baiters, and the self-righteous reactionaries who purvey hatred of foreigners, misappropriating for their cause the American flag and Constitution. Among them are such familiar personalities as the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Joseph Kamp, and Edward Rumely.

One of the favorite fictions disseminated by enemies of the U. N. is that Alger Hiss wrote the Charter. Dr. Ralph Bunche, who has filled some of the U. N.'s highest posts, has reported disturbing evidence of the quasi-authoritative manner in which this canard has been circulated. After a speech he gave in Los Angeles a genteel, well-dressed woman in the audience came up to him and said she was worried about United States participation in the U. N. because an army general had told her D. A. R. chapter he had documents proving that Hiss had written the Charter.

The witch-hunters among the critics of the U. N. have an operative in Congress in the person of Representative John T. Wood of Idaho, who has gone so far as to introduce a bill calling for United States withdrawal from the organization. "The U. N.," he has said, "is an instrument conjured up in the evil minds of the international agents of the Soviet Union for the express purpose of foisting upon the unsuspecting people of all nations 'One World' government dominated by the Soviet Union." He considers the war in Korea part of a "fatal U. N. policy, blueprinted for this nation's destruction."

Many elements in the anti-U. N. movement were

RICHARD FRIEDLICH is the pseudonym of a newspaperman who has been covering the United Nations regularly for five years.

brought together at the D. A. R. convention in Washington in April. Representative Wood told the several thousand Daughters that the U. N. was a crime perpetrated by "out-and-out minions of Soviet Russia, pro-British Fabian Socialists, Rhodes scholars, and just plain traitors to America." The isolationist Republican Senator from Indiana, William E. Jenner, said that "we must disentangle ourselves from the U. N. because it is a collective super-state." The D. A. R. members, with only five dissenting, adopted a resolution expressing disapproval of any attempt by the U. N. to bring about complete or partial world government. In an official statement the convention stopped just short of urging immediate United States withdrawal.

THE U. N.'s Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been singled out for special attack. Accusations that the agency was tainted with communism and atheism culminated in a D. A. R. resolution condemning use of its teacher-guidance booklets in American public schools. The fault of these booklets was that they suggested teachers should soft-pedal the nationalist ideals emphasized in many nations' history books and try to give their pupils a world outlook. The UNESCO pamphlets may not have struck a perfect balance in treating the subject of nationalism versus internationalism, but they were certainly not the work of Kremlin plotters aiming to turn the world's youth against their native countries. If proof is needed, one may cite the fifteen-to-three vote in the U. N. Economic and Social Council a year ago approving the report of UNESCO's activities: the three that disapproved were Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Many of the agency's critics, inside and outside the D. A. R., are persons who for some time have been sniping at the American public-school system, demanding purges of leftist teachers, proscription of certain textbooks, and abandonment of so-called progressive educational methods.

The education editor of the New York *Times*, Benjamin Fine, has shown how effective anti-U. N. pressure from the D. A. R. and similarly inclined groups has been on school authorities. Fine reported last month that some school systems, to the deep concern of leading educators, had discarded the UNESCO teacher-guidance booklets as well as other material concerning the U. N. The Houston, Texas, school board, he said, had banned the annual U. N. essay contest. (In this case the citizens rebelled, took over the contest, and held it in the Y. W. C. A.) In Los Angeles the superintendent of schools, Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, had not only banned the essay contests but also withdrawn the controversial UNESCO booklets. The number of American schools participating in the essay contest dropped from 2,700 in 1951 to 2,600 in 1952.

UNESCO is in a particularly bad spot because the attack on it has been furthered by the Vatican. A Vatican news bulletin on June 21 accused it and the U. N.'s World Health Organization of being dominated by a "materialistic spirit." UNESCO, it said, "is lacking in its concept of morality. . . . Its scale of values is entirely empirical, and it never refers to an absolute." The WHO came in for condemnation because it had ventured into the fields of birth control and artificial insemination. At the time it was feared that the Vatican attack on the two agencies might be the prelude to an expanding Catholic opposition to the whole United Nations, but since then the organization has received what amounts to a Papal blessing.

Trygve Lie

The alleged "U. N. threat to America" was behind the introduction in the Senate of the so-called Bricker resolution, which urged adoption of a constitutional amendment that would slash the power of the President and Senate to make treaties. Introduction of the resolution was spurred by the decision of a California court that the U. N. Charter nullified a local property law barring aliens who were ineligible for citizenship—a Japanese in this case—from owning real property. Though the finding was reversed in the state Supreme Court, the concern occasioned by the lower court's ruling remained. Opposition to the U. N. Convention against Genocide and the projected Convention on Human Rights also stimulated the demand for the resolution. The U. N. was its target, but it was so drafted that the whole treaty-making power of the federal government was affected.

The resolution would ban all treaties and executive agreements "respecting"—a very loose word—the constitutional rights of United States citizens. It would ban agreements giving an international organization or a foreign country any power vested in Congress, the President, or the courts: all arbitration treaties under a foreign umpire would be out. It would ban agreements altering federal or state law unless they were enacted through regular Congressional legislation. Thus the conduct of international business by executive action would be subjected to the delays involved in writing and enacting Congressional law.

Fifty-nine Senators indorsed the Bricker resolution, some of whom—such as Lodge and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Ives of New York, Mrs. Smith of Maine, and Morse of Oregon—are ordinarily in favor of facilitating international cooperation. Many probably signed simply because its proponents—the American Bar Association was a prime mover—made it appear that treaties might downgrade the fundamental constitutional rights of Americans. While a case could be made for some legislation designed to clarify the relations between the treaty-making power, the Constitution, and domestic law, the sweeping Bricker resolution is not what is needed.

In view of the rising opposition to even so limited an instrument of international cooperation as the U. N., it is no wonder that the idea of transforming it into something more akin to a world government is being abandoned by public officials. At one time twenty-two state legislatures had asked the federal government to take steps to create a world federation. Now fifteen of them, prodded by such organizations as the D. A. R. and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, have changed their minds and rescinded their resolutions on the subject.

The forces supporting the U. N. apparently lack the dynamism required to break the back of the attacks on it. The Truman Administration has put considerable effort into making the U. N. a going concern. Entry of the United States into the Korean war under the U. N.'s aegis is considered by some to be a high point in the history of the movement for collective security. But the Administration has also weakened the U. N. by bypassing it when implementing important foreign policies. Sometimes it has done this as an appeasement of McCarthyism; at other times it has had even less excuse.

But if the Administration has undermined the U. N. potential by failure to pursue important policies within its framework, the U. N. has missed opportunities to assert itself and capture the public's imagination. And what is even more serious, it has fought back only feebly against accusations that it is a nest of spies. Secretary General Trygve Lie has in effect helped to certify the charges by authorizing a house-cleaning of U. N. employees suspected of illegal Communist activities. The New York *Times* reported on June 15 that fifteen suspects had been dismissed or asked to resign and that at least thirty more were slated for similar treatment.

Lie and Byron Price, assistant secretary general for administrative affairs, have denied any connection between the U. N. firings and grand-jury or other inquiries into communism. Little doubt exists, however, that the U. N. has had access to United States government lists of U. N. employees suspected of being or having been Communists. Whether government officials applied pressure that led to the firings or whether the U. N., eager to disarm criticism, took the initiative in seeking information on its employees is beside the point. It is hardly in accord with the lofty principles on which the U. N. is built for its Secretary General to order the dismissal of political suspects without giving them an opportunity to know the particulars of the case against them or to defend themselves. Surely he could have found some better method to combat a red-smear campaign.

Britain Won't "Liberate"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

IN THE slightly stodgy atmosphere of a church conference house in southern England a brilliant young French editor was holding forth with impeccable logic on the manner in which cold-war propaganda, on both sides, inexorably builds toward the "war of liberation." The surprisingly youthful J. M. Domenach, editor of the liberal Catholic monthly *Esprit*, demonstrated that carefully channeled propaganda disguised as "information" has been pushing the masses on both sides of the Iron Curtain toward the acceptance of four propositions: Good is on our side, evil on the other; the other side threatens the peace; war is inevitable because of the pressures driving the other side; victory will bring "liberation," "justice," and the solution of present unbearable problems. M. Domenach was able to win quick support from his listeners. They were almost all pacifists, attending the annual conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace. Other speakers were Pastor Niemöller and V. K. Krishna Menon, until recently Nehru's representative in London.

M. Domenach's words would have been listened to sympathetically by a much wider audience. One would expect a French "neutralist" to evoke a response in British Labor circles, but when the editor of *Esprit* spoke, at the end of August, the highest circles of Britain would have applauded. For British leaders were still recoiling from General Eisenhower's promise to turn back "the tidal mud of communism" and "liberate" the "captive" populations "of the enslaved lands"—including not only Eastern Europe but China and Tibet, Outer Mongolia, areas of Indo-China, North Korea, and, in his uninformed phrase, "the northern island of Japan"—or "northern Japan" as the New York *Times* transcribed it. This apparently meant, not Hokkaido, which is still part of Japan, but southern Sakhalin, which was taken by Japan from Russia in 1905 and returned in 1945. Its return was confirmed in the peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles last year.

ANDREW ROTH is The Nation's *correspondent in London.*

In Britain the reaction to Eisenhower's speech was more temperate than on the Continent. The British know how to control their feelings when open dissent might strain the Anglo-American alliance. An editorial in the *Times* of August 27 was a consummate example of how a British journalist can take down a person's pants and spank him soundly while appearing to be patting him on the back. The editorial pointed out that the Eisenhower-Stevenson nominations had reassured Britain that "whatever the outcome of the election, no revolutionary change in American foreign policy is to be expected." It accepted the fact that Eisenhower's party must make political propaganda, but insisted that it could "avoid taking up positions which it may find embarrassing if it wins." Feeling it advisable to be charitable to Americans, the *Times* continued:

> Almost certainly, General Eisenhower did not intend, when he listed the "captive peoples" of Eastern Europe and the Far East, to assume any specific commitment at all. He may have intended no more than to outline in hard terms the "tragedy of lost opportunity" of the past ten years and to assert a proper concern for the peoples that have fallen victim to that tragedy.

But, it admitted:

> General Eisenhower seemed to come near to assuming certain commitments which might be quite beyond the ability of the United States to discharge by peaceful means in any measurable period of time. . . . The difficulty is . . . that to list as *irredenta* vast areas of Europe and Asia, and to advocate telling the Soviet government "with cold finality" that "we shall never recognize the slightest permanence" in its position there raises doubts about the manner in which General Eisenhower would really like American foreign policy to be conducted. . . . He has inherited the Republican foreign policy which Mr. Dulles, at the party convention in July, described as "liberation, not containment."

The *Times* clearly saw this as an example of adolescent bravado exceeding power:

> There have been many occasions in the past when American governments have taken up rigid and wholly sincere moral positions, refusing to recognize indubitable situations of fact, but such refusals have rarely been fruitful in their outcome. In these days the United States plays not a withdrawn but an active part in international affairs. From this change, perhaps the greatest single development in world affairs in the twentieth century, flows the inexorable necessity of matching a foreign policy to the means available for its pursuit; the desirable and the possible can no longer safely be confused.

The British not only doubt America's ability to "liberate" the new Communist states but fear it would be fatal for Britain to be "shanghaied" into such a crusade.

MUCH sharper than the polite chiding of the *Times* was the criticism of Edward Crankshaw, the *Observer's* expert on Russian affairs. Persons moderately critical of Soviet policy think that Mr. Crankshaw has a strong anti-Communist bias—his views, it should be said, offen paralel those of the East European sections of the Foreign Office. In a Foreign News Service dispatch published in the *Observer* of August 28 he expressed concern that General Eisenhower had "come out with the most downright statement of cold-war aims yet uttered by a responsible leader of opinion in the West . . . at a moment when there is an accumulation of signs suggesting that Stalin is considering the advantages of an armistice in the cold war."

> Lately, in the Soviet party journals [he continued], there has been more than one suggestion that Moscow has decided to desist in its provocations, consolidate its gains, achieve some sort of a coexisting agreement with the West, and devote itself to building up the strength of the Soviet Union. Signor Nenni [Italy's pro-Soviet Socialist leader] in a recent speech hinted at the same idea. The instructions to the French Communist Party to go easy and revive the spirit of the popular front point in the same direction. The calling of the nineteenth party congress for October itself marks the end of a chapter in Soviet history. The increased urgency and ruthlessness in the drive to Sovietize the East European satellites again suggests that Stalin is more immediately concerned with strengthening the Soviet sphere than in weakening the outside world. All things considered, it will not be surprising if, at the party congress in October, the Kremlin puts a new stress on the doctrine to live and let live, acknowledging a deadlock in the conflict between East and West, and ushering in a new period in the spirit of "socialism in one country"—with the difference that this time it will be socialism in several countries.

Crankshaw even ventures to point out that while "liberation" can end police terror it would probably replace it with exploitation.

> Police terror is [Stalin's] own natural method of getting his way. The West has other methods of getting its way: the most effective in the past has been a wide range of what might be called financial blackmail, employed with more or less elegance, with more or less benevolence, in the interests of its own system, against the weaker and more backward nations. It is possible to argue, and many Soviet Communists do so argue, that in the long run the adoption of the Soviet system will benefit, say, Rumania, even if many people get badly hurt in the process of adoption; whereas the continuation of the capitalist system, which meant that Rumania was largely run by capitalist interests outside the country, would never benefit the Rumanians even if it were less immediately brutal in its application and effect.

Crankshaw asks how this policy is to be carried out.

> Supposing, for example, that in due course the Soviet Union and the Western powers were to withdraw their troops from Germany and Austria—this has already been suggested so far as Germany is concerned in the latest Soviet note—the Soviet Union would have no pretext for keeping her troops along the lines of communication in the East European satellites. She would withdraw, unless the satellites invited her to stay. She would leave behind her a number of states with strong Communist governments, backed by the powerful local police forces, controlling peoples from whom the brave and active oppositions have been ruthlessly purged. They would, on the face of it, be sovereign governments, in close alliance with the Soviet Union. They might even invite the Kremlin to establish and garrison bases in their territories—as Britain and France have invited the United States of America to do the same. Given this situation, what is the West supposed to do? Is it to declare war on Rumania because she has a Communist government in close alliance with the Soviet Union?

Calling for British realism on the Communist states, he says:

> It is the business of the West to make the non-Communist sector of the world so strong, morally and physically, that if, for example, the Czechs decided to break with the Soviet Union, the free world would, so to speak, be in a position to support them.

To promise anything more, without executing it, would convince the surviving anti-Communists in the Communist states that the United States "talks loudly but carries a small stick." To do anything more would, it is clear, panic America's European allies.

The strongly pro-American *Economist* summarized responsible British opinion about what it described as Eisenhower's "dangerously aggressive" proposals when it declared on August 30:

> Unhappily "liberation" applied to Eastern Europe—and Asia—means either the risk of war or it means nothing. . . . "Liberation" entails no risk of war only when it means nothing.

A New Union Health Plan

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

San Francisco

THE San Francisco Labor Council, comprising 141 local A. F. of L. unions with 187,000 members, has approved a unique city-wide medical program which may deeply influence union health and welfare patterns in many other cities. As prospects grow dimmer for national health insurance in the near future, union leaders put increasing stress on their own medical-care arrangements for members through negotiated contracts with management. Recent years have seen a proliferation of health plans financed mainly by employers; some are sound, some of dubious value. Coverage is rarely complete; often it falls far below adequacy. In most plans commercial insurance policies provide indemnity against the costs of certain accidents and ailments; some plans cover hospital and/or medical services arranged through non-profit or profit-making agencies. Still relatively few but growing in number are direct health services, more or less comprehensive, set up by the unions themselves or by labor-management boards.

The San Francisco plan was drafted by a brilliant young physician and medical economist, Dr. E. Richard Weinerman, who is now working out the details of operation with union officials. It calls for a network of labor health centers in neighborhoods where workers and their families live, with a large centrally located Labor Health Institute to provide special services not available in the local centers. The centers would be staffed by groups of general physicians and specialists practicing "teamwork medicine."

Negotiated health and welfare funds would furnish the main financial support of the San Francisco set-up. Any union affiliated with the city Labor Council could join or not as it chose. The council would administer the plan with the aid of management and professional advisory groups, and a special medical board would establish and supervise standards of quality. Individual union members would also be free to choose another type of medical coverage; labor-union officials are anxious to safeguard the "free choice" principle.

A comprehensive system of preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, and rehabilitative health services is envisioned in the San Francisco labor plan. About 80 per cent of the services required by the average worker's family would be provided—twice as much as is covered by existing health benefits. Acceptable community hospitals would furnish beds for subscribers requiring hospitalization. If this aspect of the plan does not work out satisfactorily, the Labor Council may decide to build and maintain its own hospitals.

Each family using the plan could choose its own physician from the health-center staff. This family doctor would, in effect, serve as captain of a medical team pool-

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ALBERT DEUTSCH, author and journalist, specializes in problems of social welfare.

ing its skills in the patient's behalf. Main emphasis would be on preventive services, which is good for patients and doctors alike in such a prepaid plan.

It is estimated that this service could be provided at a cost of about $4.50 a month for a worker alone, plus $6 or $7 for his family. The average monthly cost, regardless of family size, would be about $9 a month per covered worker. Memberships could be paid entirely by employers or by employers and workers.

INASMUCH as A. F. of L. members and their families make up more than half of San Francisco's total population, the new health plan will have a profound impact on the medical economics of the city. The American Medical Association recently sent staff members from its Chicago headquarters to report on the economic implications of the plan, and the San Francisco Medical Society, an affiliate of the A. M. A., has created a special Labor Health Plan Study Committee to investigate the Labor Council's set-up. Its chairman, Dr. Samuel R. Sherman, in a letter circulated to all local physicians, says: "Union-labor health plans may bring drastic changes in the practice of medicine in the near future, and the profession must formulate plans to meet the challenge."

Dr. Weinerman, backed by the Labor Council, has earnestly sought to win the cooperation of organized medicine. The medical society has been invited to help set up suitable professional standards and fair scales of professional pay. The union officials point out that the plan is entirely voluntary and that they intend to use only local doctors in the medical centers. The American Medical Association has repeatedly, in recent years, expressed its support of voluntary health plans—after fighting them bitterly a decade or two ago—and all its requirements for such plans are met by the council's scheme. Nevertheless, some neutral observers see a bitter fight shaping up. The Permanente Health Plan, founded by Henry J. Kaiser and Dr. Sidney Garfield, is operating successfully in this region, but the San Francisco Medical Society still denies membership to Permanente staff doctors (see Hospitals for the People? by A. W. Hoppe in last week's *Nation*). Should the society try to obstruct the Labor Council's plan, it would find a big fight on its hands, since the council represents about 90 per cent of organized labor in this union-conscious town.

About half of the A. F. of L.'s 187,000 members are now protected by existing health and welfare funds, and the number is expected to rise to 125,000 by the end of 1952. Of these funds, about $6,500,000 a year is available for health coverage. Labor Council officials are confident that this money can be spent most effectively through the proposed plan, centrally administered and medically decentralized. The health centers, it is estimated, would cost from $200,000 to $400,000 each to build and equip. A starting membership of some 30,000 workers is foreseen.

George Johns, council secretary, has explained how the idea originated:

> When health and welfare funds were first negotiated in labor-management agreements, we were anxious to get the best possible medical services for our members. But we didn't know just how to proceed. We hired a private insurance consultant to advise us. We later realized we should have obtained a public-health-oriented medical expert to do the job. So we commissioned Dr. Weinerman to conduct a survey for us, and to help us plan and organize a program that would bring modern medicine to our members and their families at costs within reach of available welfare funds.

Dr. Weinerman's survey revealed the following facts: There is a confused and often overlapping pattern of union welfare funds in San Francisco as in most other cities. Some seventy-one local unions are involved in sixty-four joint agreements, administered from forty-five separate offices and covered under twenty-four different insurance carriers and health-service agencies. A single union may be a partner to as many as eight different welfare-fund agreements. The medical coverage in welfare funds for more than three-fourths of the workers—86 per cent of the total welfare funds—is arranged through commercial insurance companies. Most of the other covered workers get varying amounts of medical care from the California Physicians' Service and the Permanente Health Plan. Only one-fifth of the covered workers have their dependents included in health benefits; about half have the option of covering their dependents by paying extra premiums.

In many plans the worker gets back in actual "health value" only half the premium paid in his behalf. The rest is eaten up in excessive administrative expenses for filing, processing, and paying individual bills on each item of medical service; in wasteful expenditures resulting from abuses of doctors' fee schedules; in excessive claim rates for hospital and surgical services because preventive, diagnostic, and early treatment is excluded or minimized; in the waste entailed when many small plans are operated independently.

The San Francisco plan would be the first to be operated directly by a central labor council. Philadelphia has a medical center sponsored by the A. F. of L. Central Labor Union, but it is administered by the five or six unions whose 12,000 workers are served. Other labor health plans—notably those of the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Garment Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Teamsters' Union of St. Louis—are administered by the individual unions. The San Francisco experiment will be watched closely by unions eager to make more effective use of their health and welfare funds.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MIRROR IMAGE: PORT-AU-PRINCE

Au petit
Salon de Coiffeur,
Monique's / hands fork
like lightning, like a bâton
rise / to lead her client's hair
in *repassage*: she irons out the kinks.
Madame's brown cheek / is dusted over with a
paler shade / of costly powder. Nails and lips are red.

Her matching lips and nails incarnadined, / in the
next booth Madame consults her face / imprisoned
in the glass. Her lovely tan / is almost
gone. Oh, watch Yvonne's astute
conductor fingers set the
permanent, / *In little*
Drawing-room of
Hairdresser!

BARBARA HOWES

Document for Our Times

THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS. By Louis Adamic. Doubleday and Company. $5.

IN A Slovenian forest, one day early in 1949, Louis Adamic came upon an eagle, its beak imbedded in a thick root. As Adamic watched, the bloody and exhausted bird finally freed itself and painfully flew away. The root, which seemed so solid, broke at the point where the beak had been caught. In later months, as Adamic saw more of Yugoslavia, he came to identify the eagle with Tito and the root with Soviet—and Western—systems of life. And still later he found the theme and title for his book in the forest episode.

Adamic's last book, however, is only partly the tale of the Yugoslav eagle. Alongside, blurred but unmistakable runs the story of an American liberal, distressed by the illiberal trends he saw at home, repelled by Soviet tactics, and seeking in loneliness and anguish new freedom and spiritual reformation in the Yugoslavia where he was born.

These two themes—of Tito's flight to independence and of Adamic's own unhappy search—weave an erratic pattern through the volume. The duality does not help the book, even if, to me, it explains why Adamic was found dead on his farm before the book was completed. Nor, unfortunately, is the duality the only flaw. Only once before—when Ed Snow walked in on the young Communist revolution in China—had an American writer had such an opportunity to observe and record a major phase in the history of world communism. In January, 1949, the morale of the Yugoslav leaders must have reached its lowest point. Some of them still hoped for reconciliation with Moscow, but most were already beginning to feel the need for reorientation. At such a moment the arrival of a man who—Belgrade felt—could sway American public opinion and tell the "true story" to the whole world was a minor miracle. It was thus that Adamic found himself greeted at the airport by a member of the Yugoslav Politbureau, that he could spend a total of thirty hours in conversations with Tito, that he could travel with Kardelj and Pijade and see other top leaders whenever he wished, and that he could nonchalantly turn down Tito's own invitation to a party in his, Adamic's, honor.

Presented with his opportunity, Snow produced a historic document. "The Eagle," unhappily, is not quite that. Perhaps Adamic's inner conflict was in the way; for weeks or months he did not even know whether he wanted to gather the material thrust at him. Or perhaps it was the initial reluctance of Tito and his aides to disclose *all* the secrets. But whatever the reason, this is not the cleanly etched, comprehensive record of Tito's break with Moscow for which so many friends of Adamic have been waiting. In fact, the book does not meet the promise of the title. Chronologically, the story of Tito stops short of the break with Moscow. What happened at the moment the eagle freed its beak? What is there to show that the roots will snap where the Yugoslav beak was imbedded?

Yet the book does contain great chunks of precious material. Tito's story, partly drawn from himself, partly from men who know him, is often more exciting in Adamic's presentation than in Tito's own recent volume. There is the fascinating tale of how Tito, a prisoner of war in Siberia, sought refuge with a Kirghiz chieftain, learned the Kirghiz language, was offered the hands of the chief's four or five daughters, and chose instead to woo a Russian woman, to whom presumably he is still legally married. There is the record of Tito's underground work, his services in Spain, and his activities in Moscow. There are such precious tidbits as Tito's (1949) "We love the Soviet Union," and his belief that Russia would not attack Yugoslavia because this might provoke a world crisis, and the conviction of Yugoslav leaders that the "cold war" is not unwelcome to Moscow, since it inhibits the demand of the Russian people for more consumer goods and, moreover, keeps Mao Tse-tung attached to Russia.

Adamic's approach is not that of a reporter or a historian. He admits that, often, many weeks passed before he could find time to set down his notes of some important interview; yet, in relating them, he records such minute details as exchanged glances or the growl of Tito's dog. At crucial points in his reports of interviews he wanders away for some personal aside. He is casual with his sources; so that one often does not know whether it is Tito reminiscing, an aide contributing some second-hand morsel, or Adamic himself doing some clever guessing. This is especially true in the curious account of Tito's feud with Gorkic, whom Tito replaced in 1937 as chief of the Yugoslav Communists. In an odd reverse of the Cominform technique Gorkic, missing in Russia since 1937, is described as, all at the same time, a Comintern agent detailed by Moscow to keep the Yugoslav Communist underground broken up, an agent of the OGPU, and a hireling of the "Pilsudski-Jesuit" spy network within the Polish Communist Party. Tito himself is drawn as an extraordinary figure who maintains a defiant independence while holding a desk job in the Moscow headquarters of the Comintern and whose appointment as the top man is demanded fiercely by the Yugoslav Communist underground. The source of this information is not given, but it must be someone in Tito's entourage.

It may well be that had Adamic lived he might have done a major surgical job on the book. As it was, Stella Adamic and Timothy Seldes, who took on the task of editing, deleted a third of the wordage. Even thus, the book, especially in the concluding chapters, reads more like random notes from a diary than a finished product. It is overwritten—notably in Book I—often imprecise, and at times confusing. Yet, curiously, it remains an important document for our times, for it is a passionate and troubled chronicle of a distinguished American liberal in a new American climate to which he could not possibly adapt himself. If anything emerges clearly from "The Eagle," it is that Adamic was in love with America and with freedom, that he felt he was losing something precious in his adopted land and was seeking to rediscover it in Yugoslavia, and that his death was a loss to liberalism and to America. MARK GAYN

Steinbeck's Later Fiction

EAST OF EDEN. By John Steinbeck. The Viking Press. $4.50

THIS is the longest and most ambitious of the six novels by Steinbeck since the appearance in 1939 of his masterpiece, "The Grapes of Wrath." It shares the distinction with the other five of being unsatisfactory in one important aspect or another and raises anew the question of why Steinbeck's talent has declined so rapidly and so far.

The physical dimensions of the book are quantitatively impressive. Two large families, the Trasks and the Hamiltons, supply the cast of characters across three generations. The time span stretches from 1870 to 1918 and covers, in rapid descriptive interludes, most of the big events of American history between the Civil War and the First World War. The scene is the Salinas Valley in northern California, home territory for the author, which he treats with the minutest geographic and meteorological detail. And the text runs to more than six hundred pages.

Yet the results, artistic and imaginative, are meager. The characters divide into symbols of good and evil, keeping us from accepting them as individuals. Sam Hamilton, who came from Ireland to California, is the embodiment of everything good, sensitive, and true. His polarized counterpart is Cathy Trask, introduced at the start as a monster rather than a human being, who burns her parents to death, cuckolds her husband on their wedding day, shoots him later after the New England Trasks have settled in the Salinas Valley, and abandons her new-born twins to become the impresario of the town's leading brothel, where she operates a ring of murder, blackmail, and sexual sadism.

Mixed in with this moral symbolism is some biblical allegory, centering mainly around the Cain-Abel theme. Old Cyrus Trask has two sons, Adam and Charles, who separate neatly into opposing categories. Adam is sensitive and good, Charles is muscular and bad. Naturally Charles tries to murder his brother out of envy and hatred because Adam is his father's favorite—just as Abel's offerings were preferred by God to Cain's. The drama between them is repeated with Adam's two sons, Aron and Caleb. The result of the struggle is that the evil brother is morally and psychologically conquered, and in the process transformed into his counterpart.

Confronted with these simplified abstractions in the genre of the old medieval morality plays, one remembers that the Joads were none too individualized either. But their private lives were merged with the collective lives of the Okies, with the population drift from

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DEMOCRACY
By HENRY ADAMS

the Dust Bowl to the land flowing with milk, honey, and orange groves beyond the mountains, and finally with the lives of the uprooted everywhere. This linkage gave "The Grapes of Wrath" its terrific intensity. Here the linkage is with rather vague stereotypes about good triumphing over evil, men being distinguished from animals by their moral sense, and the eternal existence of free will. No one will dispute the validity of these concepts, but they are only verbalized clichés as they appear in the novel.

Steinbeck is no great shakes as a moral philosopher, and this novel in terms of action and character is committed to its moral philosophy. He is, or was, at his best when moved by indignation, horror, passionate tenderness, and the other violent emotions that animated the naturalist novelists from Zola down. There is in this story very little emotion that affects the author amid the numerous emotionalizing melodramas through which his characters pass.

Furthermore, various elements fail to relate or cohere. The often lovely and always vivid descriptions of the Salinas Valley are not tied in with the lives of the Trasks and the Hamiltons, who might just as well be living in any valley anywhere; the detailed accounts of nature are purely ornamental. So much time, energy, and drama are invested in the Trasks that the Hamiltons as a group struggle vainly for the attention of the reader. And the narrator, Steinbeck himself, a third-generation Hamilton, since he is only an outside observer of the events he deals with, has a superfluous air.

The brothel scenes aside, the novel might well have been written by Edna Ferber or Louis Bromfield. It is big, sprawling, muscle-bound, full of readily digestible characters involved in sentimental situations in which virtue inescapably triumphs over vice. The Steinbeck who was as much the genius of the 30's as Sinclair Lewis was of the 20's, is scarcely in evidence. The vitality, passion, and folk-communion that made "Tortilla Flat," "Of Mice and Men," and "The Grapes of Wrath" a permanent part of our literature are painfully absent in "East of Eden," as they have been in Steinbeck's fiction since the 1930's came to an end.

LEO GURKO

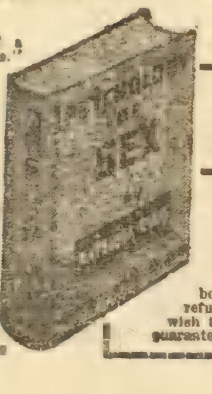
Sources of Corruption

MORALITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By George A. Graham. Random House. $3.50.

DESPITE the partisan clamor that it is an invention of President Truman's associates, corruption has plagued American politics for a very long time. Professor Graham, a teacher of government at Princeton and a former consultant to Senator Douglas's Committee on Ethical Standards, has seen this fact clearly. In "Morality in American Politics" he goes beyond the deep freezers and tanker deals to view corruption in the broader perspective of American culture.

In the main, he has been remarkably successful. In his attempt to cover a multitude of subjects—from RFC loans to America's image of itself—he sometimes sacrifices thoroughness to comprehensiveness. Professor Graham has made only a beginning of the historical and comparative study of corruption that we so badly need. In what way, for instance, does American corruption differ from the English corruption of the eighteenth century? Why have the British managed to clean up their government while we have not? These are questions that have not yet been answered.

The book is most successful in placing corruption in its proper context. It begins with a judicious consideration of morality within all branches of our federal government. Professor Graham finds most cause for alarm in our legislature. "Representativeness, responsibility, and rationality," he writes, "are the bases for the moral authority of legislative bodies." He shows that Congress has in some measure abandoned all three R's: small states in the Senate and rural constituencies in the House are over-represented, and chairmen of committees are selected through the outmoded seniority system. Congress allots disproportionate power to its committee chairmen, weakens party discipline, and has failed to expel members who have been found guilty of improprieties or even crimes. Finally, Congress often rejects responsibility for legislative leadership and permits some of its investigations to turn into witch hunts. Professor Graham indicates how these failures lead to a loss of integrity among



HAVELOCK ELLIS PSYCHOLOGY of SEX

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our legislators and open the road to corruption.

The executive branch, on the other hand, has accepted leadership and has, generally, represented the national interest faithfully. While placing incidents in their proper perspective—after all, ours will not be known as the Age of the Mink Coat but the Age of the Marshall Plan—Professor Graham does not hesitate to criticize President Truman for his misplaced loyalty to such friends as Harry Vaughan.

But "Morality in American Politics" also pays due attention to a wider context—the place of our government in our society. Professor Graham points out that civil servants and legislators do not live in isolation. Their values are those of the society from which they are selected, and their tempters come from the same society. Harold Ickes once said: "Within my knowledge, no public officer has ever bribed himself." The business man who wants a government contract badly enough to circumvent the law holds a central place in any study of corruption.

Professor Graham effectively surveys the impact of our *mores* on our political morality. We are a people, he writes, that pretends to disdain politicians, that is theoretically hostile to the state but practically eager to take handouts. We praise the man who makes a fast buck and the shrewd operator who avoids paying taxes by taking advantage of a loophole in the law. We demand impossibly high standards of the same public servants we revile as "bureaucrats," "radicals," and "dreamers."

The Douglas committee report, "Ethical Standards in Government," from which this book quotes liberally, rightly considered these attitudes intimately related to the question of morality in government. And Professor Graham agrees: as long as these ideas are prevailing, no amount of investigation and reorganization of governmental bureaus will change much. There is modern truth in the medieval English quatrain:

The law locks up both man and woman
Who steals the goose from off the
  common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

PETER GAY

Books in Brief

ON READING POETY. By Aubrey de Selincourt. Alan Swallow. $1.25. A pleasant little book. Addressing himself to the naive but presumably well-disposed reader, Mr. de Selincourt suggests "that the world of poetry is remote from no one who has his five senses, a quick understanding, and a certain warmth of sympathy with things and people other than himself." The world of poetry, it is made clear, includes its peculiar modern provinces. Mr. de Selincourt talks down to his audience somewhat, to be sure, but he does so affably and without offense. Originally published in England under the imprint of Phoenix House, this book is one of a series which affords instruction, also, in "Reading a Novel" (Walter Allen), "A Way of Looking at Pictures" (Allen Gwyne-Jones), "Looking at a Play" (W. Bridges-Adams), and "The Novel and Our Time" (Alex Comfort).

BREAD FROM HEAVEN. By Henrietta Buckmaster. Random House. $3. A worthy novel which resembles rather too closely a case history of the protagonists' adjustment, both physical and spiritual, to a new world. The moral, of course, is that adjustment is a two-way street: the new world must do some adjusting, continuous, effortful, and conscious, to the people hurled into its midst. Miss Buckmaster's Karel and Nicky are brothers in all but blood—the crux of the plot, if you will—having been in Nazi prison camps together and later rescued together to face a new beginning. The story of their conquest of a place in a small New England community is full of believable incident, and the secondary characters, pleasant and unpleasant, come alive under Miss Buckmaster's capable handling. Especially good are such lesser but essential lights as Bertha Young, the "foster mother" who wants gratitude but doesn't recognize it when she gets it, instead provoking a kind of tolerant, silent disdain. This novel is less powerful than the same author's "Let My People Go," but it makes its point—and it is a good point to make these days when the two-way street is often roped off to make way for the America-for-the-Americans McCarthy Day parade.

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A QUEST FOR GANDHI. By Reginald Reynolds. Doubleday. $3.75. In the winter of 1949-50 a conference was held in India with government support to discuss the application of Gandhi's methods to the promotion of world peace. It was attended by delegates from Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. Though barely noticed in the United States, it was fully covered in the Indian press. Two British authors have written small books about it—Vera Brittain in "Search after Sunrise" and Reginald Reynolds in the book being noticed here. Mr. Reynolds, a Quaker, had known Gandhi in 1929-30, when he had gone to India especially to identify himself with Gandhi's activities. Twenty years afterward on his return to India, which had then enjoyed more than two years of independence, his feelings were largely those of disappointment. The millennium was far from having arrived, and he was not disposed to excuse Nehru or the other prominent members of the Indian National Congress for the failure to achieve Gandhi's program. Part of his disappointment seems to stem from a temperamental disapproval of all governments, a disposition to see good only in some hypothetical, scarcely to be realized order. The book is devoted as much to Reynolds himself as to Gandhi. He appears as a devoted pacifist—one of the sort with pretty biting language for those not in his own immediate camp. It contains some interesting anecdotes of Gandhi but nothing biographically or interpretatively important.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE first play of the season is "Seagulls Over Sorrento" (John Golden Theater). It has been running for years in London, and though its content is such that one cannot help feeling kindly toward it, the most interesting thing about it is the fact that it has been so popular with the British public. "Seagulls" is a comedy; the locale is the mess deck of a naval experimental base on an island in Scapa Flow, and it presents a slice of life of the handful of men quartered there. The experiments going forward are highly dangerous, and one of the points of the play seems to be that risking one's life in peace time takes courage of a particularly admirable sort, as indeed it does; but this point is not very clearly projected, and what we get mainly is the behavior of a group of men isolated from normal life and subject to sudden death. This group of men is also a group of British types—which probably helps to explain its popularity. There is a lot of cockney talk, and there are many local references, such as the Scotsman's anger at being called a Scotchman and his term for all British south of the (Scottish) border. The term is "Sassenachs."

Much of the humor, of course, is universal as well as British; likewise the situations and the characterizations—and the social significance which has been injected into both. For the play is concerned with the relations of the four "ratings" to their superiors as well as among themselves.

J. Pat O'Malley as Badger, who is mother and moralist as well as chief cook and bottlewasher for the mess deck, gives a good dry performance of what could be a cloying role, and the other three "ratings" are done well against similar odds. Leslie Nielsen makes the petty officer's pettiness more convincing than it would be, I'm sure, in the reading.

The play reminded me of those lesser British films which are literate and competent but not exciting—though as a film "Seagulls" would have the excitement at least of its setting; and of seagulls seen rather than merely heard offstage.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE performance of Mozart's lovely Clarinet Quintet by the Quartetto Italiano and Antoine de Bavier on a London record is the finest I have heard in years—with string playing fabulous in its refinement and blending of tone, its sensitive inflection, and with clarinet playing of matching delicacy of tone and phrasing. The first movement is slower than we usually hear, and the second is played Largo rather than Larghetto; but the music is made completely convincing in these tempos.

While the infrequently heard Handel Concerto Grosso Opus 6 No. 9 and the more familiar No. 10 are surpassed by some of the others in the series, both contain fine music—the Larghetto of No. 9 being an outstandingly beautiful movement. The performances by the Boyd Neel Orchestra on the London record are good.

Haydn's Missa Brevis in F (1750), his earliest preserved composition, and his Missa St. Joannis de Deo (1775) are engaging small-scale works, with moving slow passages—e.g., the ones in the Credo dealing with the Crucifixion. Good performances on the Lyrichord record by Hedda Heusser and Anni Berger, sopranos, Anton Heiller, organist, the Vienna Akademie Kammerchor and a chamber orchestra from the Vienna Symphony under Hans Gillesberger's direction.

The first part of the opening soprano aria of Bach's Cantata No. 202, "Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten," is magnificent music, and is beautifully sung by Anny Felbermayer; the rest of the work is, for me, routine stuff. The Cantata No. 161, "Komm, du süsse Todesstunde," on the reverse side of the Bach Guild record, is more routine stuff, except for the closing chorale, and is well performed by Hilde Rosell-Majdan, alto, Waldemar Kmentt, tenor, and chorus and orchestra under Prohaska's direction.

Oceanic offers a new recording of Fauré's lovely Requiem made by Nadine Sautereau, soprano, Bernard Demigny, baritone, Giuseppe Enghlert, organist, and the Paris Philharmonic Chorus and Orchestra under René Leibowitz's direction. The performance is excellent, and is of course reproduced with more beauty of sound and clarity of texture than the fine old performance recently dubbed onto LP by Columbia.

Pierre Bernac's singing of Schumann's "Dichterliebe" on a Columbia record is absurdly mannered, but Casadesus plays the piano part well.

What makes Gerald Abraham one of the best writers on music today is the fact that he writes out of first-hand knowledge of the music he is discussing and reports what a highly perceptive ear and mind have discovered in it. "This Modern Music" (Norton, $2.50) is a new, revised, and amplified edition of a book originally published in England in 1933, which provides an admirably clear explanation of the extensions of vocabulary and syntax in the music which the general musical public has found incomprehensible. And Mr. Abraham contends that, as in the case of a foreign language, one cannot understand modern music merely by listening to it, but must learn its vocabulary and grammar—though the converse is no less true, that "no amount of knowledge of the why and wherefore of [the] musical speech will make that language your own, as natural to you as Bach's or Wagner's, without a great deal of keen listening practice."

But as a matter of fact children learn their native language by ear long before they study its grammar; and I know from personal experience that foreign languages are best learned in the same way: after a few months in Vienna, as a boy of ten, I spoke German without having seen a grammar. And this is even more true of music, which, as Mr. Abraham himself observes in another connection, "has no sense outside itself": the internal coherence of the progression of sounds is conveyed directly by, and on the other hand apprehended and learned directly from, the sounds themselves as heard. That was how I learned the simplest musical vocabulary and syntax in earliest childhood long before I learned anything about chord progressions; it was how I extended that vocabulary and syntax later to include Debussy, Ravel, earlier Stravinsky (to "Le Sacre"), Prokofiev, Bloch. And when that way didn't work—when, that is, in the twenties I began to hear music by Schönberg, Von Webern, Varèse, Ruggles, Riegger that made no sense to me—I found that no amount of reading of explanations of vocabulary and syntax caused the music to begin to have the sense it hadn't had before.

So it has continued to be. When, a few years ago, I began to enjoy some of the later works of Stravinsky that

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I had previously found arid and ugly, it was as a result of listening—listening, it is true, with help, but the help of Balanchine's choreography, not of the incomprehensible explanations of the Stravinskyites. And when, a few months ago, I found Schönberg's "Erwartung" expressively effective, the expressive effect was something imposed on my mind directly by the progression of sounds that I heard for the first time; whereas the principle of organization that Mr. Abraham points out in a passage from Schönberg's Five Piano Pieces doesn't work, for me, as a principle of coherent sense in the progression of sounds as heard. That is true of most of "this modern music"—and not only for me but for the general musical public.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA HOWES was formerly editor of the magazine *Chimera.*

MARK GAYN has spent the last five years in Europe.

LEO GURKO, associate professor of English at Hunter College, is the author of "The Angry Decade."

PETER GAY, instructor in government at Columbia University, will publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism" in the fall.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Twenty-five Years After

Dear Sirs: It is typical of *The Nation's* editors in these fearful times that they have paused to remember the significance of the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti. But what good purpose is served by such respect for liberty's dead martyrs if we turn our faces away, as *The Nation* has seemed to do, from the political martyrs of our own decade? I refer, of course, to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, whose conviction and death sentence for alleged atomic spying will come before the Supreme Court this September.

It must become known very quickly that these two young parents are sentenced to die on what appears to be flimsy, trumped-up evidence, supplied mainly by David and Ruth Greenglass, self-admitted spies who got off with a light jail sentence in one case and complete freedom in the other, presumably as a result of their turning government witnesses. There is only a little time left to consider what it will mean to all American liberals if these people die because of their alleged leftist political views. They were, as Felix Frankfurter said of Sacco and Vanzetti, "convicted by the atmosphere and not by the evidence."

The complete trial record in this case has been printed now by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 246 Fifth Avenue, New York. Apparently they are not afraid to let people judge the facts for themselves.

Let us not celebrate the anniversary of the Sacco and Vanzetti executions with two more political deaths, thus proving that they died in vain and that we have learned nothing in twenty-five years!

MARY and NORMAN SPRINGER
Iowa City, Iowa

Where There's No Redress

Dear Sirs: Your excellent civil liberties issue might have been augmented by one more article—a discussion of the morality of the press in the era of witch-hunting. Permit me to give an example:

The August 30 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* contains an article on "communism" in Mexico. In it there is an account of the "activities" of a group of "Hollywood Reds" in the town of Cuernavaca. Among other juicy items, the author describes the disruptive conduct of Gordon Kahn and myself at a P. T. A. meeting of the American School in Cuernavaca.

Disruptive? No such meeting ever occurred, and the school will testify to it! Moreover my own children were not registered at that school, and I myself never have attended any P. T. A. meetings of *any* school in Mexico. Yet the author of this article invents a meeting, places Mr. Kahn and me there, describes our conduct, and even quotes words we are supposed to have uttered. Can malice extend further than this?

By the presentation of more invented "data" of this type the author, Richard English, pictures for millions of readers a non-existent "Hollywood Group" and a Mexican town in an uproar. It is an astounding piece of journalistic fakery—not just error or misinterpretation, but deliberate falsehood. Yet what is the protection against such calculated mendacity? How can one disprove to millions of readers this easily refutable nonsense? By a letter of protest to the editors of the *Post?* I have learned already that this is wasted effort—they will not print it. A libel suit? I am consulting an attorney, but I am well aware that a suit will take years in the courts and, in any instance, is of small avail against the public effect of such an article. The fact is that when the press is irresponsible, individuals who are slandered have no adequate retaliation whatever.

Yet perhaps those subjected to such malice will bear their burden more easily than our country can bear the degeneration of public morality and the betrayal of public responsibility.

Mexico City ALBERT MALTZ

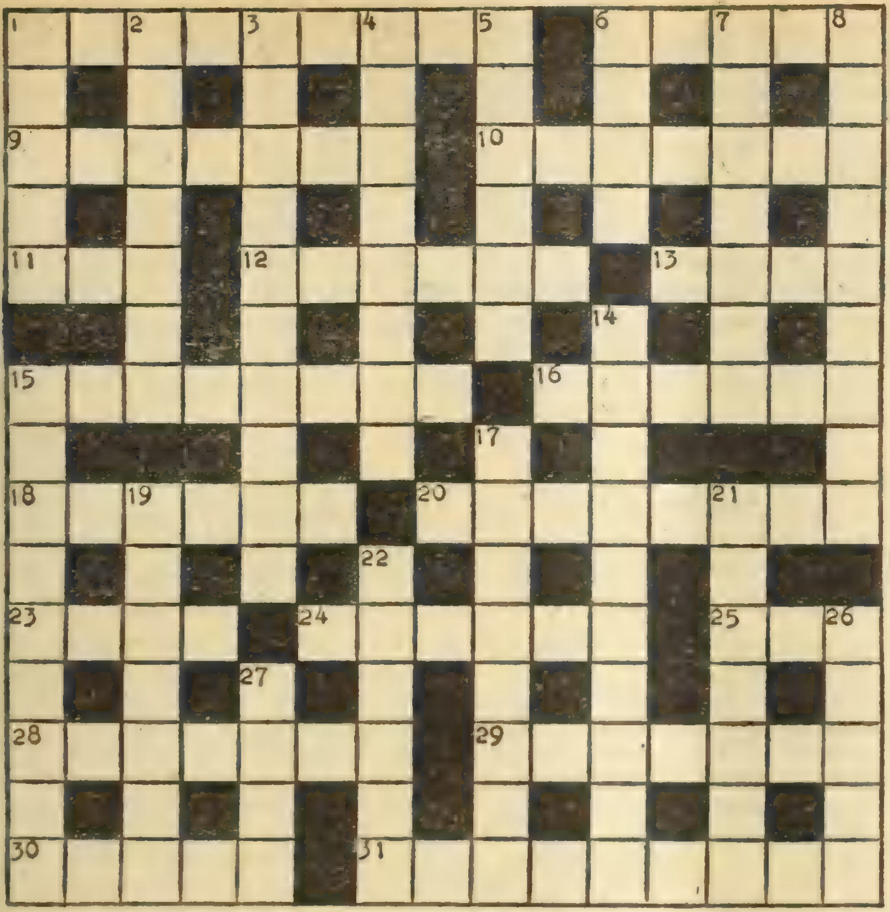
A Contest for Students

Dear Sirs: Some of your younger readers might be interested to know that the National Council of Jewish Women is sponsoring a $5,000 essay contest on The Meaning of Academic Freedom. The contest is open to any college or university senior (class of 1953) in the United States. The contest starts September 15 and closes December 31, 1952. Anyone interested in further details may write Essay Contest, National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West Forty-seventh Street, New York 36.

New York JOSEF BERGER

Crossword Puzzle No. 483

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6. Sounds as though it's not the light meat of the chicken that's important, but this might give cause for reflection. (9, 5)
9 Do albinos consider it somewhat less than contagious? (7)
10 See 1 down.
11 In conclusion, 15 down has this agreeable sound. (3)
12 This universe would be a galaxy. (6)
13 This, and others, might serve as a clue to up-to-the-minute news on election night. (2, 2)
15 Ring presentation goes on here. (8)
16 Sent in a game for which Henry was equipped by the Dauphin. (6)
18 The minister and I seem to be caught in the act. (6)
20 Costume of flowers, perhaps. (8)
23 One form of weapon that sounds within the fold. (4)
24 One who preserves the meat monopoly? (6)
25 See 17 down.
28 His calling might suggest a high position for him. (7)
29 Give the gang weapons—it might show at least temporary authority. (3, 4)
30 and 5 down. Eminent sage associated with Watt. (5, 6)
31 Certainly not an actor's paradise! (This clue should be illuminating.) (4, 5)

DOWN

1 and 10 across. Is it sad to come upon the unfortunate? Quite the opposite. (5-2-5)
2 It implies overlooking the "little woman," perhaps, about the home.
3 How the facts of the case are brought out is obvious! (2, 8)
4 It forms a daily tie with character.
5 See 30 across.
6 His euphuisms were original. (4)
7 The peninsula somewhat suggests a plant color. (7)
8 They might have acted like the Lion and the Unicorn, but in a different sense. (9)
14 They don't observe the laws of cause and effect, even in play. (10)
15 Not ochi chornya which could cause one to be temporarily 17 and 25. (5, 4)
17 and 25 across. **Jalousie**, like a drunken orgy, might be directed toward the umpire. (5, 2, 1, 3)
19 Degenerate. (7)
21 Romeo told his arms to take their last one. (7)
22 Sounds like everyone should have one of Revere's callings. (2, 4)
26 Characterized by a swell arrival?
27 Fruit found by an inhabitant of 24?

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 482

ACROSS:—1 GO TO BLAZES; 6 ABEL; 10 AGITATO; 11 TRIANON; 12 HAIL TO THE CHIEF; 14 LUNGFISH; 15 THROUGH; 16 GLANCE; 18 PARAMOUR; 22 FORTUITOUSNESS; 24 BETROTH; 25 ITERATE; 26 and 8 SIDE LINE; 27 FRIENDLESS.

DOWN:—1 GRAPHOLOGY; 2 TUITION; 3 BEAUTIFICATION; 4 AGOUTIS; 5 ESTHER; 7 BANDEAU; 9 FISHERMANS BEND; 13 CHORISTERS; 17 ADOPTED; 19 ACONITE; 20 OPERATE; 21 WITHER; 23 EBBS.

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THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: 1952

▪ A SPECIAL ISSUE OUT ON SEPTEMBER 27 ▪

The rise of Southern Negroes carries immense political implications. Nearly 2,000,000 of them—the country's greatest potential bloc of new voters, and unpledged to any single party—are expected to vote for President this November, a number almost sufficient to have given Dewey the victory over Truman in 1948. *The Nation* is planning to tell for the first time the story of "The Southern Negro: 1952." Prepared by outstanding experts in the field, the issue will contain the following articles:

I. "THE SOUTH: GIANT OF TOMORROW," *by Henry Lesesne*, Southern regional correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, outstanding authority on the Southern socio-economic-political scene.

II. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH, 1952," *by Henry Lee Moon*, Director of Public Relations for the NAACP. Mr. Moon analyses the growth in the number of Negroes voting in the South and points up the significance of this phenomenon. Mr. Moon has given more attention to the Negro in politics than any other American authority. He is the author of *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (1948).

III. "THE NEO-DIXIECRATS," *by Tarleton Collier*. A native of Alabama, Mr. Collier has been an editorial writer on the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for the last ten years. He is the author of several studies about the South, including studies of its penal systems. In this lively piece, Mr. Collier examines the basis of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress.

IV. "THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT IN CONGRESS," *by Clarence Mitchell*, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP. No one has ever been closer to the fight to secure enactment of an adequate civil rights program in Congress than Mr. Mitchell. Here, in full detail, is the complete story of the how, and the why, of the defeat of the civil rights program in recent sessions of the Congress.

V. "RECONSTRUCTION, NUMBER TWO," *by Lewis W. Jones*, Director of Research, Tuskegee Institute. An outstanding authority, Mr. Jones discusses the impact of recent socio-economic changes in the South as they affect Southern Negroes.

VI. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN NATIONAL POLITICS," *by R. H. Brisbane*. A member of the faculty of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Brisbane discusses the significance of the Negro vote in national politics.

VII. AN ARTICLE BY LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, of the C. I. O. Organizing Committee, on the impact of the labor movement on the social, economic, and political outlook of the Southern Negro. Miss Mason, who has been actively engaged in the effort to organize Southern labor, is the author of a book—*To Win These Rights*—which Harper's will publish early in October.

VIII. "SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADER," an article by George Penty and James Crown. Messrs. Penty and Crown, native Southerners have prepared a vivid account of the trials and tribulations of a Southern Negro leader.

In addition, the issue will contain an article by Dr. Ira de A. Reid, a series of short reports from key areas in the South indicating the present temper of Southern Negro opinion, and a report on the long and heroic struggle of Southern Negroes to achieve the right to vote.

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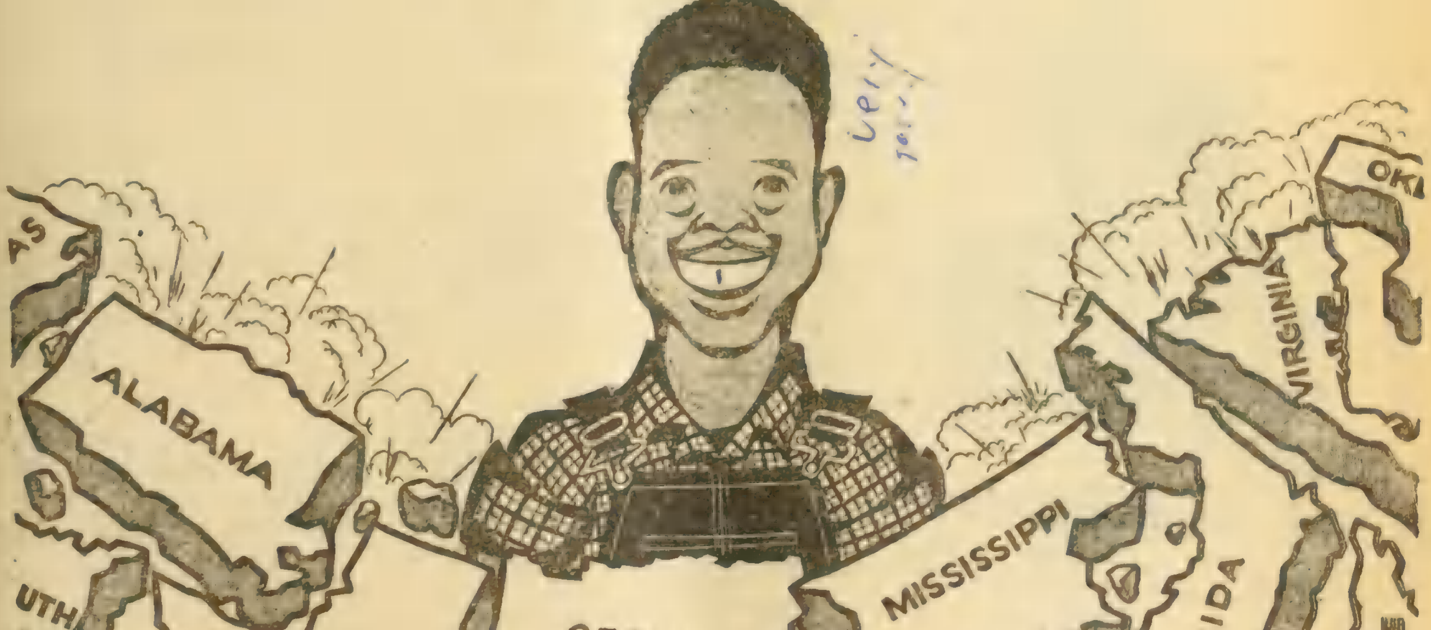
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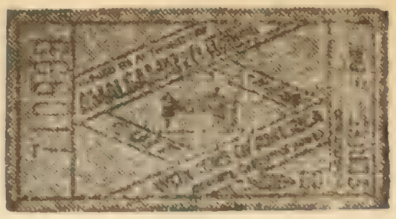

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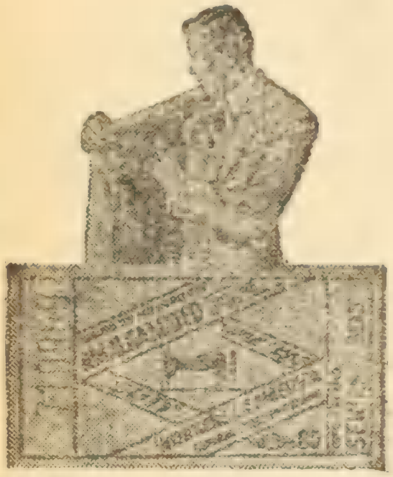

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The Southern Negro: 1952

IN ITS own way the South has long been the key to American politics, although it's influence has fluctuated. This year it is once again a major battleground in the fight for electoral votes. At both national conventions the South was the center of attention. Since then both candidates have stressed its importance, General Eisenhower hoping to break the solid South, Governor Stevenson to preserve it intact for the Democrats.

Both parties, however, seem to think of the South solely in terms of white voters; have in effect been bidding for the support of the white South. At the same time each is acutely aware of the importance of the Northern Negro vote. Accordingly each has sought to work out platform formulas and campaign appeals which will make it possible to win both the Southern white vote and the Northern Negro vote, for the party that bids too high for the support of the white South is likely to alienate the Northern Negro, and vice versa. Preoccupation with this dilemma has obscured another factor in the equation which may well prove to be decisive—the Southern Negro vote.

In our view the emergence of a significant Negro vote in the Southern states will prove to be one of the major political developments of this decade. The forward movement of the New Deal was checked in 1938 by Roosevelt's gallant but unsuccessful attempt to purge Senator George. Roosevelt had found that his victories usually carried into Congress, and into key committee chairmanships, the high-seniority Southerners who were the most implacable enemies of his program. Since the late 1930's, as the Washington *Post* has pointed out (August 24, 1952), "no Administration has had any real control over the Senate. . . . That control has rested with a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats." But great changes have occurred in the South, and the New Deal may win in this decade the campaign that Roosevelt launched in 1938. And the force that may eventually upset the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress and bring a new vitality to the politics of the South is the Southern Negro vote.

The importance of the Northern Negro vote is generally recognized. In the key Northern states, where the difference between the Democratic and Republican vote is rarely more than 500,000, Negro ballots can be decisive in a close Presidential election. In the West, too, the Negro vote must now be reckoned with. In 1940 only 170,706 Negroes were living in the Western states; today the number would be closer to 600,000. As shown by a study of local precinct returns, the Negro vote accounted for President Truman's slight margin of victory in California in 1948. Migration to the North and West has been the principal means by which Southern Negroes have won the ballot, though since the Supreme Court's 1944 decision invalidating the white primary many who stayed home have also been voting.

In the South, where politics are in a state of flux, the Negro has won a strong strategic position. The wedge that Roosevelt attempted to drive between the Dixiecrats and the New Deal Democrats is now firmly imbedded. In nearly every state the Democrats are split from top to bottom, from the statehouse machines to the county-courthouse rings. Everywhere the same bitter struggle for power is being waged between the older tidewater politicians, acting as the surrogates of Republican big business, and the "regular," or New Deal, Democrats. By a curious irony, the Negro's fight for the ballot has taken the form of an attempt to enter the Democratic primary. Thus Southern Negroes are coming to hold the balance of power between the Dixiecrats and the New Deal Democrats.

Other political cleavages in the South have given additional weight to the Negro vote. For example, the Dixiecrat leaders, who are basically economic conservatives, find themselves increasingly in conflict with the Dixiecrat rank and file, which is made up of race-crazy, intractable elements, prone to violence. To the extent that the bourbons indulge the taste of their underlings for dynamite bombings, they run the risk of driving the more moderate whites into the camp of the New Deal Democrats. The rough stuff of former years has become risky these days: witness the recent kidnaping convictions in North Carolina. Indeed, the switch from lynchings to dynamite bombings as a technique of intimidation is directly related to the circumstance that lynchings are much more dangerous—to the lynchers—than they used to be. Since 1949 there have been only seven lynchings in the South but more than fifty dynamite bombings.

In 1948 four Southern states bolted the Democratic Party; this year the Dixiecrats are more cautious. To be sure, they are still around. As one Southern leader puts it, "They're like water moccasins—they're still under the log." For one thing, General Eisenhower is the type of Republican nominee they could publicly support if necessary; in several states the Democratic Party organizations have all but urged voting for Eisenhower. But there is another reason for their embittered frustration. Post-convention surveys show that Southern Negroes, by and large, will vote for Stevenson and Sparkman despite their lack of enthusiasm for Sparkman. Furthermore, an Associated Press survey of twelve Southern states indicates that in an extremely close race the outcome in several of them could conceivably be determined by the Negro vote. In Virginia, Florida, and Texas, the states in which the Republicans have the best chance, Negroes will vote in considerable numbers.

IN nearly every Southern state a new industrial or managerial middle class, living chiefly in urban centers and largely recruited from the North, will vote Republican and is trying to build "real" Republican organizations. Thus the corrupt vest-pocket Republican machines and their "post-office" henchmen are being replaced, here and there, by organizations staffed by young Republicans of the country-club and service-club variety. Today the Southern Negro is a major factor in the Democratic Party; tomorrow he may hold the balance of power between the parties.

Finally there are serious divisions in the Southern Negro voting organizations which almost universally function outside the Democratic Party. The college-educated leaders of a younger generation have split with the venal old-style politicoes. Formerly the Negro vote, in those areas where Negroes voted, was often manipulated by white factions. Let Virginia Durr, one of the early leaders in the movement to eliminate the poll tax in the Southern states, describe what has been happening:

> Today there is one very significant change in the picture. The Negro vote in the South is not being used by any white faction, it is not for sale by corrupt bosses, it is not a manipulated vote. It is today an independent force, controlled and united behind Negro leaders. These leaders are educated men, professional men, men of courage and conviction. Their names are well known in their states, and command respect, as they are known to be both incorruptible and intelligent. . . . They are middle-class men with middle-class points of view. . . . They know that in America's desire and effort to win the allegiance of the Asiatic and African peoples, its Achilles' heel is its treatment of the Negro. They also know it is votes that count, and they are the spearhead of the campaign to get out the Negro vote. . . . So far this crusade is confined to the small upper group of Negroes in the South; that is its weakness. The overwhelming mass of Southern Negroes simply do not have the time, the money, or the knowledge to become voters; but above all they do not see the importance of being voters. This is the job to be done: arouse the great body of Southern Negroes to the importance of voting. For the time being it looks as if the Negro vote in the South would only be large enough to be used for bargaining purposes, but that will mean a great deal.

It will not be long before the great mass of Southern Negroes recognize the importance of voting. In community after community, state after state, the New Deal, or regular, Democrats find themselves subject to convergent pressures—from new Republican competition, from the Dixiecrats, from Negro voters. If they are to obtain key committee chairmanships in Congress and control federal patronage in their own states, the New Deal Democrats realize that the party must win nationally, which means that it must be able to carry the Negro vote in the North and West. This realization, as well as the logic of the local political situation, dictates the wisdom of capturing the Southern Negro vote as a means of offsetting a possible defection of white Democrats to the Dixiecrats.

Once committed to this strategy, however, the New Deal Democrats must encourage greater Negro registration. As this increases, they can afford to take a bolder line on civil rights. Today they voice this line only in conversation in the North; tomorrow they may be voicing it publicly in the South. Already they are beginning to grant minor concessions to their Negro constituents: street paving, more street lights, better housing and health services, better schools. Every concession is another demonstration to the Negroes of why it is important to vote. The tempo of enfranchisement is also directly related to the number of Negroes voting: the larger the number of Negroes who register, the easier it becomes for others.

NEGROES have been spurred to fight for the ballot by their grim determination to end segregation in the public schools. The weapon they must use is the lawsuit, and lawsuits imply organization. The trial of the famous Clarendon County, South Carolina, suit in the spring of 1951, to determine the legality of segregated public schools, was an outstanding event in the history of Southern race relations. Hundreds of Negroes lined up outside the courthouse hours before court convened so that they might hear Thurgood Marshall cross-examine white school officials and present expert testimony demolishing the myth of white supremacy.

Carter Wesley of the Houston *Informer* has written:

> Take it any way you like, you will find that the gains Negroes have made in education have meant more to Negroes themselves, and have affected the whites more, than any other gains. Everywhere the Dixiecrat is aroused over the education question. The significance of the Negro's gain in education does not lie in the schools that have been opened; it lies in the fact that the Negro has pushed into a field or a plane where the white man must accept him as an equal, and it lies also in the fact that the field is open permanently.

Of the major barriers to the Southern Negro's enfranchisement only the "white primary" has been removed, and vestiges of that remain despite the Supreme Court decision. Five states still exact a poll tax. And the refusal to reapportion representation in state legislatures —no Southern state has been reapportioned since 1910 —continues to make possible a seniority system that is used to control state legislatures as effectively as it does Congressional committees. In Georgia the county-unit system still gives two-thirds of the votes to one-third of the population in certain counties. The South's archaic form of county government persists unchanged. In the 100 counties of Virginia, the 159 of Georgia, and the 254 of Texas tight little ruling coteries are intact despite the fact that half of their functions as job holders have been abolished.

Social change will finally engulf these anachronisms. With cotton no longer king, the South cannot much longer remain solid. Hence the time is ripe for an all-out assault on segregation, and this must start with the fight to register the Negro voter. Negro suffrage will end Negro segregation, for segregation is simply an elaborate scheme by which the ballot has been denied to the Southern Negro despite constitutional guaranties which entitle him to it. Nor will a one-party South long survive when the majority of Southern Negroes vote. Today two-thirds of the total Negro vote is cast by the one-third of the Negro population that lives in the North and West. When Negroes are able to vote in the South in the same ratio as they now vote in the North and West, the liberal movement may experience another upsurge similar to the New Deal.

The Negro Vote in the South: 1952

BY HENRY LEE MOON

New York

SOUTHERN Negro leaders, long excluded from effective participation in politics, are trying to raise to 2,000,000 the number of Southern Negroes qualified to vote in the Presidential election in November. This will be more than double the number registered to vote in the 1950 elections. Since nearly 6,000,000 Negroes should vote in the South, the goal is unbecomingly modest. Nevertheless, in view of existing conditions, its attainment would introduce an important new factor into American politics.

The hope of the Southern Negro to play a larger role in the politics of the region stems from the outlawing of the iniquitous "white primary" by the United States Supreme Court in April, 1944. This historic decision opened the way to mass Negro voting in the South for the first time since the collapse of Reconstruction. Reactionary elements rallied of course to resist its implementation in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The South Carolina legislature, on the demand of Governor Olin Johnston, eliminated all references to the primary from the statute book in a move designed to permit the Democratic Party of the state to formulate and enforce its own rules as a private lily-white club. This subterfuge was scotched by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring in a notable decision handed down on July 12, 1947. The redoubtable South Carolinian, repudiating the *mores* of his native state, affirmed the right of Negroes to participate in "the only material and realistic elections" held in the state and excoriated the trick by which the politicians had sought to subvert the Constitution.

The white primary was the most effective and discriminatory disfranchising instrument devised by the white supremacists. The poll tax kept more whites than Negroes away from the ballot box; a steadily increasing number of Negro citizens were able to pay it. Likewise, more and more Negroes could pass the literacy tests when fairly administered. But the color test was one they could not meet.

Although total disfranchisement of the Southern Negro was never achieved, there was ample justification for Albert Bushnell Hart's observation in 1906 that "in the essential quality of a vote that may go to convert a minority into a majority, the Negroes have for years been hopelessly disfranchised." In 1940 Ralph J. Bunche

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HENRY LEE MOON, director of public relations for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the author of "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote."

estimated that there were only 250,000 Negro voters in the South. Two years after the Supreme Court decision the number had more than doubled. Resistance, however, has continued. In Alabama a voters'-qualification amendment, adopted by some 300 votes in a statewide referendum last December, is impeding but not entirely blocking the expansion of the Negro vote. In Georgia a purge of the registration books has cut the Negro vote but by no means eliminated it.

Trickery and intimidation are still employed, particularly in rural districts, to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. Last April the N. A. A. C. P., submitting affidavits, complained to the Department of Justice that Negro applicants for registration in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, were asked such questions as "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?" and "What is due process of law?" John Lester Mitchell, one of three Negroes who had filed suit through the N. A. A. C. P. in Federal District Court seeking the right to register, was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff in Opelousas, Louisiana, in November of last year. Harry T. Moore was killed by a dynamite bomb on Christmas Day in Florida. Isiah Nixon was murdered in Georgia in 1948 because he defied the orders of white men to stay away from the polls, and D. V. Carter, a Georgia N. A. A. C. P. leader, was brutally assaulted for encouraging Negroes to register and vote. On May 27 of this year, when Florida voters were to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention, a bomb was exploded at a polling place in a predominantly Negro precinct in Jacksonville, and an unexploded dynamite bomb was found in the home of a Negro political leader. The result was a heavier turnout in the precinct than that for the May 6 Presidential-preference primary.

The rebirth of Negro voting in the South may prove to be of vast significance not only to the Negro and the South but to the nation as a whole. Eventually it may make possible the restoration of the two-party system in that region. Already there are signs of the emergence of a substantial opposition to the present Democratic domination. While the proponents of this revolt clothe themselves in racist garb, their motives are chiefly economic. The "white supremacy" raiment is donned to confuse the "poor whites" whose real economic interests are identical with those of the Negro masses.

The Montgomery, Alabama, *Advertiser,* which has been campaigning for the reestablishment of the two-party system, advises Southern whites to "take a lesson from the Negro—who had the wits and get-up-and-go to forsake the party of his fathers, to which his attachment was more profound and rational than that of the white man to the Democratic Party—and be free in their minds to defy the tyranny of a mere ballot label and vote Republican when that is indicated."

ALTHOUGH in the long run the growing Negro vote will spell the doom of the race-baiting demagogues, an immediate result in some places has been a revival of the hoary danger cry: "Nigger, Nigger, Nigger!" When the Negro vote in Georgia reached the 150,000 mark in 1946, the late Eugene Talmadge used the slogan effectively among the "wool hats" and aided by the discriminatory county-unit system won the election. Similarly, this tribal rallying cry was raised to reelect the late Senator Theodore Bilbo in Mississippi in 1948, and to defeat Senators Claude Pepper in Florida and Frank Graham in North Carolina in 1950. It was used last May to defeat Hubert E. Olive, gubernatorial candidate, in the Democratic primary of North Carolina.

Nevertheless, the Negro vote is being solicited by present-day Southern politicians as eagerly as by their Northern counterparts. Even men who have used their positions to block Negro progress toward full citizenship have surreptitiously sought Negro support. Senator Russell, in his campaign for the Democratic nomination for President, is reported to have invited three leading Atlanta Negroes to his office for an off-the-record conference to explain his views on F. E. P. C. and other civil-rights issues. Shortly afterward the organized Negro Democrats of the South, meeting in Atlanta, disavowed any hostility toward a Southern candidate as such and indicated their willingness to support "a truly liberal Southerner who faces squarely the obligation of the government to protect and extend the rights of all its citizens." However, N. A. A. C. P. leaders who were attending a political-action institute in Atlanta at the same time pointedly observed in a published statement that "the inclusion of any such Southerner as Senator Russell or Senator Kerr on the ticket of either party will alienate not only the Negro vote but also that of other racial and religious minorities, of independent liberals, and of many trade unionists."

In many Southern communities Negroes have withheld public indorsement of candidates they favored out of fear that this support would lose their candidates white votes. There have been instances, as in the 1950 primary in North Carolina, of faked Negro indorsements being circulated among white voters in order to defeat a candidate thought to favor Negroes.

Southern Negroes are frequently accused of bloc voting, and in many cases the returns from predominantly Negro precincts validate the charge. What is sinister, however, is not the bloc voting itself but the fact that Negroes are forced to resort to it. Eugene

Talmadge complained in 1946 that 90 per cent of the Negro vote had gone to a single candidate in a field of five running for governor of Georgia. He failed to observe that his race-baiting had driven Negro voters to support the candidate with the best chance of defeating him. This alarm, spread by anti-Negro politicians, leaves the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger* unperturbed. "Who blames the farmers," it asks, "for supporting candidates favorable to their cause? Or labor for supporting men sympathetic to that group? Or industrialists for lobbying and supporting candidates most likely to protect their interests? . . . If the so-called bloc is merely a unification of racial or economic or geographical groups to vote solidly for a candidate who will best promote their own interests, we call that intelligent planning."

The great difficulty of the Southern Negro voter is the limited choice offered by the candidates. Come election time, Southern "liberals" are for the most part indistinguishable from reactionaries on the race issue. All pay homage to "white supremacy" in one fashion or another. Dr. Homer Rainey, the gubernatorial candidate of Texas liberals in 1946, even advocated segregated polling places. Senator Claude Pepper and Dr. Frank Graham both swung far to the right when assailed for liberal views on race. In this dilemma Negro voters usually support those who claim to be liberals in the hope that, once elected, they will refuse to join the rabid race-baiters. At the N. A. A. C. P.-sponsored political-action institute in Atlanta this spring representative Negroes agreed that if the choice is between equally vicious race-baiters, the best policy is to vote against the incumbent, particularly in Congressional contests, so as to elect a man who will lack the seniority necessary for committee assignments. Another good criterion is the extent to which the candidate has supported social-welfare and labor legislation. As workers, Southern Negroes tend to vote for candidates who favor such legislation even though they evade the civil-rights issue.

THE Negro has returned to the arena not only as voter but also as a candidate for local public office. Since 1947 Negroes have been elected to city councils in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Nashville, Tennessee. In San Antonio, Texas, a Negro physician was elected to the Board of Higher Education. Negroes have run for places on the council in more than forty Southern cities since 1944. The variety of offices to which Negroes aspire will certainly increase. The last Negro to be elected to Congress from the South was George H. White of North Carolina in 1898. It is unlikely that another half-century will elapse before a Southern Negro is again elected to the House.

While white-supremacy demagogues have inveighed against the reentry of the Negro into politics, many of the more enlightened white Southerners see it as a boon to liberalism and good government. Others accept it as inevitable and would interpose no obstacle to the free exercise of the franchise by Negro citizens. The *Arkansas Gazette* of Little Rock says: "No politician can seriously believe that the South will ever return to the system of legal and extra-legal disfranchisement under which a fourth of its people were denied an effective voice in government." Dr. V. O. Key, Jr., in his authoritative study "Southern Politics," expresses the belief that "the underlying Southern liberalism will undoubtedly be mightily strengthened" by the assimilation of the Negro into political life, since "the Negro allies himself with liberal factions whenever they exist." Ralph McGill, the liberal editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, observes: "In not a single instance have they [the Negroes] voted in any number on the side of bad government or in behalf of racketeers. They have voted each time with the reform, or so-called 'better elements.' " Last May, when for the first time since Reconstruction Negroes were registered in St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana, the local Franklin *Banner-Tribune* saw "no reason under the sun why, with proper education, occupation, and understanding, the citizens of all races in this parish can't march forward to a new and greater day."

Move Back!

Supreme Court rulings take time to become the law of the land when they have to do with human rights down South. Six years ago the court ruled out segregation in interstate bus travel, but Jim Crow rides on. When a Negro buys a reserved seat on a Greyhound bus from New York to Miami, he may be able to hang onto it until he arrives in Jacksonville, Florida. Atlantic Greyhound then gives way to Florida Greyhound, and the new driver asks Negroes who hold reserved seats not in the rear of the bus to move back "in accordance with Florida law." If a passenger refuses, the driver calls a police officer. If he persists in clinging to his seat he is arrested on a charge of "disorderly conduct" or "disturbing the peace."

It has long been the custom of Southern bus drivers to deliver passengers who refuse to be segregated to the tender mercies of the first police officer they encounter. But recently this technique was refined too. O. S. Caesar of Chicago, president of Greyhound, has ruled that henceforth no company employee is to cause the arrest of any passenger; the new policy was prompted by the fact that Greyhound had lost a large number of suits brought for false arrest. It should not be imagined, however, that Greyhound drivers have been stripped of their powers to enforce segregation. The new order provides that in summoning a police officer they shall merely "relate" the "facts" and leave the question of disposition of the passenger to the discretion of the officer.

Accurate figures on the size of the Southern Negro vote are almost impossible to obtain, largely because of the decentralization of registration. A survey of eleven Southern states made by the N. A. A. C. P. indicates that some 900,000 Negroes were qualified to vote at the end of 1951—a sizable increase over the C. I. O.-P. A. C. estimate of 750,000 in 1948. While there have been setbacks, notably in Georgia, the general expansion of the vote has been steady. The estimated number of registered Negro voters in twelve Southern states as of mid-August is given in the following table, compiled from reports of persons working in registration drives. While registration has ended in some of these states, the books are still open in Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Alabama	50,000	Oklahoma	60,000
Arkansas	60,000	South Carolina	130,000
Florida	150,000	Tennessee	155,000
Georgia	125,000	Texas	200,000
Louisiana	130,000	Virginia	70,000
Mississippi	40,000		————
North Carolina	97,500	Total	1,267,500

The Negro's Growing Political Power

BY R. H. BRISBANE

Atlanta

THE Southern Negro vote has been growing steadily since 1944, and its power must today be estimated in terms of larger issues than those being raised within the South itself. In the near future this vote will become an important supplement to the balance of power which Negroes in other parts of the country already hold in national elections.

The possibilities of this balance of power were recognized as far back as 1912. During the election of that year Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and others emphasized that Negroes should use their vote as an independent force in national elections. The same counsel was given in the elections of 1916, 1920, and 1924. In 1928 the returns of the Smith-Hoover contest indicated that the balance-of-power doctrine had taken root. Hoover received about 75 per cent of the Negro vote in Republican strongholds like Chicago and Philadelphia, but this support was an indication of the ability of the Thompson and Vare machines to hold the line rather than of a preference for Hoover. In localities that lacked strong Republican organizations, Hoover received from half to less than half of the black vote. Of the 75,000 ballots cast in the four Negro districts of Harlem, Smith received nearly 1,000 more than Hoover—and in 1928 Harlem was still nominally Republican.

There was no great rush of Negroes from the Republican to the Democratic Party in the Presidential election of 1932. Generally speaking, the shift was the same as in previous national elections since the beginning of the Northern migration of the Negro. Republican machines steadily lost Negro votes and Democratic machines gained them. The big change came, as it did for whites, in 1936. A major cause, of course, was the Negro's esteem for President Roosevelt, who had shown more consideration for the race than had any Chief Executive since Lincoln. A second factor was the demise of powerful Republican organizations in several Northern cities after 1932. Negro Republicans, seeking additional relief funds or relief jobs in these cities, had to call upon the Democratic bosses. A third was the fact that the newly powerful Democrats greatly improved upon Republican methods of dispensing patronage. No longer were a few traditional "Negro positions" shuttled back and forth within a clique of Negro bigwigs. Instead, the numerous New Deal agencies provided careers for many bright young Negroes fresh from the graduate schools of the big universities. Locally, the Democrats spread their largess to Negroes as widely as possible.

Today the Negro holds a potential balance of power in national, state, and local elections in perhaps seventeen states. Nine of these—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri—have a total of 223 votes in the Electoral College as against the 266 necessary to elect a President. These states are the ones which have the largest concentration of Negro citizens of voting age outside the South.

If Negroes are to exercise the balance of power, from 60 to 75 per cent of their votes must be delivered in blocs. It would be interesting to know just how often and in what states the Negro vote has been decisive in the choice of Presidential electors. Before 1932 Illinois was the only state in which Negroes voted in blocs large enough to affect the outcome. It was from Chicago, one recalls, that the first Negro was sent to Congress in this century. In 1936 the Roosevelt plurality in states with large populations was so great that the Negro vote was

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a negligible factor. In 1940 and 1944 Negroes carried a half-dozen states for Roosevelt. While it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Negro votes cast in any state or municipality—statistics being usually compiled from returns of districts or wards with heavy Negro concentration—certain facts are known about the 1944 national election: (1) Negroes contributed at least 99,000 votes to Roosevelt's 105,431 plurality in Pennsylvania; (2) they contributed no fewer than 190,000 votes to his 316,591 plurality in New York; (3) the three Negro wards in Chicago gave Roosevelt 121,000 of his Illinois plurality of 140,165; (4) in Maryland at least 150,000 Negroes voted for him, although his plurality was only 22,541; (5) in Missouri and New Jersey his Negro vote equaled his plurality over Dewey.

In the much closer election of 1948 the Negro vote played the same decisive role. It is well known that President Truman won this election by rolling up pluralities in California, Illinois, and Ohio. What is not so well known, however, is who gave him these pluralities. The records show (1) that of the 100,000 Negroes who went to the polls in California 70,000 voted for Truman—Truman's margin was 17,865; (2) that of the 119,000 votes cast in the three Negro wards in Chicago 85,000 went to Truman—Truman's margin in Illinois was 33,612; (3) that in Ohio 130,000 of 200,000 Negroes voted for Truman, although his plurality was only 7,107.

Thus without the support of the great majority of Negro voters in these three states Mr. Truman would not be President today. Indeed, since 1940 it has become clear to Republicans as well as Democrats that no relatively close national election can be won without the aid of the Negro vote. It has also become clear that Negroes must be appealed to en masse and won en masse. Their votes can no longer be sold and delivered by Negro party hacks.

SO FAR I have been discussing the political power of Negroes in the North. But let us not forget that the disfranchised Negro has had strong if negative influence on politics in the South. The struggle to exclude the Negro voter has been the major preoccupation of Southern politicians since Reconstruction days—a preoccupation that has been the main cause of the social, political, and cultural lag from which this great area suffers. Today, however, Negro disfranchisement in Dixie is being successfully attacked; at the end of 1949 there were nearly a million qualified Negro voters in the South. And if the present rate of enfranchisement continues, Southern Negroes in the next decade may cast from five to six million votes in national elections.

What does the Negro intend to do with his growing political power? To put it briefly, he intends to obtain full equality and the elimination of Jim Crow. In this purpose Negroes are united as never before. Whenever they demand "equal rights now!" they are invariably told, "Be patient; we must move slowly. Remember, you have made wonderful progress in three generations; don't upset the apple cart." This may have been a wise policy in 1900, but in the second half of the twentieth century it has shown its futility.

To reactionaries living in a dead past, to those who profit from race hate, any progress in race relations is too fast. To persons striving to make democracy a living reality, the present pace is all too slow. The doctrine of gradualism finds scant acceptance among American Negroes today. While they recognize that all the barriers against their race cannot be leveled overnight by executive fiat, court decisions, or legislative action, they are convinced that good intentions and good advice are not enough. The balance of power they hold will therefore remain a potent political factor until the achievement of full rights for the Negro American renders it obsolete.

In his excellent two-volume study of the Negro problem in America, Gunnar Myrdal says that there will never be a "Negro Party as such in the United States." This is probably true. But whether the Negro will continue to exert his political strength through one or both of our major political parties is another question. I do not mean that the Negro in the foreseeable future may move to the extreme right or the extreme left. I mean that the Negro's eighteen-year support of the Democratic Party will not continue indefinitely if the party's present make-up is preserved. When the long overdue changes are made, the Negro will use his power in the party to further labor liberalism and progressivism.

THE BATTLE FOR THE BALLOT

IN APRIL, 1944, the Supreme Court of the United States removed the last vestige of constitutional sanction for the so-called "white primary," which had been used so effectively to prevent Southern Negroes from voting in significant numbers in the period from 1890 to 1944. In this decision—*Smith* vs. *Allwright*—a majority of the court, through Justice Reed, said:

> It may now be taken as a postulate that the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the state, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution. By the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment that right may not be abridged by any state on account of race. Under our Constitution the great privilege of the ballot may not be denied a man by the state because of his color. . . .
>
> The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. . . .

Having obtained sweeping vindication of their right to the ballot, including the right to participate in the Democratic primary, what restrictions have Southern Negroes encountered since April, 1944, in their efforts to qualify as voters? To what extent do local and state officials still attempt to interfere with the exercise of a right guaranteed by the Constitution and specifically confirmed by the Supreme Court? With the aid of the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and from its own files, *The Nation* has compiled the following list of "incidents" which have occurred since the Supreme Court decided *Smith* vs. *Allwright*. Admittedly incomplete, this "casualty list" tells its own story.

1944

April 13: Columbia, S. C.—Governor Olin D. Johnston issued a proclamation calling for a special session of the General Assembly to wipe from the code all laws pertaining to Democratic primary elections in order to "maintain white supremacy in South Carolina." There was no record of Negroes voting in the Democratic primaries.

May 2: Mobile, Ala.—Ten Negroes left without voting in the Democratic primary when they were met at the polling place by the deputy sheriff, who told them the primary was restricted to white electors.

June 7: Atlanta, Ga.—A subcommittee of the Democratic State Executive Committee ruled that the Georgia primary would be restricted to white voters and directed chairmen of county executive committees accordingly.

August 24: Columbus, Ga.—Primus King filed suit against the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee. King declared he had been denied the right to vote in the July primary "solely because of race and color" and asked $5,000 damages.

1945

April 10: Birmingham, Ala.—Pastoran Vinson, R. N., was denied the right to vote after meeting the qualifications. Miss Vinson filed suit asking $5,000 damages and an injunction restraining the Jefferson County Board of Registrars.

July 24: St. John Baptist Parish, La.—Edward Hall brought charges that T. J. Nagel, registrar of St. John Baptist Parish, denied him the right to vote in the 1944 primary, subjecting him to "unreasonable tests not required of white electors."

August 1: Chesterfield, S. C.—Chairman of the Board of Registration for Chesterfield County refused to register a single one of the Negroes applying.

September 1: Tampa, Fla.—Registered Negroes were refused the right to vote in the Tampa city primary.

September 5: Atlanta, Ga.—Registered Negroes attempting to vote in the primary were told "this is a white primary." Appeal was made to United States Attorney General Tom Clark on behalf of the 4,000 registered voters denied the ballot.

1946

January 25: Birmingham, Ala.—100 Negro veterans denied the right to register for "lack of ability to interpret the Constitution." Alabama state constitution and statutes make no such requirement.

March: Savannah, Ga.—John I. Cabell, Chatham County tax collector, required Negroes attempting to register to submit a complete statement of the taxes they had paid on property during the past seven years. The group filed suit against Cabell's discriminatory practices.

June: Spaulding Co., Ga.—C. R. Fossett admitted purges of 180 Negro voters because of their "handwriting." C. E. McLendon objected to the purging of 800 Negro voters. Judge C. H. Dukes dismissed him from his post of chairman of the Board of Registrars, to "expedite the hearings."

June 12: Brandon, Miss.—Etoy Fletcher, veteran of World War II, beaten and flogged with a wire cable and threatened with death for attempting to register.

June 22: Jackson, Miss.—Theodore G. Bilbo in a radio address urged "every red-blooded American in Mississippi to use every means at their command" to prevent Negroes from voting.

June, July: Georgia — Wholesale purge of Negro voters launched in forty counties throughout Georgia. At the end of the first week in June an estimated 550 applicants were disqualified in Sumter County; in Muscogee County, approximately 10 per cent of applicants were purged; in Fulton, about 100. Mrs. T. E. Sams and B. F. Thornton of Ware County resigned from the Board of Registrars with the challenging of 500 to 600 Negro voters. Vaughn Terrell of Rome, Ga., challenged the names of 150 Negroes registered to vote and said he would file contests at the rate of 150 a day until all the 1,500 Negro voters were challenged. A total of approximately 22,000 Negro voters were challenged.

July 10: Swainsboro, Ga.—Eugene Talmadge, candidate for governor: "Wise Negroes will stay away from the white man's ballot boxes on July 17."

July 16: Fitzgerald, Ga.—Notices tacked on Negro churches: "The first nigger who votes in Georgia will be a dead nigger."

July 20: Taylor Co., Ga.—Macio Snipes, veteran of World War II who had voted in the July 17 primary, was dragged from his home and shot to death by four whites. A sign was posted on a nearby Negro church, "The first negro to vote will never vote again."

July: Athens, Tenn.—Tom Gillespie was shot by a white when he attempted to vote.

August 3: Spartanburg, S. C.—Fourteen registered Negroes were told that Democratic Party rules did not permit them to qualify for primary nominations.

1947

January 27: Macon, Ga.—Kenmore Burns, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Macon, declared that Negroes would not be permitted to vote in the city primary but that all white voters, including Republicans and Socialists, could vote. "Ours is not a Democratic white primary, but strictly a white primary."

1948

March 1: Wrightsville, Ga.—Klan staged a parade and cross-burning on the eve of the Democratic primary. The following day no Negroes voted.

July, August: Georgia—Widespread purging of Negro voters resumed.

Griffin, Ga.—Spaulding County Board of Registrars removed the names of 561 Negroes from the voters' list before the Democratic primary. Federal judge ruled the names must be restored.

Laurens County.—Registration Board Chairman E. S. Baldwin confirmed the purge of some 1,800 Negro voters prior to the primary. Federal judge ordered registration without discrimination.

Brunswick, Ga. — Edward Glover, David A. Glover, and Matthew Glover, Sr., brought suit against the Twiggs County Board of Registrars on behalf of the 900 Negro voters purged. Federal judge trying the case ruled registration must proceed without discrimination.

Albany, Ga.—Suit filed on behalf of approximately 3,000 Dougherty County Negroes who claimed they were purged from voting lists.

August 10: Calhoun Falls, S. C.—The Reverend Archie Ware, a sixty-six-year-old Negro minister, was attacked after voting in the Democratic primary.

September 6: Montgomery Co., Ga.—Isiah Nixon, veteran of World War II, was shot and killed after voting in the primary election. The accused murderers were acquitted.

September 8: Montgomery County, Ga.—N. A. A. C. P. branch president D. V. Carter was assaulted by a group of whites for carrying Negro voters to the polls in his auto. Carter identified one of his assailants as one of the two brothers who were acquitted in the Nixon slaying. Carter's wrist was broken and he fled to Atlanta for safety.

November 1: Tuskegee, Ala.—The KKK burned two crosses, one near the county courthouse, the other near the college.

November 2: Nashville, Tenn.—Leaflets sent to hundreds of Negro voters, reading: "The KKK knows you. Keep away from the polls."

Tougaloo, Miss.—Dr. William Bender, minister and instructor at Tougaloo College, was kept from the polls by three whites, one brandishing a pistol.

Louisville, Miss.— Rev. C. M. Eiland was stopped by two whites who said they had no objections to his voting but, "if you vote, we'll have to let the veterans vote too."

Greenwood, Miss.—J. D. Collins and A. C. Montgomery were visited by the mayor and other leading citizens, who urged them to stop Negro veterans from voting.

November 20: Lyons, Ga.—Robert Mallard was shot and killed. He had led a movement defending the right of Negroes to vote. He had been warned against voting.

1949

January 25: Birmingham, Ala.—States' Rights Leader Horace Wilkison urged Alabama legislators to bar Negroes from the polls and place the responsibility for state government "exclusively on reputable white people."

April 10: New Orleans, La.—Sam Spears was badly beaten and discharged from his employment for reading literature of the Young Progressive movement. The beating was conducted by the police in their car and in the police station.

October 22: (radio address)—Herman Talmadge: "We will fight them in the counties and the cities; we intend to fight hand to hand with all our weapons and we will never submit to one inch of encroachment on our traditional pattern of segregation."

1950

June 5: Opelousas, La.—Six Negroes were beaten and pistol-whipped at the St. Landry Parish courthouse when they tried to register and vote.

June 28: Ludowici, Ga.—Crosses were burned in front of a Negro night club, a turpentine company's quarters, and the home of Ben Walker, Negro leader. White paper crosses were also tied to tree roots in an attempt to intimidate Negro voters in the area.

July: Abbeville, S. C.—Two Negro men were beaten by unidentified white men prior to the July 11 primary. They were told they were being "treated" because they had taken an interest in voting.

Aiken, S. C.—Registered Negro voters around Ellenton and Myers Mill in the southern part of Aiken County received threatening letters warning them not to vote in the July 11 primary.

1951

July: Sussex, Va.—Suits were filed by 34 Negroes who charged discrimination on the basis of race in three precincts. They were denied registration to vote in the regular August 7 primary.

November 17: Opelousas, La.—John Lester Mitchell was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff when he became "rowdy and out of control" at a Negro night club. Mitchell was one of three who had filed suit in federal court demanding that the registrar of St. Landry Parish open his books to Negro voters. Although the non-salaried deputy was cleared, the *Louisiana Weekly* stated flatly that "Mitchell was shot down like a dog."

1952

May 8: Hattiesburg, Miss.—Nine Negroes signed affidavits that they had been denied registration solely because of race.

May 27: Jacksonville, Fla.—A crudely made "bomb" was thrown into a Negro polling place several hours before voting began; explosion tore hole in roof. A short time later a similar "bomb" which did not explode was found in front of David H. Dwight's home. Dwight headed an organization influential in getting Negroes registered.

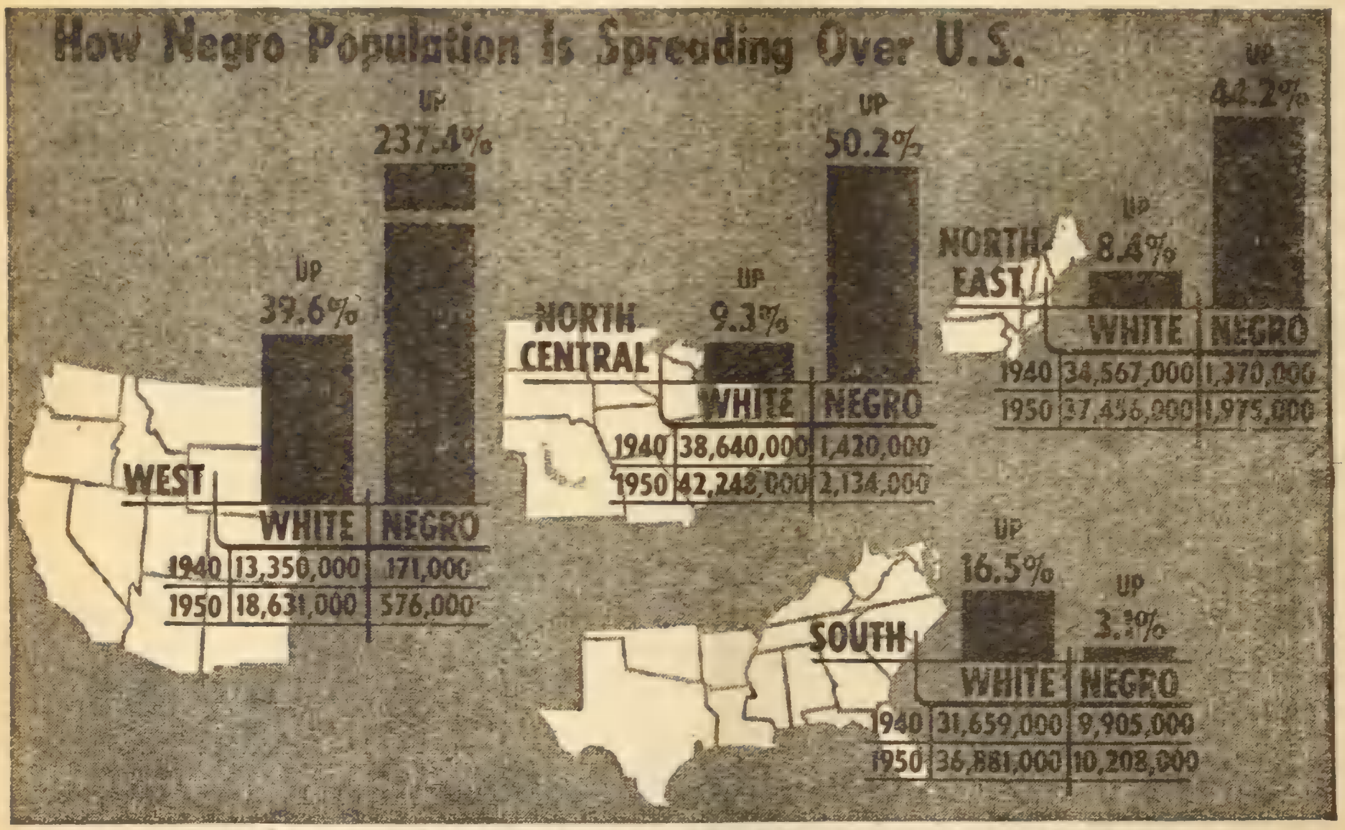
“The Great New Fact”

RECONSTRUCTION Number Two began in the South, in both its economic and its political espects, with Roosevelt's effort to find a way out of the impasse which the New Deal faced in the late 1930's. Convinced that the South was the nation's largest untapped market, he shrewdly concluded that its development provided the most likely way of escape from the 1937 "recession." On the political front the road was blocked at every turn by the Dixiecrats. But the President was not easily intimidated, and on March 23, 1938, at Gainesville, Georgia, in the presence of Senator Walter George, he attacked the South's feudal economic system. "When you come right down to it," he said, "there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system." Returning to Washington, he set up the research program which resulted in the famous Report on Economic Conditions of the South. The President presented the report, which blueprinted Reconstruction Number Two, to the Southern people in a speech at Barnesville on August 11, 1938, and called for the defeat of Senator George.

The attempted purge failed, but the plan to tap the South's economic resources is now succeeding. Recognizing the South as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem," the President induced Congress to pour millions of dollars into the Southern states. Half a million tenants received Farm Security aid, seven states shared in the benefits of the TVA investment, cotton and tobacco culture became solvent after years of bankruptcy, and industrial ventures were given large-scale support, first through R. F. C. loans, more recently under the fast-write-off tax program.

The industrial transformation of the South since the late 1930's has already begun to change the social and political structure of the region. It is a key factor in the Southern Negro's effort to achieve his second, or real, emancipation. As he finds more and better-paying jobs close at hand, the Southern Negro is much less inclined to go North. He is moving, however, in large numbers from rural areas in the South to urban centers. With the amount of surplus labor in the South rapidly declining, the Negro commands a better price for his labor. "Growing industries in the South," said *Business Week* last year, "thus are tending to deprive Northern employers of a source of labor supply that they tapped heavily in the earlier war boom. The idea is catching on in the South that the area needs to keep its own labor force and wage income and utilize it more fully for the region's benefit."

Although the industrialization of the South has not yet by any means benefited whites and Negroes equally, it has at least made possible Reconstruction Number Two. From somewhat different points of view, Mr. Lesesne and Mr. Jones in the following pages appraise this "great new fact about the South."



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The South: Giant of Tomorrow

BY HENRY LESESNE

Columbia

THE spires of industry cast long shadows over the cotton and tobacco fields and the piney woods of Dixie. Giant plants costing twenty or forty or sixty million dollars rise out of the fields near big hydroelectric developments. The old and the new South are meeting head on. Sometimes as many as five thousand workers commute from thirty miles around to work in a huge air-conditioned plant equipped with the most efficient machinery obtainable.

The metamorphosis of the South is seen in the cities too. Atlanta, which makes everything from mechanical pencils to giant bombers, is beginning to look like New York. The steel city of Birmingham, center of the South's heavy industry, is going after new and diversified industry with civic gusto. New Orleans, center of a great and expanding South American trade, has obtained Kaiser's $150,000,000 basic-aluminum plant. In Charlotte, North Carolina, America's textile capital, the new economy will be reflected in the $5,000,000 office building that Celanese is blueprinting.

Since World War II billions have been invested in new industrial plants, putting two million Southerners to work. Vast research centers are rising. Research is new stuff in the South, but it is paying quick dividends; if technology has come late, it is working overtime. The men behind the twentieth-century "enlightened" industrial revolution in the South want to profit from the experience of older industrial areas.

People who think of the South in terms of twenty or even ten years ago must form a new picture in their minds. The company-owned village, created in the pattern of the English mill town, has all but disappeared; some of those remaining look like suburban developments, with modern five- and six-room brick houses renting for about $20 a month. The "cabin in the cotton" of song and story is also disappearing. The tenant farmer is getting a job in town.

The Negro, symbol of the South's problem and its poverty, is sharing directly and indirectly in the industrial prosperity. He is moving to the urban centers, if not to the East and Midwest. The boll weevil and the low price of cotton started the migration in the late twenties. Now the mechanization of cotton and the expanding economy are accelerating the movement from the farm. In cotton-picking time there is a great shortage of farm labor in the cotton belt.

The big red sputterbugs that pick the cotton are far too costly for the average farmer—only about 20 per cent of the crop is mechanically harvested. The significance of mechanization lies in the fact that tractors are replacing mule and man-power. Back in 1920 there were only about 50,000 tractors in the cotton belt. In five years the number doubled. In twenty years there were seven times as many. In 1951 there were three times as many as in 1940.

Southerners, including some notable Southern Negro leaders, say the Negro's greatest opportunity is still in the South. The migrating trend, however, is unmistakable. In the last decade seven Southern states showed marked decreases in the non-white population, while in the big industrial states of the East the non-white population jumped 55 per cent.

Oddly enough, to find out what is happening in the old South one might well look at what is happening in California. This year California became the second cotton-producing state in the country, producing 1,765,000 bales, exceeded only by Texas. The California cotton acreage, however, was only the seventh largest. Cotton is grown on irrigated land in much of the West, and it is there that mechanization is most complete.

W. B. Camp is a South Carolinian who went to California as a young man. Today he is said to be the world's largest cotton farmer. This is interesting enough, but what is more so is that Mr. Camp and his associates have now bought 11,000 acres of land in the South Carolina coastal plain which they will use, not for cotton, but for cattle-raising. Livestock farming is growing in the Southeast much faster than anywhere else in the country. The South is swapping cotton for cattle with the West. Thanks to better seed and improved practices all along the line, the Southeast still produces about as much cotton as it did twenty years ago, but on about half the acreage.

One hundred and ten years ago a Southerner named William Gregg, a jeweler by trade and a man of only moderate means, asserted that the region could never come into its own until it cultivated the mechanical arts and provided some means of livelihood for the masses of poor, non-landowning whites who seemed to have no place in the slave-holding plantation economy. His views were opposed by the politicians of his day and much of the aristocracy, who feared the social consequences. Nevertheless, Gregg succeded in organizing

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a company and building the South's first large cotton mill at Graniteville, South Carolina. Contrary to the practice of the day the company employed only white workers, for whom it provided homes, schools, and churches. The mill, built of native granite, still stands and is in operation today. Just a few miles away the largest project ever undertaken by man—the Savannah River H-bomb plant—is being built. Some 45,000 workers are engaged on its construction, but in the end it will not employ more people than one of the South's larger cotton mills.

The South did not go in for cotton manufacturing on any appreciable scale until Reconstruction, when the communities along the streams in the Piedmont, where water power was available, began organizing mills to provide local employment, with the residents of the community subscribing to shares on the instalment plan, often paying only 25 or 50 cents a week. Today the Southeast has 80 per cent of the cotton-textile industry, it is getting all the new chemical-fiber industry, and it will apparently get the woolen and worsted industry. The textile-machinery manufacturers can be expected to move in next.

Sixty-odd years ago a workman tossed a piece of coke into the canal at Spray, North Carolina, an early textile center. Peculiar bubbles rising from the water caused an investigation and subsequent experiments. Thus, accidentally, was discovered a process for making calcium carbide—the first commercial source of acetylene. This discovery was actually the origin of the Union Carbide Company, formed in 1898, which is now one of the ten largest manufacturing corporations in the nation.

But although one of them can be said to have been born in North Carolina, the big chemical companies in general bypassed the Southeast until comparatively recent times. Last year the chemical industry located more than 50 per cent of its new installations in the South. Monsanto Chemical Company is building a $25,000,000 plant at Texas City, Texas, and American Cyanamid is planning a $47,000,000 plant at New Orleans to make acrylonitrile, the basis of the new acrylic fibers. Since the war du Pont has built almost all its new plants in the South; it now has twenty operating in nine Southern states. Oddly enough, when a subsidiary of Union Carbide started looking the country over for a place to erect a $33,000,000 plant to manufacture its new synthetic fiber it chose a site near Spray, birthplace of the parent company. The fastest growing chemical empire in the world is developing along the Texas and Louisiana Gulf coasts.

More than sixty large paper and pulp mills have a daily capacity of 25,000 tons, and nine new mills, involving an investment of well over $200,000,000, are under construction. A British company is now planning a $50,000,000 newsprint plant in Tennessee. The giant Coosa River Newsprint Company of Alabama is making newsprint out of the prolific and fast-growing Southern pine and shipping it all over the country; Beaunit is changing the same cellulose into rayon, which one of the country's leading clothing manufacturers is making into wearing apparel.

The South is also expected to get a major share of the new plastics industry, which, it is predicted, will triple its present capacity by 1960. It already has a few tool and arms plants and even some of the plants making the "wonder" drugs. Electric companies are building or planning big appliance factories, in the wake of automobile-assembly works. Discriminatory freight rates have finally been abolished, and this is expected to accelate the general industrialization of the region.

PER CAPITA income is now 111 per cent higher than in 1929 in the United States as a whole, but it is 179 per cent higher in the South. Per capita sales almost tripled in the South between 1929 and 1948. Industrial employment in the South had jumped 58 per cent in 1950 over 1929, according to government figures. The South is evidently becoming a much larger part of the national market. It is entering more and more into the mainstream of American life. If the crux of the Southern problem is economic, the region's ills should gradually cure themselves as its economy reaches the national level. To bring this about, the National Planning Association figures that new capital investment of from four to five billion dollars a year is needed. Every available source of funds should therefore be explored, including absentee Northern ownership. The shift from agriculture to industry must be continued and hastened.

It is well known that industry finds a "favorable" atmosphere in the South; industry goes where it is wanted and stays where it is fairly treated. There is no doubt about the South wanting industry. Other inducements it offers are vast mineral resources, cheap gas and electricity, water and rail transportation, good factory sites, and a mild climate. As for Southern labor, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina summed up its quality when he said recently that South Carolina—and Southern—workers are "willing to give a full day's work for a full day's pay." Southern manufacturers are inclined to minimize wage differentials as a factor in the South's competitive advantage. They say, instead, that the big consideration is "productivity"—the result of a combination of the virtues of the Southern worker and the modern equipment of Southern plants.

The legislators of South Carolina recently toured new industrial plants around Clemson College, South Carolina's agricultural and mechanical college, which boasts the largest college-level textile-engineering school in the nation. They saw a cotton mill covering fourteen acres—all on one floor for continuous production, air-conditioned. They visited woolen and synthetics plants, a new multi-million-dollar fiber-glass plant, a modernistic plant turning out sewing machines. And on the five-hundred-acre "lawn" of one of the mills they saw several hundred white-faced Hereford steers grazing on alta fescue grass and Ladino clover. The mill started the livestock project as a practical measure to keep the immense lawn mowed and at the same time to demonstrate to the farmers of the area what can be done with the new grasses that are being introduced for year-round pasturage. The inevitable conclusion is: You just can't beat things like that.

Reconstruction Number Two

BY LEWIS W. JONES

Tuskegee, Alabama

THE economic emancipation of the Negro in the South, his release from unremunerative hand labor and the share-cropper system, appears to have been effected by white-faced cattle and tractor-drawn farm machinery. Sleek Herefords now graze on hillsides where gaunt, ill-fed people once scratched for a meager living. In the fields where not long since parents and children toiled without hope of winning security or comfort, machines sow, tend, and harvest bounteous crops. And strangely enough, this improvement in the Southern Negro's lot has been brought about by his traditional enemy, the Democratic Party.

The cotton South of tradition had a one-crop, tenant-operated agriculture and a large farm population, of which a high proportion was Negro. Since 1930 the population has become more urban, with a drift in rural regions into non-farm occupations, and the proportion of Negroes has sharply decreased. The South of tradition was oligarchy-ridden: a small number of voters made its political decisions, its government was inefficient, its schools were poor, and justice was flouted in its courts. Disfranchised, the Negro suffered most from these abuses. Since 1930 he has been regaining his right to vote, he has had his case heard in the courts, expenditures for his education have increased, and the rise of his political influence now promises to offset that of the die-hard oligarchy.

The position of the Negro in the South has undergone more striking change in the past twenty years than in any comparable period since Reconstruction. Political progress had to await not only economic progress, which came finally with the introduction of diversified and mechanized farming, but the creation of a new climate of opinion. Depression, war, and a philosophy of government which has developed since the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 have induced a new generation of Southerners to defy the still powerful oligarchy that would keep the Negro from enjoying his civil rights.

Population trends in the nation have lessened the pressure of population on the resources of the South just at the time that those resources are being developed. Information released by the Census of 1950 does not include migration data as such, but the changes in population distribution between 1940 and 1950 give a general idea of what has occurred. In that decade the population increase was 44 per cent in the Northeast, 50 per cent in the North Central states, 237 per cent in the West, and only 3 per cent in the South. This small increase in the area where two-thirds of the Negroes of the nation lived in 1940 and continued to live in 1950 indicates a great out-migration. The movement was not confined to Negroes, but the rate for Negroes was much greater than for whites. In Mississippi the non-white population actually decreased 8 per cent and in Georgia 2 per cent; in South Carolina it increased only 1 per cent.

The story of the redistribution of the Negro population is by no means told by the figures on the migration from the South to the North. The same expelling and the same beckoning forces have caused a marked movement from farm to city in the South. The total population of Alabama, for example, increased 8 per cent between 1940 and 1950, while the urban population increased 43 per cent. The population of cities of 100,000 or more increased 32 per cent, and that of cities between 10,000 and 100,000, 52 per cent.

The paternalism of plantation agriculture gave Negroes in the South a certain dubious security which they have now lost. Have they found a place of greater security in the economy? In 1949 the median income of non-white families in the South was $995, that of white families was twice as large, and that of white families in other sections of the United States approximately three times as large. Less than 12 per cent of the non-whites in the South had incomes of $2,500 or more.

That Negroes are not bettering their position in agriculture is shown by several facts. Between 1930 and

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LEWIS W. JONES, an authority on the problems of the rural South, is director of research on the Rural Life Council of Tuskegee Institute. For ten years he served as supervisor of field studies in the Department of Social Science of Fisk University.

1945 tenant farmers of both races declined by 622,000, while owners increased by 270,000. Negroes represented 223,000, or 35 per cent, of the decrease in tenants and 11,000, or 4 per cent, of the increase in owners. According to the *Farmer's Bulletin* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 250,000 new tractors were bought between 1940 and 1950 in the six Southern states served by the bank. This, together with the increase in the amount of land given over to pasturage and the increase in the number of farms of more than 500 acres, shows the trend toward a type of agriculture in which the small farm, whether owner-operated or tenant-operated, is at a disadvantage.

IN 1940, 40 per cent of the non-whites in the South were employed in agriculture; in 1950, 29 per cent. In the same period the percentage employed in manufacturing increased from 10 to 14 per cent, and there were small percentage increases in other industry groups. Industrial workers classified as operatives and the like represented 8.9 per cent of non-whites employed in the South in 1940, as compared with 16.1 per cent in 1950. Private household workers and laborers accounted for 31 per cent of employed non-whites in 1940 and 30 per cent in 1950.

However, regardless of how many more Negroes were employed in some categories in 1950 than in 1940, it is well to observe that only 1.6 per cent of employed non-whites were clerical or kindred workers and that they represented only 3 per cent of all such workers. Four per cent of employed non-whites were craftsmen, foremen, and the like and constituted 8 per cent of workers in these categories; 4 per cent were professional and technical workers and constituted 9 per cent of all such workers. In none of the occupations in which Negroes made significant gains during the past decade does their proportion of the total number of workers approach the proportion of Negroes in the population.

The pattern that has circumscribed the industrial employment of Negroes continues to operate. There is still negligible employment of Negroes in textile mills and heavy employment in tobacco factories. No serious attempt to change the pattern has been made by either employers or unions in the new industries that have moved to the South.

Despite the claims of economic determinists, social and ideological factors have always influenced the Negro's position in the South. Using legend and prevarication to bolster its position, the oligarchy has insisted that its opinions are those of all "respectable" Southerners. So strident have been its claims that they have often been accepted by honest but befuddled people. The barefoot white share-cropper has believed in the myth of the oligarchy's South even while his own ragged children picked cotton side by side with the barefoot black share-cropper's children. The white laborer working for starvation wages in the textile mills has believed that keeping things as they were was his only protection against being displaced at his profitless spindles by black farmers forsaking their profitless cotton rows. Much evil was done by politician, preacher, and newspaper publisher in spreading the views which still influence the position of the South in the nation and the position of the Negro in the South.

The gains made by the Negro and by democracy in the South have been wrested by main force from the oligarchy, which gives nothing it can possibly retain. If Negroes are getting better schools and more money is being spent on education for whites and Negroes alike, it is because state and local governments have been forced to accept their responsibilities. Since 1940 the median number of school years completed by whites has gone up from 8.7 to 9.7 years and for non-whites from 5.7 to 7.0 years. Meanwhile the diehard politicians have shouted objections, spent the taxpayers' money in court suits to keep Negroes out of the schools, and enacted legislation to prevent the admission of Negroes to more schools. The different attitude of the younger generation is shown by the fact that at none of the institutions for higher learning to which Negroes have been admitted in the past few years has a single instance of friction been reported. It has not been the young voters who have sought to keep the Negro disfranchised but the oldsters, local representatives of the oligarchy on county Democratic committees and boards of registrars.

While every year Negroes are voting in greater numbers, they are not yet active in state or local party organizations. There are no Negro representatives, for example, so far as casual inquiry can discover, on the local committees that administer the programs of the Farm Home Administration and the Production and Marketing Administration. Negroes who need the services of these agencies often do not know whom to approach.

The political group which has been in conflict with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations for the past twenty years is still the most formidable foe of Negro progress. In collaboration with the Republicans it has been able to block enlightened legislation and prevent the carrying out of policies in the spirit in which they were devised. Now, as once before in our history, the power of the Southern oligarchy is threatened. A new emancipation is in process. Will it go forward to create a democratic South, or will a reactionary coalition succeed in turning the clock back? That is the great question for all Southerners who believe in democratic principles and democratic practices, as well as for the Negro.

AROUND THE SOUTH

[*To sample Southern Negro opinion on the 1952 election and also to get first-hand information from key areas on the extent of Negro registration,* The Nation *asked for statements from a number of its friends and correspondents in the South. Their reports are published below. Most of the writers are actively identified with the effort to increase Negro registration in the Southern states.*]

Field Report

Birmingham

AS the N. A. A. C. P.'s Southeastern regional secretary, I cover Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. In the area of political action my work is completely non-partisan in accordance with N. A. A. C. P. policy. It seems to me that Negroes throughout this region are becoming more politically conscious than they have ever been. The televising and radio broadcasting of the two conventions last July brought politics into the homes of Negroes who have never before engaged in political activity.

Campaigns for registration are being stepped up and plans for getting out the vote are under way. The N. A. A. C. P. is a leading factor in almost every community where it has a branch. Progressive Democratic groups (which are usually Negro Democratic groups), voters' leagues, civic leagues, women's groups, and other organizations are working on this project too.

"The man in the street" thinks that most Negroes in this section lean toward the Democratic candidates and platform. They feel that there is more substance in the Democratic Party's plank on civil rights. They are encouraged by mention of the need to change Senate Rule 22—on filibusters—though they are deeply concerned about Senator Sparkman's attitude on this question.

There are a number of counties in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi (particularly), a few in Tennessee, and some in Florida and South Carolina where the Negro is not yet voting. In these states "white supremacists" and Dixiecrats on Boards of Registrars refuse to register Negroes. In some areas of all these states Negroes have been so threatened and intimidated that they are afraid to try to register.

The lack of political organization is a serious handicap; there has been little or no effective organization on the precinct level. But the task of increasing the Negro vote is being done at a swifter pace now than in previous years. It will be speeded up as the N. A. A. C. P. grows in strength in this region and as more organizations cooperate. It will be further speeded up as suits are filed against Boards of Registrars that refuse to register Negroes.

In conclusion: the Negro in the South is approaching political maturity and is becoming keenly aware of the importance of the power of the ballot. Negroes will focus their attention on candidates for federal office, since they are convinced that action to protect their rights, and their lives, must come from the federal government. The Southern states have done little or nothing to offer Southern Negroes this protection, although the Dixiecrats and States' Righters continue to insist that they be left alone to solve their own problems.

RUBY HURLEY,
Southeastern Regional Office,
N. A. A. C. P.

The Situation in Alabama

Birmingham

THE Alabama Negro vote in the general election of 1948 was less than 10,000. At present there are estimated to be between 40,000 and 50,000 qualified Negro voters in the state.

A campaign is now under way to increase the number of Negro voters to 100,000 by election time, with emphasis on registering veterans, who would not have to pay the poll tax and would be eligible to vote. Several organizations have joined forces to put over this drive. Registration clinics are being conducted in various communities to instruct prospective voters.

Many obstacles are still being placed in the way of Negroes who seek to qualify to vote. In some counties Boards of Registrars use various devices to keep down Negro registration, especially in those counties where Negroes outnumber whites. One such device is to require the prospective voter to furnish two persons to vouch for him. In at least five counties there is not a single Negro voter, and Negroes cannot always find white people who will vouch for them. In Henry County it was necessary for Negroes to go into federal court to get this practice abolished. Several hundred Negroes are now registered whereas prior to 1951 the county did not have a single Negro on the registration lists.

Another obstacle is the cumulative poll tax in Alabama, which is the most vicious of the poll-tax states. A voter must pay a poll tax from his twenty-first to his forty-fifth birthday. Hence a person registering after the age of forty-five must pay $36.

As president of the Alabama Democratic Association, an organization of Negro Democrats, I have traveled throughout the state. I believe that Negroes will vote overwhelmingly Democratic in the coming election.

ARTHUR D. SHORES

Birmingham

Registration barriers have been dented in about twenty of Alabama's sixty-seven counties since 1948; only three or four counties with a big Negro population still refuse to place any Negro citizens on the voting lists, although some others permit only token Negro voting.

Alabama is not the easiest state in which to become a qualified voter. Poll tax, registration laws, and the one-party system serve to keep the electorate small. The "Little Boswell Amendment," Alabama's new voter-qualification law, which was adopted by a margin of 369 votes in 1951, was designed chiefly for close racial screening of voters. To become a voter by this registration formula one must be of good moral character, understand the duties of citizenship, answer a questionnaire prepared by the Alabama State Supreme Court, and take a loyalty oath.

The Negro voters are organized behind the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association, headed by Arthur D. Shores. It has vice-chairmen in the nine Congressional districts, with county, city, and community units. Most of them will support, I think, the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. Upward of 90 per cent of Negro voters usually turn out in important elections.

For the first time since 1922 Negro voters, organized in Birmingham as the Lincoln Republican Club, will be accepted by the Alabama State Republican Party. But the G. O. P. will do well if it gets 5 per cent of Alabama's Negro voters. It is putting only Presidential electors on its ballot.

EMORY O. JACKSON,
the Birmingham *World*

The Florida Negro Vote

Ocala

ROUGHLY speaking, the Negro population of Florida, with its 350,000 potential voters, constitutes 30 per cent of the total of those eligible to vote. In 1946, for the first time in more than forty years, Negroes participated in the Democratic primaries. Two years after the Supreme Court's decision opened the primaries to Negroes, 35,000 qualified and around 25,000 voted. Some 12,000 Negro Republicans qualified in that year. In 1948 the Negro Democratic vote had increased to 85,323; the Negro Republican vote was 10,000. In 1950 the Negro Democratic vote totaled 106,660; the Negro Republican vote was 9,726. On April 30 of this year, according to the records of the Secretary of State, 112,868 Negro Democrats and 8,045 Negro Republicans were registered.

Because of the interest in the coming election and the efforts of many groups to increase Negro registration it is estimated that upward of 150,000 colored votes will be cast in November—less than 50 per cent of Florida's potential Negro vote. While it is true that apathy is partially responsible for the low registration, it is also true that intimidation and threats are used in some counties to discourage Negro voting. Flagler County currently has only one registered colored voter. Lafayette, Liberty, Madison, and Union Counties have none at all.

Outside of West Florida, Negroes are free to register and vote, but they receive very little encouragement from the local and state Democratic officials; the Democratic organizations do not recognize Negro Democrats or integrate them on the state or local levels.

From all indications, Florida Negroes will vote the Democratic ticket, for several reasons. First, Negroes traditionally have little faith in the civic and political morality of the professional Southern Democrats. The defection of many of them to reactionary Republicanism solidifies the Southern Negroes' strong Democratic support. They also dislike the "unholy alliance" of Dixiecrats and Republicans in Congress.

The younger Negro voters frankly admit that they know nothing of a Republican Administration. They associate "depressions," "bread lines," and "soup lines" with the G. O. P. Until the Republican Party can develop a forward-looking, progressive, and aggressive approach to world, domestic, and minority problems, the Negroes, by and large, will stick with the Democrats.

EDWARD D. DAVIS,
Editorial Director, Tampa *Bulletin*,
and President, State Conference
N. A. A. C. P. Branches

The Georgia Negro: 1952

Atlanta

WHILE the great majority may vote Democratic, Negroes, at least in urban centers, are becoming more politically conscious and more discriminating in party allegiance than ever before. They not only appreciate the tremendous gains made under Democratic administrations but they feel a strong allegiance to the party which has consistently fought for progressive measures in the social and economic fields. Above all, they are grateful to the party that has brought the skeleton of civil rights out of the closet and made a real issue of it.

On the other hand, the thinking Negro is aware of another fact which puts him in a dilemma: because of the seniority system, a Democratic victory will perpetuate Southern control of Congressional committees. This leadership, aided and abetted by Senate Rule 22, has effectively fought all progressive measures from civil rights to labor and welfare legislation.

Any disaffection among Negro voters in Georgia may be attributed more to their resentment at the opposition of Southern Congressmen and Governors to the Negro's economic and political advancement than to their belief that the Republicans, many of whom have formed an effective alliance with the Southern Democrats to block civil rights, will succeed where the Democrats have failed. Added to this is the Negro's resentment at not being recognized as an integral part of the Democratic Party in Georgia. Some believe that a strong Republican Party will be a good corrective to this.

The Negro vote, even in Georgia, must no longer be taken for granted.

WILLIAM M. BOYD,
Professor of Political Science,
Atlanta University, and President,
Georgia State Conference, N. A. A. C. P.

Shift to the Republicans

Atlanta

THE forthright stand of both the Democratic 1948 platform and the party's candidate, President Truman, on civil rights attracted the support of an overwhelming majority of Negro voters in this state in the last election: about 150,000 Negroes were eligible to vote and some 100,000 actually voted, of whom three out of four probably supported the Democratic ticket. This year as many as 200,000 Negroes may be registered in Georgia.

In February the Georgia General Assembly, almost completely Democratic, passed a bill aimed at barring President Truman as a candidate; it freed the Presidential electors from any moral obligation to vote for a specific candidate in the Electoral College. It also banned the names of Presidential candidates from the ballot. Under this bill, which fortunately is limited to the 1952 election, the people have no assurance that their vote will be given to the candidate for whom they intended to vote.

Many of those who understand the implications of this bill will register their protest in the only way open to them—by voting against the Democrats in November. Moreover, I believe Negroes in Georgia and in the South generally are disgusted by the complete failure of the Democrats to get their civil-rights legislation before Congress because of the Southerners' opposition.

On the other hand, the Republican convention showed that the liberal element in that party is in control, as was evidenced by the nomination of General Eisenhower over Taft. Then, too, there is a growing belief among our people that we must try to solve our problems on the local level, and to do this we must develop a strong two-party system in the Southern states.

Because of these factors, I believe this year will see a shift of the Negro vote in Georgia from Democratic to Republican. I have resigned my position as president of a Democratic club and announced my intention to vote the Republican ticket.

C. A. SCOTT,
Editor and General Manager,
Atlanta *Daily World*

Another View

Atlanta

THE potential Negro vote in Georgia is approximately 600,000, of which 150,000 are on the registration books. Probably about 100,000 will vote in the Presidential election. A reasonably safe guess is that more than three-fourths of them will support the Democrats.

The greatest obstacle to the Negro's full participation in the coming election is the apathy that exists in rural areas, primarily because Negroes have been deprived of the vote so long that it will take time to teach them the value of exercising their rights. Then again, in some sections, although overt acts of intimidation are largely vanishing, a strong if silent opposition remains.

Southern Negroes will support the Democratic Party in overwhelming numbers, despite the personal popularity of General Eisenhower, because the positive programs of the Democratic Party in the last twenty years have raised the economic level of the entire region.

A. T. WALDEN,
President, Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs and Temporary Chairman, Southwide Association of Negro Democrats

The Louisiana Negro: 1952

New Orleans

THOUGH the late Governor Huey Long removed the Louisiana poll-tax requirement in the early thirties, fewer Negroes voted from 1930 to 1944 than in some other Southern states. The reason: systematic exclusion of Negroes from registration under election laws which permit registration officials to determine the qualifications of applicants. Once registered, Negroes *in the major cities* have no difficulty in voting. In more than half of the state's sixty-odd parishes (counties), no Negroes are registered; intimidation and violence are resorted to by officials to deprive them of the ballot.

In 1948 the total Negro registration was estimated at 49,000, of whom about 26,000 lived in New Orleans. In the Democratic primaries held in mid-summer of 1952 registration rose to a conservatively estimated 95,000, though it dropped to about 22,0000 in New Orleans, thanks to a purging of the rolls in Orleans Parish. This circumstance produced a coordinated effort among the city's three major Negro political organizations to increase registration. On the basis of state-wide results achieved over the past several months about 125,000 Negroes will be qualified to vote in November.

Negro political activity in Louisiana centers in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where able leadership has developed. In other cities, like Shreveport, Alexandria, Lake Charles, and Lafayette, registration is shamefully low. However, in a few small towns, with the encouragement of liberal white officials, Negroes have been registered for the first time since Reconstruction.

While it seems likely that the largest Republican vote in the state's history will be cast for Eisenhower this fall, few of the ballots will come from Negroes. They feel that the Democratic Party has brought them more advances than have Republican Administrations, and the Roosevelt New Deal still exercises magic over their minds.

RUDOLPH MOSES

Louisiana Registration

New Orleans

THE Negro registration for the November 4 election will approach the 150,000 mark. Six months ago it was about 100,000.

Robert F. Kennon, Governor of Louisiana, said at the Democratic National Convention: "Louisiana is the stronghold of democracy." When incidents such as the one that recently happened in Greensburg, Louisiana, occur and nothing is done about it, you begin to wonder just what our Governor's concept of democracy is. Greensburg was turned into a town of terror by a pistol-packing white farmer acting as a commissioner at the polls when twelve Negroes tried to vote. . . . This is not the first such incident. Another occurred just six months earlier when Louisiana was electing a governor.

C. C. DEJOIE, JR.,
Managing Editor, *Lousiana Weekly*

South Carolina Gives Notice

Columbia

DYNAMIC N. A. A. C. P. leadership for the past decade has kept Negroes alerted for offensive strategy in South Carolina. During that period, Negroes realized more than ever before that South Carolina was still unreconstructed, still beyond the pale of constitutional government as laid down by federal statute in regard to the rights and privileges of citizens. The fight against the "white primary" was won by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring's decision. And so South Carolina, birthplace of the Dixiecrat movement, became in 1950 the deathbed of virulent Dixiecratism when a heavy Negro vote kept Thurmond out of Washington and gave warning to similar politicians.

In my opinion Negroes here are not widely interested in Eisenhower's candidacy. The major drive, "South Carolinians for Eisenhower," was initiated by some fine men who were outnumbered by Dixiecrats. The Morris-Gerald Republicans, the state's only pretense to

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a Republican Party, are powerless to do anything effective for the national ticket or for themselves.

Opposition to registration in this state has become negligible, and there is a general though far from satisfactory advance on the registration booths. Religious and secular organizations, state and local, are emphasizing the importance of registering and voting, with special service being rendered by the Methodist and Baptist churches, the Masons, the State Teachers Association, and the N. A. A. C. P.

Negroes will be forced to work and to bargain politically as a group as long as office-seekers either consider or attack them as a group. Therefore, in "bloc" voting, as certain politicians and segments of the press label it derisively when done by Negroes, the Negroes are adopting the strategy used by the opposition for years when they either crucified or rendered voiceless at the ballot boxes anyone who dared express a feeling of kinship with the masses—labor, Negro, tenant farmer, sharecropper, slum-dweller, Tobacco-Roader, average citizen. "The handwriting is on the wall!"

MODJESKA MONTIETH SIMKINS,
Secretary, South Carolina Conference,
N. A. A. C. P.

Columbia

Recently I completed an eight weeks' visit to thirty-eight of South Carolina's forty-six counties, covering forty-two communities in the interest of political action. Among the things this tour revealed was that a large majority of South Carolina's approximately 130,000 registered Negroes—there are about 400,000 Negro adults, three-fourths of whom should be able to qualify to vote—will support the Democratic ticket on November 4.

South Carolina's Negroes attribute most of their gains to the Democratic Party, but there is another important factor in the situation. They have been alienated from the G. O. P. by the recognized Republican Party of the state, which two years ago unceremoniously kicked out its two top and competent Negro members, Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of Columbia, Richmond County Republican chairman, and Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell of Orangeburg, an attorney and leader in the Young Republican movement. This ouster, plus the fact that the national Republican Party has repeatedly recognized the state body over a thoroughly "mixed" faction, has driven away most of the overwhelming Negro support the G. O. P. once had. A second reason the cards are almost hopelessly stacked against the Republicans is the general suspicion that they have formed an alliance with the despised Dixiecrats.

The general attitude was summed up by a man from Clarendon County: "We're just getting our feet in the voting door. It don't make sense to take it out and go running off with the same people who messed us up years ago. If we take them feet out now we might not ever get them in there again."

JOHN H. MCCRAY,
Editor, the *Lighthouse and Informer*,
State Chairman, South Carolina
Progressive Democrats

Despite These Obstacles

Richmond

MANY young adult Negroes who have lived in Virginia all their lives cannot write their names and therefore are unable to register. The Negroes who have grown up since the adoption of the current constitution have seen discrimination at every turn—even in the courts, where, upon conflicting evidence, justice is surrendered to the whims of juries composed of white men. They have never seen Negroes represented in any phase of governmental activity, unless, indeed, in the separate school, which in appearance and atmosphere resembles the Negro church.

Against such a background the attempt today to convince the Negro that he is part and parcel of the democratic process means making him unlearn the teachings of his entire life and getting him to adopt a new philosophy and a new idea which, even yet, are contradicted by everything he sees around him. Despite these obstacles the Virginia Negro has made steady progress toward first-class citizenship by the use of the ballot. He has responded to the political avenues opened largely through the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. Thus with enlightened, determined, and dedicated leadership, the Virginia Negro is closing the gap between the 382,000 potential Negro voters in the state and the present estimate of 70,000. He realizes that with the increased use of the ballot will come his long-deserved full citizenship. W. LESTER BANKS,

Executive Secretary, Virginia
State Conference N. A. A. C. P.

Report from Virginia

Richmond

IN THE past seven years the Negro vote in Virginia has nearly doubled, and 65,000 Negroes are expected to vote in the November election. Negroes cast approximately 40,000 votes for President Truman in 1948, and when one remembers that his plurality over Dewey was only 27,716 and that the combined Dewey-Thurmond vote exceeded Truman's by 14,677, it is apparent that the Negro vote was decisive in swinging Virginia's electoral votes to the Democratic column. It may well prove decisive again this year, particularly since conservative elements in the Democratic Party and many metropolitan dailies are supporting the Republican nominees. Proof of its importance is the fact that for the first time the Democratic Central Committee is soliciting Negro support; Negroes are also organizing local Stevenson-Sparkman clubs under the leadership of a group allied directly with the National Democratic Committee.

Virginia still has the poll tax, which by law must be paid in May for the three preceding years. Nothing can be done at this time, therefore, to increase the electorate except to make sure that everyone who has paid his poll tax registers. Political clubs and the N. A. A. C. P. are cooperating in this effort.

In general, Negroes were disappointed by the civil-rights planks in both platforms, but they believe that the Democratic Party's stand on F. E. P. C., labor, and the general welfare offers far more hope of progressive action than does that of the Republicans.

The Southern Negro is beginning to realize the importance of using the ballot to win first-class citizenship; he is also beginning to realize that he is a factor to be reckoned with even in the South. OLIVER W. HILL,

Member of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance, and former member of the Richmond City Council

Labor and the Southern Negro

THE great economic development that has taken place in the South since the late 1930's has not been brought about solely by federal handouts or a belated tapping of the South's resources. The South has used various inducements, among them low taxes and low-cost sites, to "kidnap" Northern industries. For example, the legislatures of Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama have authorized municipalities to issue bonds for the construction of new industrial plants, machinery included, which can be leased at fairly nominal rates by Northern concerns. Since these bonds are exempt from federal taxation, the municipalities need pay only 2¼ per cent interest; private corporations borrowing for the same purpose would have to pay double this rate.

But of all the inducements offered by the South the most important is its lower wage scale. At present the wage differential is said to account for supplemental profits of from four to five billion dollars a year. By failing to take the substandard wages into consideration the federal government's procurement policies have in effect being stimulating the flight of Northern capital to the South. Most of the new textile mills in the South have been built by companies that have received "certificates of necessity" from the Defense Plant Administration authorizing them to write off the cost within a period of five years under the accelerated tax-amortization program. The rapid industrialization of the South is also related to the failure of Northern industry in 1946 to break the resistance of organized labor in the North to post-war wage cuts.

To the extent that Southern labor remains unorganized, however, the standards of organized labor are endangered in other areas. "Workers in the North," writes Edwin A. Lahey, a Chicago newspaperman, "are paying through the nose for the failure of the labor movement to organize the South." The South leads all other areas on violations of wages-and-hours legislation. Although only 16 per cent of the workers who complained of violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1951 were in the South, 33 per cent of all underpaid workers and 46 per cent of all workers underpaid in violation of the law, were in the South; 36 per cent of all back wages owed workers under the act were owed to Southern workers. Yet one court in New York heard more suits in 1951 for violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act than were filed in the federal courts of the thirteen Southern states. "The cause," reports M. H. Ross, in the *North Carolina Law Review*, "is fear that the result of the suit may be not merely the collection of a few dollars in back wages but also a discharge."

It is not surprising that the forces which still attempt to deny the ballot to the Southern Negro are the very ones which have repeatedly blocked attempts to organize Southern labor. In the spring of 1951 the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union spent $1,250,000 to keep 40,000 Southern textile workers on strike for five weeks. But the strike was broken. The methods used to defeat this and similar organizing efforts are indicated in a report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare submitted during the second session of the Eighty-second Congress. A comparison of the following excerpts from the report with the "casualty list" appearing on page 250 will show that the Southern labor organizer faces much the same kind of opposition as the Southern Negro fighting to win the ballot.

> This concerted opposition to union organization and collective bargaining and the resulting nullification of the labor policies of the United States have been studied extensively by the subcommittee. The extent and effectiveness of this opposition in the Southern textile industry are almost unbelievable. Millions of dollars have been spent for organizing by the unions since the end of World War II, and yet Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers' Union of America (C. I. O.), testified before the subcommittee that membership in his union in the South had declined from 20 per cent of the textile employees to 15 per cent in the last few years.
>
> This retrogression of collective bargaining does not appear to have occurred by chance, nor does it appear to have come as a series of isolated incidents. In his testimony before the subcommittee Mr. Rieve said: "I charge that there exists in the textile industry, primarily in the South, a widespread conspiracy to prevent union organization and to destroy those unions which now exist." The evidence before the subcommittee goes far to substantiate Mr. Rieve's charge. . . .
>
> In stopping a union organizing campaign employers will use some or all of the following methods: surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda through rumors, letters, news stories, advertisements, speeches to the employees; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gun play; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, etc. If all this fails, the employer will try to stall, in slow succession, first the election, then the certification of the union, and finally the negotiation of a contract. Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught. . . .

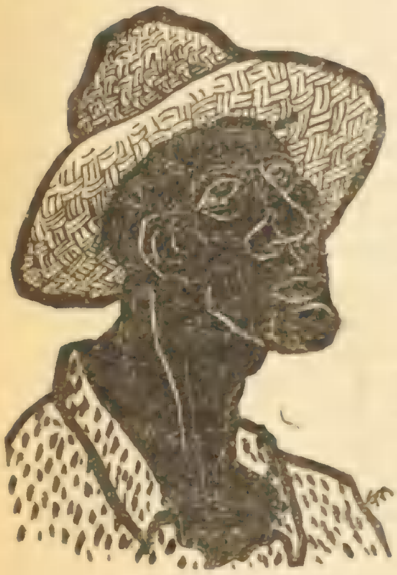
But despite many setbacks the South is being organized, and the fact has an important relevance to the "second emancipation" of the Southern Negro.

How Far Has Southern Labor Advanced?

BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Atlanta

EIGHTEEN years ago in Birmingham you could see the beginnings of a new kind of unionism in the South. We had had craft unions in the building trades and in printing and on the railroads, and the textile workers had gone on strike spasmodically. But though you could find an occasional all-Negro local of plasterers or brickmasons, or of railway firemen and oilers, unionism had not reached the big plants where Negroes were employed in large numbers. True, the coal miners were organized, and they had learned from experience that they were powerful only if their unions contained both white and Negro workers. Mixed unions were, in fact, established United Mine Workers policy.



In 1934 I went out to the home of the secretary-treasurer of a new local of cast-iron-pipe workers near Birmingham. It was an A. F. of L. union with a thousand members, five hundred white and five hundred Negro. My friend lived in a neat, white-painted house on a hill near other white workers' homes. We stood on his front porch and looked down at a huddle of tar-paper shacks.

"Who lives in the bottom?" I asked. "Colored," he replied. "Do they work at the shop?" "Yes." "Do they belong to this union?" "Yes."

Then he said, "Can you see a little path running between up here where we live and down there where they live?" I could. "Before this union came there wasn't any path there."

The idea of one union for whites and blacks has made a secure place for itself in the life of the South. People at first were skittish, thought it was bound to cause trouble. But there was no trouble except when some foreman stirred it up. By now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful not only in the mines but in steel, aluminum, meat-packing, tobacco, rubber, automobiles and aircraft, lumber and woodworking, chemicals, communications, and paper and pulp.

Textiles have not really been cracked. It is doubtful whether more than 20 per cent of Southern textile workers have been organized at any one time in recent years, and the scattered locals are divided between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The textile industry was built on white labor. In most cotton mills Negroes form only 10 per cent of the hands; and they are jealously kept out of everything except the heavier operations. Some locals have admitted Negroes. Some have put them into separate units. Some have ignored them. What a particular textile local does about the Negro workers appears unimportant at the time. But the failure of the white workers in this dominant Southern industry to accept a progressive pattern of race relations is closely tied to the weakness of the textile unions.

The steel unions are strong not only in the main centers but also in outlying plants. Packinghouses in little towns are often as well organized as those in the big cities. Paper and lumber mills in the piney woods have good unions. A measure of the strength of a union is its ability to organize isolated plants.

The big employers usually bargain honestly. The furniture manufacturers still fight the unions, as do textiles and the scattered garment factories. But in half a dozen of the largest Southern industries collective bargaining has won its battle.

How much organizing has the Southern labor movement accomplished? The figures are hard to come by. Both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have put on major drives in the last few years. Both have probably doubled their Southern membership since 1946. I would give the C. I. O. close to 500,000 dues-paying members in the South at present and the A. F. of L. around 2,000,000. The United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably has at least 125,000. Add the independents, and you get a total of perhaps 2,750,000. The gainfully employed persons in non-agricultural industry in the South number somewhere around 9,300,000, but by no means all of them would ordinarily be thought capable of being organized. If 2,750,000 are union members, that is a good long start. And with strong home bases in many operations, the unions have every chance to grow. The number of Negroes in Southern unions is even harder to estimate. A guess would be a little under 700,000.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL is executive director of the Southern Regional Council. He is the author of "Textile Unionism in the South" and, with Horace Cayton, of "Black Workers and the New Unions."

What determines the attitude of a union toward Negro workers is the proportion of Negroes in the industry. In an industry like paper and pulp, in which perhaps 40 per cent of the workers are Negro, neither A. F. of L. nor C. I. O. unions are likely to practice discrimination. If a local anywhere contains only a handful of Negroes, they are apt to get "second table."

The mixed unions have not tried to slay the dragon of Southern segregation. They take workers as they find them and get them together for bargaining purposes. At most meetings the Negro members bunch on one side of the aisle and the white members on the other. Some from each group sit where they will, and that is all right with everybody. Members observe, in a token way, some of the formalities long established in this bi-racial society, but there is democracy and equality. The example set to the community is so powerful that in the opinion of the South's leading race-relations experts the new mixed unions have done more to leaven the Southern situation than any other single force.

Work and Color

BY LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

Atlanta

EVER since I was a young woman beginning to think about the South with its injustices and inequalities, I have thought that it is not the Negro who has held the region back but rather the shadow of the Negro, which lies dark and distorted in the white man's mind. That shadow has produced strange illusions which in their turn have caused a breakdown in democracy and a tortured history for the South.

White people in their fear built protective barriers, so they thought, against the "encroachments of Negroes upon the special prerogatives of the whites." What they really built were road blocks to democracy and justice and equal opportunity. In so doing they hurt all the South and all the people. The evil weeds that grow from oppression, poverty, and ignorance spread in many directions. Trying to "keep the Negro in his place," the white man darkened and impoverished the society in which he lived and narrowed his own soul.

It was because of the C. I. O.'s concern for minorities, as well as for economically depressed people, that I was drawn to it. This movement contributes more to Southern progress than any other During the fifteen years of C. I. O. in the South, convention resolutions on equality and opportunity for all have become solid achievements.

The intangible—one might say spiritual—progress is equally real and even more important to a man's dignity and self-respect. Human relationships are vastly improved. White men seeing their leaders greet a Negro visitor as "Mr. Jones," with extended right hand, follow the example and a new pattern is made. The use of polite language and friendly greetings is far more significant than people living outside the South can know. The mere fact that groups of union folk, white and colored, are sitting down together all over the nation to discuss things of equal importance to all creates a new kind of fellowship. Eating together at a hotel lunch or at a union barbecue is a spiritual experience for these union folk. There is balm for old sores in such simple, natural acts.

In the democracy of mixed meetings Negroes vote for good white men and white men vote for competent Negroes. It is a heartening thing that both can share responsibilities as they seek to represent all and work for all. In these democratic processes the union is the corrective of 150 years of mistaken history.

A Mississippian said to me many years ago, "The C. I. O. will never organize the South; Negroes just won't join unions; and the white people won't work in the same unions with Negroes." He was a false prophet. The C. I. O. has stuck to the declaration written into its first convention resolution in 1938: "To bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection." It is an amazing and important fact that tens of thousands of Southern white men and women are now enrolled in mixed unions.

I was here in the South early enough to see the hesitant progress in these now integrated unions. Meetings were often held separately, with officers from one visiting the other, carrying reports of union actions and resolutions. Both groups voted. Then there was one meeting for all, but the Negroes were waved to the rear of the hall or to one side. Then, increasingly, a mixed local got all its members together to transact their business. In the beginning there might be "white" and "colored" water fountains. Now there is usually one. Divisive practices

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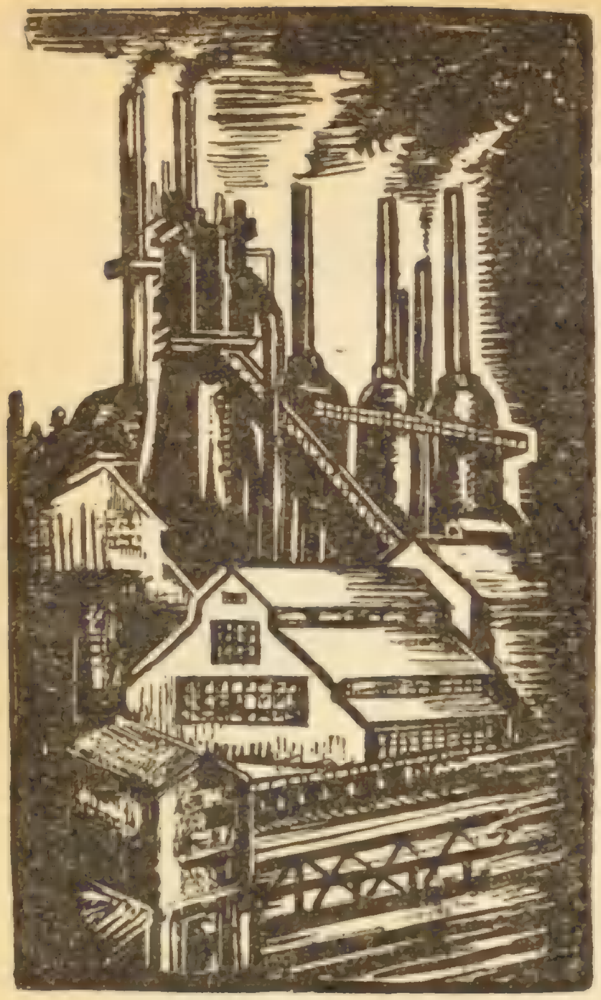
LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, descendant of both the Randolph and Mason families of Virginia, has been actively identified with the C. I. O.'s organizing drive in the South since its inception. This article is taken from her book "To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the C. I. O. in the South," which Harper will publish in October.



in C. I. O. unions are found only in rare and frowned-upon instances.

In a city where divisions in seating and facilities are maintained, the local union insisting that city ordinances forbid mixed meetings, C. I. O. leadership has done its utmost to end such practices. One of the most powerful addresses I have ever heard Philip Murray make was hurled at one of these divided meetings—where a rope separated one part of the hall from the other. As Mr. Murray pleaded for democracy and equality, the rope was cut here and there and soon trailed on the floor. White and colored men on the edges of the two groups filtered through, but no one was arrested.

One company which had long fought the union tried to split white from colored by offering an old-age pension for the colored considerably less than that for the whites. The union firmly refused the settlement. Sometimes white workers who want to learn about the union ask for someone to come to talk to them. Near Macon such a group, mostly white, sat waiting for the organizer. Finally a Negro appeared, expressed his regret that the white man sent for could not come, suggested that the white people leave and he would address the Negroes. None of this nonsense for the white would-be members—they insisted on hearing the Negro. A union grew out of this meeting. Sometimes the plant management will refuse to meet with a bargaining or grievance committee if there are Negroes on it. The white men stand by the colored until the situation is changed.

I THINK Negro leaders are tolerant and understanding of the white man's efforts to square things for the Negro workers. They realize that the white people are struggling to keep open the doors and ease the strain of these new relations.

In the beginning all union organizers were white. Now there are many Negro representatives both on the C. I. O. staff and with national unions. The C. I. O. conference held in Atlanta in 1949 was participated in by about twenty Negroes—staff men and delegates from local unions. Negroes were on the platform, and one of them made an excellent address. A dinner meeting for all delegates had been arranged, but the hotel canceled the reservation at the last moment. No other dining place could be found, so the affair was called off. The time had passed when white union men banqueted while the Negro delegates fared as best they could.

The inner machinery of the union provides means for securing just treatment for Negro members. Our unions have stood four-square for equal pay for equal work. Negroes are included in all social-security benefits and in pension plans provided through union contracts. Of first significance to Negroes is the acknowledgment of themselves as persons entitled to democratic respect. Their white brothers in the industrial unions usually succeed in convincing Negro members that they will have not only a better living but also more decent treatment and politeness through a C. I. O. union.

Much has been won for Southern Negroes beyond the union boundaries. At the time of the first National Labor Relations Board hearing in Columbus, Georgia, when the textile workers were to vote for or against the Textile Workers' Union, I recall an elderly Negro who as he approached the ballot box stood still and looked up at the flag above it. He was so moved that he burst forth, "Look at that flag. It is the sign our government is behind us. I never was a citizen in these United States until now because I never could vote until my government gave me that right today." At a union council meeting I sat next to the secretary of a new local composed of Negro women—no white person was employed in the small plant. I asked the secretary what was the most important thing she had gained through the union. "Respect," she replied in a flash. "The boss can't come out in the plant any more and yell at us, or fire us if we answer him. The union takes care of all that now."

In the early years of organization in Memphis I frequently spoke at union meetings in the city. One evening I was asked to talk to a new group. The hall and the street were swarming with Negro men in their working clothes. One group was expected; five were there waiting for us. They used the main hall of the little building and the office behind the hall, and three groups of men formed in the street. It was a stirring occasion, a working of democracy at the grass roots, and I was much moved. Looking back across the years it still amazes me that the handful of white men who led this movement were able to win the confidence of their colored brothers, and that the Negroes readily received the aid of these white men who talked about one union for all the workers in the plant.

Those meetings were deeply religious. A colored member would pray and lead the singing and give a blessing at the end. Once there was an elderly Negro who "lined out" the Lord's Prayer verse by verse while the others repeated the words after him. They were praying for more of the Kingdom of God on earth. Sometimes they would ask the white organizer to lead in prayer, and the white man always responded. If I was the one who prayed I was so moved by the spirit of the Negroes that it was hard to steady my voice.

The C. I. O. has brought more hope for progress to Negroes than any other social institution in the South—and that, sadly, includes the church. (If Negroes visit a white church they must sit carefully segregated.) It is a tragic fact that so far as I know *all* important efforts to organize unions in the South, A. F. of L. as well as C. I. O., have met the opposition of churches—not all churches, but enough to be significant. Dr. Liston Pope's "Mill Hands and Preachers" tells this story well. Management men who contribute largely to the church and sit in the pews seem to take it as their due that mill-village preachers should throw their weight against the union. I have had some painfully enlightening conversations with ministers of larger churches, as well as of mill churches, on this subject. Even today John Ramsay, C. I. O. director of church and community relations, and I are often called to towns where an evangelist or village preacher is attacking the C. I. O. This opposition was far worse ten or fifteen years ago, but it still persists.

Among my earliest recollections is the way Southerners excused the South's errors. The South could do no wrong. As I grew older and developed a more liberal view, I shocked other Southerners by pointing out our failures in democracy. It was hard to recognize what was wrong, because we were so used to it. We had assumed a complacency about this *un*-democracy which acted as a cloak to hide the truth. The South had fought, and lost, a war to save its undemocratic system. Its people looked backward for decades after the Civil War ended. Many people thought the salvation of Southern society lay in keeping out democracy. Harsh laws were passed for the express purpose of denying the rights of Negroes. The Southern states walled off from the benefits of American life a third of their people.

In recent years the wall has begun to crumble. While many forces have worked toward this end, the union movement has been at the forefront, drawing the energies of once prejudiced people into a joint endeavor that overcomes every barrier.

Southern Negro Leader

BY GEORGE PENTY and JAMES CROWN

WHEN the black-robed gentlemen of the Supreme Court took the political ball away from the white-robed men of the Klavern by their decisions concerning "white primaries," equal protection," and "due process," it remained for intelligent Negro leaders to translate the rights thus established into real values by exercising them as voters, as citizens. "Socio-economic-political" changes in the South are meaningless unless men with sufficient ability and courage take advantage of the new opportunities which they bring. In the South as elsewhere politics are people.

What are the main problems and techniques of an effective Negro political leader in the South? A representative example is operating today in a not atypical Southern state. In spite of his growing political importance, he is not widely known. In fact, some of his effectiveness would be lost if he were given too much publicity, and there is always the chance that an unreconstructed Klansman might try to do something to "keep him in his place." So we will call him Frank Taylor.

Fortyish, rather frail, Taylor usually wears an open-collar white sport shirt and a cap with a visor. He is a college graduate, but his manner is that of the small-town people with whom he lives and works. A ready sense of humor—an enormous asset in his job—lightens his fundamental seriousness. He is a new kind of political leader, nourished on Supreme Court decisions and brought to power by the death of the white primary. Some of his methods, though, are as old as American

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politics. His combination gas station and real-estate office serves as his political clubhouse; his salesmen and mechanics are his ward heelers, whom he directs in the basic job of registering and getting out the vote. Since his headquarters are in a county seat of 30,000 in which the Negro registration constitutes two-fifths of the Democratic total, his position with the sheriff and other local officials is fairly secure. These men are typical hometown politicians whose credo, as the saying goes, is to straddle the fence and keep both ears to the ground. They realize that Negro votes are needed for their reelection—the sheriff told friends during a recent campaign: "Wake up. This is 1950; you can't beat up niggers the way you used to." Taylor is able, therefore, to obtain from them various concessions of importance to the Negro community—relief from police brutality (he expects the town to have a Negro policeman soon), school repairs, more street lights, improved pavements, and playgrounds.

BEFORE sun-up during registration and voting drives Taylor fills up his old Chevvy with gas to tour the state. He pays special attention to rural counties where large-scale Negro registration is still relatively new and perilous. In each county he addresses an evening meeting of representatives from the Negro Voters League, the Elks, the N. A. A. C. P. (sometimes the chapter is underground), and as many ministers as will attend. Plans are laid for getting Negroes to register and vote. At election time Negro cabbies are persuaded to give Negro voters free rides to the polls. Commandeered cars are sent out to bring in the more distant voters.

In a recent senatorial campaign Taylor privately expressed deep resentment at the failure of the liberal incumbent to commit himself on civil-rights legislation but worked hard for his reelection since he had at least voted for cloture to prevent filibusters on civil-rights questions. The candidate in return refrained from the race-baiting in which he had indulged in rural districts six years before. The small C. I. O. locals in the cities contributed money and leg work to the effort to register as many Negro voters as possible, but Taylor received little cooperation from the larger A. F. of L. locals, most of which are more opposed to civil rights than to Taft-Hartley. The size of the Negro vote for the candidate who had expressed strong opposition to civil-rights legislation showed the need for a vigorous educational campaign.

The efforts of men like Taylor have resulted in the registration of half the state's eligible Negro voters. This leaves a long road ahead, it is true, but in 1943 no Negroes were registered for the Democratic primary. In fact, ten years ago the leader of Taylor's community, an elderly undertaker named Williams, annually led his faithful into the party of Abraham Lincoln. Then when the Democratic primary was opened to Negroes in 1944 local politicians began to bid for his support. Williams was quite willing to deliver votes for such modest rewards as a new arc light in the corner of a school yard or a few truck loads of shell dumped into the craters in the main street of the Negro community. But soon his people began to demand a real assult on inequality. So Williams was replaced by Taylor, whose activities had shown he was the logical person to lead his people toward their goal.

Second only to registering and getting out the vote is the job of winning civil rights through the courts. Here Taylor's chief task is to raise funds, obtain adequate counsel, and follow the case to a conclusion. Negro teachers and business men have been the most generous contributors to the never really adequate defense funds. Very infrequently does Taylor get aid from white or inter-racial groups.

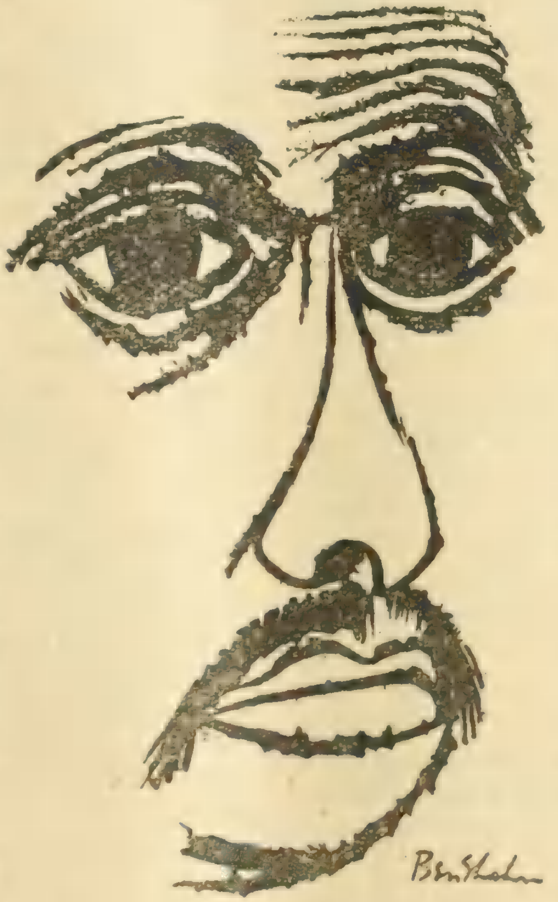
Taylor himself has been a plaintiff in only one case —a suit by Negro teachers to obtain equal pay that was tried and won by a Negro lawyer in the District Court. A teacher at the time, Taylor was fired immediately. His business side lines enabled him to continue his civil-rights fight. He even managed to get a teaching job in another county for a woman teacher who had also been fired as a result of the suit. Other victims of civil-rights violations have been placed by Taylor in state or private jobs.

More trained Negro lawyers in the state, a necessity if local civil rights are to have meaning, may result from a suit engineered by Taylor for the admission of Negro students to the state-supported law school. The state has no Negro law schools. Taylor chose the plaintiffs for their academic record, their courage, and their ability to fit in well with their fellow-students. One of them made a great hit when he spoke on the campus before the suit. He said to the students: "I want nothing more than to go to school here with you. I'm told there's only one thing that stands in my way. And [touching his skin with his hand] it won't rub off. The law will just have to give."

Taylor is often bitterly amused by the prejudice he encounters. A newly built Negro women's prison is still empty because its brick cottages are thought too nice for Negroes to live in. In its decision on the admission of Negroes to the law school, the state Supreme Court wondered whether "any Negro could finish the law curriculum."

During one of the darkest hours for justice in his state Taylor worked to obtain counsel and money for the defense of two young men charged with the rape of a white girl. After visiting the men and seeing the physical abuse they had suffered in prison, Taylor told the little group gathered about him in his office that he feared the accused would be murdered by law-enforcement officers before they came to trial. Yet nothing could be done. It was perhaps the ultimate in frustration and helplessness. "Why don't you just clear out of this damn state?" a despairing friend asked Taylor. "I live here," he said.

Harry T. Moore



HARRY T. MOORE was a soft-spoken, self-effacing man. For seventeen years he went about Florida organizing conferences, investigating lynchings, protesting acts of police brutality. Organizer and first president (1934-39) of the Brevard County branch of the N. A. A. C. P., he also served as president of the association's State Conference from 1941 to 1946 and as state coordinator of branches from 1946 until his death. Under his leadership the State Conference grew from nine branches in 1941 to seventy-seven in 1947. When not working as a volunteer, he drew a meager salary which he usually had to raise himself. Some months he was paid; some months he went without.

Moore was a pioneer in the struggle to establish the principle of "equal pay for equal work" for Florida's Negro teachers. His militancy cost him his teaching job in 1945, and by way of further punishment his wife was also deprived of hers and did not get another for three years. In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary in April, 1944, Moore helped organize the Progressive Voters' League of Florida, which played an important part in opening the Democratic primary to Negro voters. When Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County killed Samuel Shepherd, one of the Groveland defendants, in November, 1951, and seriously wounded Walter Lee Irvin, another defendant, Moore tried valiantly but unsuccessfully to bring about the indictment and prosecution of McCall.

On Christmas Day, 1951, less than two months after the murder of Shepherd, a dynamite bomb exploded beneath Moore's four-room cottage in an orange grove near Mims, Florida. The bomb had been placed directly beneath the bedroom where Moore and his wife were sleeping. The explosion wrecked the house and blew the Moores and their bed "to the roof." Hearing the blast, Sergeant George Sims, brother of Mrs. Moore, home on leave from Korea, came running from his house nearby and extricated the victims from the wreckage. They were taken to the nearest hospital in Sanford, where Moore was pronounced dead. His wife died on January 3, two days after the burial of her husband. As in most of the cases Moore had investigated for the N. A. A. C. P., the murderers were never brought to justice.

Harry T. Moore was a fine example of the Southern Negro leader—patient, courageous, determined to wipe out segregation and discrimination. The pictures of such leaders do not appear in the national magazines, and they seldom receive awards for "promoting interracial harmony." They do not—in most cases they dare not—appear on Town Meeting of the Air programs or move about in the spotlight of publicity. For them "civil rights" are not something to talk about at liberal luncheons in New York and Chicago but a milepost on the long, uphill road to freedom. Unfortunately, principles do not defend themselves; they must be defended by people. Southern Negroes of the type of Harry and Harriet Moore undertake the defense with little hope of reward or recognition and always at a price that too many Americans would regard as exorbitant. Their ultimate victory will be a day of triumph for all Americans.

Democrats Versus Dixiecrats

BY CLARENCE MITCHELL

Washington, D. C.

A DROWNING man never asks, "Who threw that life preserver?" Southern politicians are not yet in the desperate position of a drowning man, but neither are they looking askance at life preservers in the form of colored votes.

There are 5,554,000 colored people aged twenty-one and over in the South. More than one million of them are registered voters. The potential Negro vote is even larger when persons eighteen and over, who may vote in Georgia, are included. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations are currently working to increase the registration to two million by November.

The colored vote helped to pull Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina back into the United States Senate in 1950 when he was in a tough contest with Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond. A large part of the colored vote went to Johnston because he was the lesser evil. His election was assured when he got 186,180 votes over Thurmond's 158,904. More than 100,000 colored voters are registered in the state.

Many remember the rough anti-Negro, race-baiting campaign waged by Representative Smathers of Florida when he defeated the incumbent Claude Pepper for the Senate in 1950. Yet Smathers realized the importance of the colored vote and even tried to make a kind of underground appeal for it. The St. Petersburg *Times* of January 26, 1950, carried an interesting story about Smathers running out on a meeting in a colored church. According to the *Times*:

> The meeting was called off at 10 p. m. The reason given by Reverend G. W. Jenkins, pastor, was that Smathers "has made several speeches today and was about hoarse and not able to talk." However, when Smathers's local manager, Johnny Burroughs, learned at the Detroit Hotel that the *Times* planned news and photo coverage of the Negro meeting, he told a reporter and photographer, "If you're going to take photographs, we'll just call the meeting off." The reporter and photographer were on hand in front of the church at 9:30 p. m. when Smathers, Burroughs, and their party pulled up in a car and parked across the street from the church. As the two *Times* men stood in view, Negro leaders conferred with Smathers, Burroughs, and other campaign aides. They did not cross the street to the church, but at 10 p. m. Reverend Jenkins came back to the church to announce to those inside that the meeting had been canceled.

Another sign that the Southern election picture is changing comes from North Carolina. In its May 31, 1952, issue, the *Carolina Times*, a colored weekly newspaper, carried advertisements of candidates for Congress, Commissioner of Insurance, the County Commission, the Board of Education, the state Supreme Court, and several other offices. None of these candidates could be considered pro-civil-rights men. All the advertisements simply stressed that the office seekers would be "fair." Representative Carl Durham promised to be "fair and equal—that's the kind of representation you really want." Bill Umstead, candidate for governor, looking sternly out of the framework of a two-column ad, advised voters that their support would be "appreciated" because he was "capable and fair." An editorial in the same edition, however, clearly indicated that the paper did not think Mr. Umstead was fair and would not support him.

Under the leadership of Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, North Carolinians have canvassed nine Congressional districts to increase the number of registered colored voters. There are now more than 75,000 on the books. In April of 1952 the N. A. A. C. P. held a meeting in Atlanta to map strategy for increasing Negro registration in the South. In the reports presented Texas claimed 200,000 colored voters. Alabama has nearly 100,000 colored veterans who are "getting on the books." Florida estimated that its registration topped 100,000. It is possible that if Senator Tom Connally of Texas had been able to count on the Negro vote in his home state, he would not have quit the race for the Democratic nomination. Many other Southern officeholders, looking at the rising number of registered Negro voters, are learning to pronounce the word "Negro" with a long *e* and *o* instead of saying "Nigra," the time-honored Southern way of insulting colored people without actually using an epithet. In the last election the Negro vote in the South punctured the Dixiecrat balloon so badly that no sensible man dares run under that banner in November. The Negro vote in Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is likely to determine whether these states fall in the Republican column.

The dream of getting from Republicans the kind of anti-civil-rights Administration they want may end in a

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CLARENCE MITCHELL is director of the Washington Bureau of the N. A. A. C. P.

Model Civil-Rights Platform

We pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the Eighty-third Congress in January, 1953, to induce the Senate to adopt rules that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin, and establishing a federal agency to enforce that prohibition.

We pledge our efforts to obtain prohibition by law of segregation in interstate transportation and the elimination of segregation by legislative or executive action in all activities of the federal government and in all areas to which federal authority extends.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation making lynching and other mob assaults on persons or property because of race, color, religion, or national origin a federal crime.

We favor the enactment of federal legislation abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote in elections of federal officials and providing punishment for interference with the right to register and vote in primary or general federal elections. We favor also the outlawing of interference, for reasons of race or color, with the right to register for or vote in primary or general state and local elections.

We pledge appropriate Congressional action to elevate the status of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to that of a full division of the department, headed by an assistant attorney general.

We pledge the establishment of a permanent United States Commission on Civil Rights to make a continuous appraisal of civil rights and to recommend action.

We pledge that immediate statehood shall be granted to Alaska and Hawaii.

We pledge immediate action by Congress granting home rule to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

The foregoing planks have been indorsed by the following organizations:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, A. F. OF L.; CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; AND SOME TWENTY OTHERS.

rude awakening for Southerners who plan to bolt the Democratic ticket. A continued retreat from civil rights may cost the Republican Party Senate seats in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio in the coming elections. In all these states G. O. P. candidates face a formidable group of colored voters who may cause their defeat.

Republican liberals, among them Senator Ives of New York and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, are trying to overcome the handicap of a watered-down civil-rights platform by pledging support for a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers if Eisenhower is elected. No other civil-rights measure has been the center of such heated controversy. Senator Russell of Georgia has called it a "jail-sentence bill." Senator Humphrey of Minnesota has long contended that its opponents have never read it. Certainly they failed to recognize it when Humphrey and Ives reported it out from the Senate Labor Committee in the closing days of the Eighty-second Congress after changing its name to Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act and spelling out a provision which makes it possible for the agency administering the law to cede jurisdiction on its own volition to states that have similar laws. Newspapermen and politicians, noting the name change and the provision for ceding jurisdiction, immediately concluded that it was a "mild bill." Actually, of course, the bill is exactly what civil-rights advocates have demanded. Court enforcement of its orders, after proper judicial review, is provided for the commission as for other government agencies. No other kind of enforcement was ever requested by its proponents.

Senator Taft, eager to obtain the full support of the South in his bid for the Republican nomination, was quick to go on record against the bill. Senator Nixon has long been a foe of an F. E. P. C. with enforcement powers. On this score there is almost no difference between his voting record and that of his rival for the Vice-Presidency, Senator Sparkman of Alabama.

SOUTHERN politicians brought up on a diet of sorghum, corn bread, and race hate can close their eyes to the colored vote, but many of the region's newer leaders are wide-awake men. While loudly denouncing civil rights, they thoughtfully rub their Phi Beta Kappa keys and look around for a more effective rallying-cry than white supremacy. They would welcome a chance to soft-pedal the race question in favor of economic issues or foreign policy. At one of the numerous caucuses held during the Democratic National Convention a delegate reported: "Texans say the hell with that anti-civil-rights fight; we want control of tidelands oil."

The rear-guard fight against progress continues, but it is merely a holding action. Ambitious young Southerners like Senator Estes Kefauver are not willing to adopt Old Guard standards and thereby disqualify themselves as Presidential candidates or Supreme Court justices. Even Kefauver, who is more advanced than most of his colleagues from the South, found his past opposition to civil rights a severe handicap when he sought a national post.

Conservative elements in the South are beginning to realize that once the civil-rights issue is settled Negroes will tend to vote along economic and class lines. Colored landlords who derive their incomes from slum property oppose rent control and slum clearance just as vigorously as their white counterparts. Many Negro business men think that taxes are too high; many Negro doctors cast a jaundiced eye on so-called "schemes for socialized medicine via federal health insurance"; there are Negro members of the bar in the South who would certainly be states' righters if they already had civil rights.

Bona fide liberals have been trying to get rid of the race issue because they honestly believe in the equality of man. Seldom does the spirit of fair play burn more brightly than in the native white Southerner who has taken up the fight against racial discrimination. Unfortunately, most of the liberals are not yet ready to make a fight. They are too much afraid of the social ostracism that would surely follow.

Liberal thinking in the South has been stimulated by some admirably objective newspaper reporting. John Popham of the New York *Times*, who is equally at ease when talking with Governor Byrnes of South Carolina or Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P., is typical of Southern-born writers who report the news without slanting it.

Eloquent testimony on why liberal elements of the South need the colored vote can be found in the record of the Senate Labor Committee's 1950 Hearings on Labor-Management Relations in the Southern Textile Manufacturing Industry. Mrs. Edna Martin, a white woman, was bound and gagged, thrown into a truck, and left on a lonely country road because she tried to organize workers in Tallapoosa, Georgia. Her statement to the committee shows that federal legislation against lynching and mob violence would reassure white people as well as colored. "This whole experience" she said, "has been a mental as well as a physical shock and injury. Bruised as my body is, I am more mentally bruised than I am bodily bruised. It seems a fantastic nightmare that a law-abiding individual, engaged on legitimate business, should go through such an experience in a Georgia town—a state I had thought civilized."

THE Democratic Party is no longer a white man's party in the South. This fact was responsible for the abortive Dixiecrat movement. Now the discontented elements have decided to join the Republican Party—provided, of course, it respects the "economic customs and traditions of the South." Maryland is an example of the changing political pattern in the South. Once it was the uncontested stronghold of the Democrats; now, with the blessing of the conservative Baltimore *Sun* newspapers, "respectable" Maryland leaders are rooting for the Republican ticket. The state's Republican

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governor is busily wooing Dixiecrats for Eisenhower.

In the main, the revival of a two-party system in the South will mean that one of the parties will become the home of the "world citizen" type of voter whose thinking is not stultified by race prejudice. Such voters will make it increasingly safe for liberals already in office to tell the truth about why they oppose or favor a given issue. Able Southerners will have greater influence in foreign relations because they will not be forced to walk into every international meeting with the American race problem hanging around their necks.

Hopeful signs appear here and there. In Fayetteville, North Carolina, the center of the town is marred by an old slave market. But a colored man was recently elected to the City Council. The day is not distant when at least a dozen Congressional districts in the South will send colored Representatives to Washington. In parts of Alabama where more than 50 per cent of the population is colored rigid limitations have been imposed on the colored vote, but the log jam is breaking. It is also breaking in the black-belt areas of North and South Carolina and even in Mississippi.

Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, has a Currier and Ives print on his office wall showing Senator Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi with the eight colored Representatives in the Forty-first and Forty-second Congress. In the Eighty-fourth Congress the same states may again have Negroes in their Congressional delegations. And so may Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas. The mere presence of these men in office will be a tremendous selling point for democracy throughout the world.

Ah, Gettysburg, Where Is Thy Sting?

BY TARLETON COLLIER

Louisville, Kentucky

POLITICAL practitioners among Southern Democrats this year went to the Chicago convention rather pleased with themselves. After nearly sixteen years of one checkered venture in self-assertion after another, they had arrived at a habitation bearing the sign: Russell and Respectability. They had a candidate of their own, orthodox, regular, and able. It was a fact to prove, they insisted, that they were not Dixiecrats.

The tacticians of 1952 were full of experience gained in lost and losing causes that began around 1936. It was then that local Liberty Leaguers carefully eyed such figures as Huey Long and, after his death, Eugene Talmadge to appraise their potentialities as tools for recovering the social and economic status quo for which until then the Democratic Party in the South had stood. It is fascinating to recall that one of their targets in 1936 was Dick Russell, running for renomination to the Senate on the New Deal team. In 1940 the wistful Democrats-for-Willkie made only a vague contribution; but in 1944 Texas Regulars and thwarted Mississippians added a bright new gadget. This was the idea of hijacking or expropriating their states' electoral votes. Four years later the passionate rabble of Thurmond-Wright states'-rights Democrats, with their regularity be damned, rounded out a period of experimentation in the techniques of revolt—or, as the political Southerner preferred to put it, of resistance.

Experience had brought them back to tried and true devices, of which the models are the Senate filibuster, the House Rules Committee's contrived power for suppression, and the indispensable combination of these two—the tactical union of Southern Democrats and Republicans in Congress when need presses. The devices have worked. Their working brought by natural steps and accretions the strategy of 1952. The Russell candidacy was an elaboration of the principles of the filibuster and their extension from the legislative to the national political field. It implied the same threat of stalemate and destruction. The alternative was the same—an invitation to the opposing party to come and pick up the pieces.

The idea is not new in American history. Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted it when, in 1938, he set about the "purge" of conservative Southern Senators then up for reelection. He lost his fight, in a way disastrously; and though he made a point, it was not generally clear. He might have fared even worse in subsequent relations with Congress but for the growing international crisis, the defense program, and then war.

The war was still on when the pent-up political forces exploded in the House of Representatives on the first day and almost the first hour of the Seventy-ninth Congress, January 4, 1945. John Rankin of Mississippi rose to move a change in the rules of the House that would give permanent status to the Committee on Un-American Activities. Needless here to recall the background and meaning of this move. It was pointed at the Administration. When the smoke and dust from the blitz had settled, the form of the coalition was revealed. Seventy

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TARLETON COLLIER, editorial writer on the Louisville Courier-Journal *for the last ten years, is the author of several studies of the South.*

Democrats, of whom 63 were from the states of the old Confederacy, had voted with 137 Republicans to overcome 150 Democrats and 34 Republicans.

Four days later and several hundred miles away, I learned by accident what this meant in terms of practical operation. The occasion was a glittering one, the inauguration of Ralph E. Gates as governor of Indiana in the lobby of the state capitol in Indianapolis. The G. O. P. sweep had been complete, and the festival was appropriately gay. Behind me a late arrival slipped into a seat and began an excited, half-whispered conversation with an acquaintance. "We've got a way to stop them now," he said. From the context it was plain that he was talking about the Democratic Administration. "They can't do a thing. Did you see that vote in the House the other day? We can do it any time we want to." A backward glance showed the voice of elation belonged to one of the younger Indiana Republicans.

Shortly afterward the power of the coalition was tested again. An anti-poll-tax bill, sailing as usual through the House, was slowed in the Senate by the routine of a filibuster. A motion to limit debate and thus break the obstruction was defeated. To carry, it needed two-thirds of the votes or, on the day's attendance, fifty-six. It got only forty-eight votes to thirty-six opposing. Thus eight votes made the difference. Quite remarkably, the number of Republicans who voted with Southern Senators for unlimited debate was eight.

The coalition acquired that year of 1945 a routine smoothness, and other cases might be recalled. After Roosevelt's death the hobbling process was so marked that Senator Mead was moved to dire warnings. If the trend to Administration paralysis kept up, he said gloomily, the Republicans would win the next election. This made him quite a prophet. The election fashioned the Eightieth Congress, and for two years the coalition largely lost its point, though its elements remained. These showed up less in votes on the floor than in the repressions by kindred spirits in the Rules Committee.

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For a brief spell before the glow of President Truman's 1948 victory faded it began to look as if wonders had indeed been wrought. At the opening of the Eighty-first Congress in January, 1949, with the Democrats back in the saddle, Administration supporters by a swift maneuver broke the Rules Committee's power to block legislation. A way was opened to bring bills out for action despite the committee's Dixiecrat-Republican majority combination. After the committee had sat on a bill for twenty-one days, the House might force it out by general vote. The point of the new arrangement was apparent when House members dislodged from the committee's death grip an anti-poll-tax measure and bills to admit Alaska and Hawaii to the Union.

BUT all this was to no purpose, for now, moving into the Senate, the Administration crowded its luck. An attempt was made through the Hayden-Wherry resolution to broaden the cloture rule. With Senator Russell as field commander, Southern Senators moved to their stations for a filibuster to save filibusters. Out of the parliamentary welter of points of order, rulings, overrulings, coalitions, and compromises, the Southerners emerged in complete triumph, the filibuster intrenched immovably. They had won a new rule which required two-thirds of the entire membership—it had been two-thirds of those voting—to stop debate. The real gimmick, however, was the new rule's denial of any limitation at all on debate over changing the Senate's rules. Going along with Southern Senators in the key vote—a close forty-six to forty-one—to upset Vice-President Barkley's ruling for cloture on motions were the usual handy and significantly sufficient Republicans.

Ah, Gettysburg, where is thy sting; ah, Appomattox, thy victory? For all practical purposes, any serious thought of enacting laws objectionable to the Southern representation—and this means, of course, civil rights—was over. The triumph was sealed by the 1950 elections, which brought defeat to Senators Graham, Lucas, Myers, Pepper, Taylor, and Thomas of Utah, mainly on issues identified with the Administration. On the tide of developments the House lost no time in repealing the twenty-one-day rule for taking bills from the Rules Committee. Proposed by Eugene E. Cox of Georgia, the repeal was carried 244 to 178. Voting with 92 Democrats, all from the South, to recapture for the committee its power to gag legislation were 152 Republicans. On the other side were 136 Democrats and 42 Republicans. In the Senate the Southern wing gave a casual and now almost routine demonstration of power by putting in McFarland of Arizona as majority leader over the Administration's candidate, O'Mahoney.

ALL this, of course, led one and all to look to Chicago as the critical battleground. Southerners went there clothed in a special insouciance. Take us or leave us, they said, in almost those words. The Republicans had gone for Ike and Popularity, and the Democrats would need the South as they had not needed it since 1932. The ensuing events, however, still have some of the more passionate Dixiecrats blinking, uncertain as to what happened. They were embraced by the convention in spite of themselves. They saw the arms outstretched, the letter of the "loyalty pledge" brushed aside; and then for all their intentions they were engulfed in a *modus vivendi*. They saw the shape of the platform as through a haze, and it was only later that their bemused eyes made out the details of the civil-rights plank and in particular the pledge of opposition to their sanctified filibuster. They stuck with Russell to the end, but somehow this self-rationalization had lost a little of its unction. They were in the army, no matter if impressed; and the actions of the Credentials Committee on the Mississippi and Texas delegations, the action of the whole convention on Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, had imposed obligations to stay in, however reluctantly.

The personality and appeal of Eisenhower discourage the dreamers who until recently saw the refreshed splendid vision of 1948, a Southern candidate to deadlock the Electoral College and throw the election into the House. The choice this year is sharpened by reality. The old paradise of the status quo has been shaken. Whatever schemes are laid, none now looks beyond more than a limited sojourn in the garden of white supremacy and segregation. There are signs that this fact is accepted, along with the fact of new forces in the South—the growing urbanism and industrialism, and principally the enfranchised Negro millions who, once they get into the swing of voting and harken to their intelligent and moderate leaders, will vote Democratic with an eye on local administration, schools, and a new quality of representation. For example, only the artifice of the county-unit system kept this new force from picking a Representative in Georgia's Fifth Congressional District (Atlanta) a few months ago.

But perhaps it is just because they are aware of these prospects that the Dixiecrats and their 1952 counterparts continue to press their cause so furiously, with so many threats of a flight to Eisenhower. They hold out in a kind of pathological way against it, thinking to keep their forefathers quiet in moldering graves; but it would be a firming—indeed, the only natural consummation—of the Republican-Democratic alliance,

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HOWARD UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Boyhood of Mark Twain

SAM CLEMENS OF HANNIBAL. By Dixon Wecter. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

REPORT FROM PARADISE. By Mark Twain. With Drawings by Charles Locke and an Introduction by Dixon Wecter. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THE late Dixon Wecter's work from the time he became editor of the Mark Twain Estate in 1946 inaugurated a new phase in Mark Twain scholarship. For a generation after Twain's death in 1910 the most urgent problems were critical: to determine what kind of artist he was and what rank he should hold in our literature. At the beginning of this period attitudes were so confused that "The Mysterious Stranger" could be published posthumously as a lavishly illustrated boys' book for the Christmas trade. Van Wyck Brooks's tendentious but challenging "The Ordeal of Mark Twain" (1920) and Bernard DeVoto's bellicose rejoinder in "Mark Twain's America" (1932) brought the discussion into relation with central issues of American intellectual life and demonstrated by example that Mark Twain deserved serious study. By the 1940's a remarkable degree of unanimity had been reached concerning his status. With the recent accolades of Lionel Trilling and T. S. Eliot he has become the one American writer enthusiastically accepted both by the general public and by highbrow critics.

The growing recognition of Mark Twain's importance naturally directed attention to his biography. From the 1930's onward a series of special studies —notably those of Minnie M. Brashear, Franklin Walker, Ivan Benson, and Kenneth R. Andrews—have illuminated the varied environments, from San Francisco to Hartford, in which he lived, and more recently Edgar M. Branch and other bibliographers have begun the back-breaking task of working out the canon of his writings by patient search of forgotten newspapers and magazines. Wecter committed himself to the enterprise of bringing together the results of previous researches, assembling all known Mark Twain manuscripts, and following every lead to the end. We are not likely to find out much more about Sam Clemens's first seventeen years than is set forth in the present volume.

So full an account of the circumstances of everyday life in a bygone age is valuable in its own right. The image of Hannibal in the 1840's which Wecter builds up is a major contribution to social history entirely apart from the fact that one of the urchins who climbed Holliday's Hill or explored Glasscock's Island would later write "Huckleberry Finn." And for the most part the biographer conceives his function to be simply that of describing accurately a small boy growing up in a Missouri river town. Yet it happens, as he remarks, that "no major artist ever made more of his boyhood than did Sam Clemens." Sam's experience of Hannibal, as unliterary in itself as can well be imagined, has a very special relation to literature because it later became the raw material for most of Mark Twain's books. The memory of that little community—population 1,034 in 1840—remained almost obsessively with him throughout his life. It gave him his basic vocabulary of symbols. The vocabulary was not complete—it provided, for example, virtually no means of dealing with sexual love or with intellectual subtleties—but it could be adapted to a wide range of expressive intentions, from the affirmations of "Huckleberry Finn" to the bitter negatives of "The Mysterious Stranger."

Wecter knows that the writer's original experience cannot be equated with his imaginative reshaping of it in a one-to-one identity. Yet he recognizes that the close dependence of all Mark Twain's best work—and many of his failures—on memories of boyhood creates a special problem. The biographer's handling of the problem is circumspect. What he might have done in later volumes when he encountered Mark Twain's works in chronological order is of course beyond conjecture. Here he contents himself with the notations that force themselves upon him amid the abundance of his data: such as the names of eight members of the family of Tom Blankenship, "the original of Huck Finn," together with Tom's age (four to five years older than Sam), from the manuscript returns of the Census of 1850; or the appropriation of $8.25 from the county treasury to bury "James Finn a pauper," the town drunkard who "furnished the name and most of the attributes of Huck's pappy." Despite the fact that such relationships between actual and imaginary characters are often, as in these instances, validated by Mark Twain himself, they perhaps add little to our reading so long as we take them one by one. But Wecter gives us dozens of similar details, and the cumulative effect is a quite unprecedented vividness and solidity of specification. It would be an absurdity of critical purism to maintain that evidence concerning Mark Twain's use of boyhood memories has no bearing on an adequate understanding of his work. To mention only one example, the fact that Tom Blankenship was considerably older than Sam Clemens throws new light on the inconsistencies which critics have noted in the apparent ages of Tom Sawyer and Huck, and the markedly greater maturity of outlook which distinguishes "Huckleberry Finn" from the earlier novel.

In Mark Twain's later life the image of Hannibal came to have a very broad meaning for him. As Wecter points out, it "was associated in his heart with pre-industrial, pre-Gold Rush, pre-Civil War tranquillity—the old halcyon small-town America emerging from the rigors of the frontier yet not stripped wholly of its buckskin spirit of adventure, nor of its daily communion with an unspoiled nature. . . ." At the same time, the image had a narrower, more intense meaning derived from his early emotional life within his family. Hannibal included his austere, "free-thinking" father, whose intransigent personal integrity can be felt at work in crises of Mark Twain's mature years like the bankruptcy of 1894. Hannibal also included his mother, "a dancer from childhood to the end"—a slight woman who adored red and did not like "anything that's low and solemn," and who clearly fostered in her son his "lifelong indignation against bullies and other shapes of overmastering power." But the most relevant of Jane Lampton's traits, for a future writer, was the "moving and pathetic eloquence," "the enchanted tongue," that the son later declared to be unmatched in all his acquaintance.

In his search of A. B. Paine's biography for traumatic childhood experiences, Van Wyck Brooks laid great emphasis on the action of Sam's mother in making him promise by the side of his father's coffin "to be a better boy." The emphasis has come to seem exaggerated and misleading. Wecter, without constructing an elaborate thesis, has uncovered an experience connected with the father's death which must have been much more disturbing to the eleven-year-old boy. It seems beyond question that Sam secretly watched through the keyhole an autopsy on the body of his father, was so profoundly shocked by this indignity to the corpse that he referred to it more than fifty years later in his notebook, and bore a lifelong grudge against the family doctor who performed the autopsy.

Wecter's introduction to two brief works of Mark Twain bracketed under the title "Report from Paradise" carefully discusses the circumstances of composition and the involved textual problems. Two introductory chapters are added to the previously published version of the delightful "Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," increasing the length of the text by about a third. The "Letter from the Recording Angel" was first published by Bernard DeVoto in *Harper's Magazine* in 1946. It is an impressive example of what Wecter rightly calls the "transcendent" quality of Mark Twain's indignation, in this instance aroused by what he considered the stinginess and hypocrisy of his wife's uncle, Andrew Langdon. Both works illustrate the writer's repudiation of the crude eschatology taught him in his childhood, and both are remarkable for their humanitarian spirit. Drawings by Charles Locke—who successfully risks graphic representation of Stormfield's bearded angels, wings and all—and typography by the Golden Hind Press make this an unusually charming volume. HENRY NASH SMITH

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. Edited by Henry William Spiegel. John Wiley and Sons. $6.50.

THIS collection of intellectual portraits of eminent economists by their peers proves very quickly that economists can write good, even graceful prose when stimulated by thought of their illustrious colleagues, living or dead.

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liberally, although they have usually been roused to economic theory by problems their more respectable associates ignored. Marx combined, frequently without credit, the insights of, among others, Sismondi, Rodbertus, Proudhon, Hegel, Ricardo, Smith, and the Ricardian Socialists: he was, after all, one of the prodigious readers of modern times. Henry George's single tax was a simple inference from the theories of the Physiocrats. Keynes used the neo-classical apparatus of economic analysis to solve a problem slurred by his predecessors, the problem of unemployment. And so it has gone.

Old problems and old ideas seldom completely disappear. We perceive with a start, perhaps, that though Malthus may be quaint he is not obsolete, at least in India and China. And we may feel very superior indeed to the Mercantilists until we realize that we are among the leaders in the application of Mercantilist devices: import quotas, subsidies to merchant marine and airlines, tariffs and exchange controls. Unemployment worried Malthus before it stimulated Keynes. Protective tariffs found favor with List before some modern Keynesians adopted them.

There is greater contrast between old and new in techniques than in problems and ideas. In less than two centuries economics has moved from the distrust of "political arithmetic" expressed by Adam Smith at a time when statisticians could not decide whether the population of England in the preceding century had increased or decreased, to the massive, ordered compilations of such private and public agencies as the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Department of Commerce. It has advanced from Malthus's charming ratios, arithmetic and geometric, to the differential calculus of Jevons in the 1870's and the higher reaches of mathematics attained by the econometricians in 1952. Ricardo's vague and general notions of supply and demand have been replaced by the elegancies of modern graphic analysis. Search for a standard of value has given way to the construction of index numbers. A slightly spurious precision is now the mark of economic theory.

Somewhere along the route economics ceased to be a diversion for gentlemen and became this complex, difficult technique equipped with language of its own. As it lost its unity of approach and became increasingly uncertain about ethical and political values, it divided into a collection of specialties. Here too economics has been true to its age. The teasing question plagues us as we leave the section on the moderns in this book: Has division of labor gone too far in economics? When a leading theorist of business cycles is able to write a book which only cursorily mentions the leading statistical investigators of the same phenomenon, a neutral wonders whether economics' gain in technique has not been exceeded by its loss of the classical economist's ability to generalize widely from all the facts. It is a sad fact that all the wondrous devices of modern economics add up to neither successful prediction nor firm control of economic vicissitudes. By these tests the progress of economics in the last two centuries is less substantial and its future less bright than its feats of technique suggest.

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CHIAROSCURO. Fragments of Autobiography. By Augustus John. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $5.

NARROWLY escaping enrolment in the category of the 'naughty nineties,' I got in with the tail-end of that period, and with the infallible instinct of youth reacted violently against it." Since all things, even revolts, are relative, Mr. John is no doubt right. But one of the charms of his book is that it evokes the atmosphere of a spacious bohemianism a good deal more like that of the nineties than one is likely to find even in reminiscences from a later epoch. He became, of course, one of the most successful and esteemed portrait painters of the century, and he does occasionally make reference to some of his famous sitters, from Bernard Shaw and Lord Leverhulme to the then Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan. But from his reminiscences one would hardly guess that he had ever done much except frequent cafes, associate with gipsies, wander over England in caravans, poke about in the more picturesque corners of Europe, and meet in one way or another many of the great as well as an even larger proportion of the eccentrics of his age. An unrepentant hedonist and obviously little inclined to take seriously either the respectability into which he was born or the new earnestness of the post-war world, he nevertheless has come to no bad end and seems pleased though not surprised that this should be so. Apropos a youthful episode he says, "I have learned since that sex is the greatest joke in the world," and that remark, like a good many others, has an unmistakable "period flavor."

Born of a mother who died young and of a quiet, ultra-conventional father who practiced law in Wales, he grew up more sympathetic with the raffish elements in the community than with the female relatives who enthusiastically participated in the affairs of the Salvation Army. Later he was permitted to enrol at the Slade School because it did not seem likely that he would do well at anything else. But of his professional life from then on one learns little from this book and practically nothing about the steps by which he achieved success—hardly, indeed, that he achieved it. There are almost no dates and no connectives, only a sort of magic-lantern show composed of snapshots of interesting people against interesting backgrounds. But Mr. John is a good showman, and he has a way with words both when he uses them to make a phrase—generally slightly sardonic—and when he draws a scene or a person with quietly deft touches.

Painters often hold very extreme opinions and express themselves violently, sometimes, perhaps, just because they have difficulty in saying things with words. Mr. John, being able to say just what he means, is never violent and seems never to have allowed the follies of the world to disturb him much. But that does not mean that he has not an opinion or that he conceals it. Where another would have raged at bad taste or at the modern artist's *bête noire*, prudery, Mr. John says only, "The marble statue of the Prince Consort still adorns the Castle Hill: unmellowed by the years, it is as fresh as when it came from the factory," or, speaking of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, "The Hall of Sculpture presents a comprehensive collection of casts from the antique, incomplete only in the case of male personages, through the absence of certain homely but necessary features, amputated at the request of Mr. Carnegie himself."

For all his association with the great, Mr. John is no uncritical hero-worshiper, and his impressions of fellow-artists as well as of the famous in other fields are often quietly acid even in the case of persons whom, on the whole, he obviously respects. Oscar Wilde he met only After the Fall, and he gives him his own back in a very Wildean paragraph: "Wilde seemed to be an easy-going sort of genius, with an enormous sense of fun, infallible bad taste, gleams of profundity, and a romantic apprehension of the devil. A great man of inaction, he showed, I think, sound judgment when in his greatest dilemma he chose to sit tight (in every sense) and await the police." Shaw's tendency to make speeches he thought trying; Joyce and D. H. Lawrence he seems to have found more attractive. He can also be quietly malicious on the subject of his fellow-artists—sometimes venomously, as when he remarks that Sir William Orpen "with his infinite capacity for avoiding pains, soon made a success of

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his portrait painting"; sometimes only in the spirit of good rough fun, as when, apropos some discussion of a new religion, he says that Jacob Epstein's "would be realized by the apotheosis of himself on a colossal scale, alone, blowing his own trumpet."

Of his own ideals and aims as a painter he says as little as he does of his professional career, but there are nearly a score of good plates to illustrate them and one passing remark which is probably a pretty good negative summary of his theory: "To see with other people's eyes is the secret of successful mediocrity." If these fragments of an autobiography do not reveal much about the artist, they reveal a good deal of the man—not because he says much about himself but because a gallery of portraits adds up to a pretty good picture of the man who made them.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

During the Troubles

THE LAST SEPTEMBER. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

"THE LAST SEPTEMBER," Elizabeth Bowen's second novel, was published in 1929. It has been reissued with a preface in which she discusses its genesis and the problems the writing caused her. Like her other comments on her own work these seven pages are important for anyone concerned with the art of fiction.

It is set in the time of the Irish Troubles—in September, 1920, to be exact. Most of the action occurs in a large country house long occupied by an Anglo-Irish family. The house, Miss Bowen says, is her own Bowen's Court, just as the nineteen-year-old Lois, the central figure, "derives from, but is not, myself." The novel, indeed, is never merely topical or merely autobiographical. I have spoken of the "action"; yet almost nothing happens until the last pages. The Anglo-Irish gentry, torn between the closest ties with Ireland and traditional loyalties to England, attempt to carry on life as usual, though ambushes are frequent and skirmishes abound. The contrast between a way of life that is drawing to an end and a countryside in the middle of a revolution is beautifully drawn. These people receive, not quite willingly but with unfailing politeness, the officers of the

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local British garrison and, less willingly still, see their daughters involved in flirtations with them. Sometimes consequences arise. Thinking that she may be in love with Gerald, an earnest young subaltern, Lois becomes more or less engaged to him. But there is never any serious domestic trouble, for Gerald is ambushed and shot and Lois is sent off to Tours to improve her French. And, in February, Danielstown, the house, is burned by the insurgents, one of many great houses gutted during the Troubles.

This is the first of Miss Bowen's books to deal at length with her favorite theme: the special anguish and confusion which devastate the unawakened heart and the unaroused sensibility of the well-brought-up young girl. For Lois is not in love with Gerald. Her tragedy, Miss Bowen says, was only "that he should die knowing she could not love him." No more does she have any awareness of the political drama going on about her. Something remains to happen to her which will shock her into a direct connection with life.

The relation of "The Last September" to Miss Bowen's later novels is clear. "To the North," "The House in Paris," "The Death of the Heart"—these in particular are concerned, one way or another, with similar situations and similar feelings. It is, I think her best novel. (I write without having read "Friends and Relations," her third novel.) It is not the most powerful. Nothing equals the intensity of the first section of "The House in Paris" or certain episodes in "The Death of the Heart." But she has succeeded as she has not elsewhere in being consistent in her feeling clear through to the end. The other novels, and many of the short stories, too suffer from a certain lack of balance. They begin brilliantly and end in anti-climax. This tendency to diminuendo has been all along her chief difficulty as a writer. She is likely to spend her treasure too soon. "The Last September" never aims very high and never promises very much, but it has no weaknesses. Miss Bowen has settled for less than she has subsequently been willing to settle for, and the result is excellent. People have been waiting for years for her to write an entirely good novel. This book, written nearly a quarter of a century ago, is her best yet.

ERNEST JONES

Basic Book

AFRICAN SCULPTURE SPEAKS. By Ladislas Segy. A. A. Wyn. $7.50.

DESPITE its title this is an excellent book. Its value lies in its approach to the subject and the detail with which the matter is presented. A listing of the main divisions of the text may suggest the character of Segy's procedure. Part I considers the meaning and sources of African sculpture—Approach, Basic Concepts, African Cults Employing Sculptures. Part II develops the content of African art—Historical Background, Characteristic Forms, Stylistic Features. Part III relates African art and European civilization—Our Approach to African Art, The Plastic Language, African Art and Modern European Art, The Collector's Viewpoint. An appendix of more than 150 pages classifies fourteen style regions, each with numerous sub-locales. There are 276 illustrations of good quality, elaborate bibliographies, an index, and maps on the end-papers.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the author of this book, whose study of African sculpture began more than twenty-five years ago, has projected a full-length study of the field. He asks the important questions and in workman-like fashion sets about answering them. The writing is not distinguished, but it is clear. It cannot match Malraux's discussion of primitive art in "The Psychology of Art" for brilliance or intensity; but after a reading of Segy, Malraux's observations assume a new dimension. Although Malraux is more stimulating on the meaning to modern culture of the "discovery" of African art, his concept of this art, like Fraser's concept of primitive man before the advent of modern anthropology, is too much a generality. Segy shows its scope and its complexity in forms, in geography, and in time. He insists on the functions this sculpture was made to serve. His approach is fundamentally different from that implied in the question of what Picasso saw in these carvings some fifty years ago. For Picasso, form, once realized, "is there to live its own life." African sculpture likewise lives as form, but its makers had a less complicated intention. They attempted to charge tribal myths and symbols with emotion. Too often one

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feels that the modern sculptor, influenced by African work, yields up his art to the nature of wood grain. Exit sculpture. The African, on the contrary, saw the tree as an abode of spiritual forces, conditioning human fate. "When the tree is cut down," writes Segy, "a magical ceremony is performed to cope with its spirit. . . . Among certain tribes the man who ordered the sculpture from the magician had to participate in this ritual."

The full story of the relation of modern art to such primitive—in the sense of primary—art as that of Africa has yet to be written. Segy accepts the connection, I think, rather too blandly. For him *modern* man, not the African, is too much of a generality. Many moderns have found inspiration in African art, but the differences of result in Modigliani as against Picasso, and even in Picasso as against Braque, are quite as interesting and as important as the common denominators of such inspiration. Nevertheless, when a full coverage of this is some day attempted, Segy's work will of necessity be a part of its foundation.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

AS SPECTACLE, the performance of the dancers, actors, and musicians of the village of Pliatan, Bali, now to be seen at the Fulton Theater, could hardly be more charming: the lovely faces and forms of the little girls who are its "stars," the exquisite costumes of the "serious" dancers, the equally exquisite but also fantastic and wonderfully humorous apparel and make-up of the clowns, the beauty of the décor in general, including the instruments of the gamelan or orchestra—all these, and all in motion, are a great pleasure to the eye. To the ear, of this Westerner at least, the music is more curious than beautiful, though it has melodies and it seems less strange than the Eastern music I have heard before, perhaps because the principal instruments, aside from the drums, are xylophones.

The idiom of the dancing is far more familiar than that of the music. The movements are mainly of the arms, the hands and fingers, the head, and the torso. The lower part of the body is not only hidden but rather narrowly confined (I am speaking here of the serious dancers; the clowns are unconfined). The lower body is remarkably controlled—the knees are almost continuously flexed and remarkable control is necessary—but even when the dancers move about it seems to function mainly as a base, a fulcrum, for the movements above. And some of the dances are done from a sitting position.

By far the most impressive number of the program I saw was the Classical Legong, a traditional dance which has been handed down for generations. The first section of it, as the program noted, is pure dance, and the whole of it seemed to me to have a purity and stature as art that none of the other dances achieved. Most of the others have been rather recently devised. They are interesting as examples of the work of dance-makers in the villages of Bali at the present time, and some of them, like the Bumblebee dance, are pretty and touching or, like The Barong, very amusing; but they did not seem to me to have the force or beauty of this ancient one.

The second half of the program was the more satisfying part. Its high point, artistically, was the Classical Legong, but The Barong, which ended the program, was delightful on other grounds. It represents a struggle between Good and Evil, but it is anything but solemn, for Good is incarnated in a mythical animal, the Barong, which is both gorgeous and funny, and Evil takes the forms of marvelously accoutered clowns. It is very gay and it reflects a view of life that makes Bali appear more than ever as a kind of earthly paradise. The impression is strengthened when we learn that there are nearly seven thousand gamelan orchestras and almost as many troupes of dancers and actors on that small island and that they are the pride and joy of their fellow-villagers—of whom a great many must have been at some point in their lives dancers, actors, or musicians and therefore sympathetic if critical spectators.

"Mr. Pickwick" (Plymouth Theater) is very mild entertainment. The production is pictorially attractive and the play in its own right is rather well constructed. Necessarily, the Pickwickians' leisurely pursuit of knowledge is drastically foreshortened, and scenes and contexts have been changed around at a great rate, but these shifts are less disturbing than one might expect.

George Howe as Pickwick performs well, but he doesn't look like Pickwick—his features are sharp when they should be round. His three companions, who have little to do in this version, are badly cast and do their little woodenly. The other parts are better cast, and most of them are well done except for a tendency on the part of the players to condescend to the characters they are impersonating—which is the bane of most revivals.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE LEOPARD MAN," a reissued "B" (1942) showing with the rickety "King Kong," is a nerve-twitching whodunit giving the creepy impression that human beings and "things" are interchangeable and almost synonymous and that both are pawns of a bizarre and terrible destiny. A lot of surrealists like Cocteau have tried for the same supernatural effects, but while their scenes still seem like portraits in motion, Val Lewton's film shows a way to tell a story about people that isn't dominated by the activity, weight, size, and pace of the human figure. In one segment of the film a small frightened señorita walks beyond the edge of the border town and then back again, while her feelings and imagination keep shifting with the camera into the sagebrush, the darkness of an arroyo, crackling pebbles underfoot, and so on until you see her thick dark blood oozing under the front door of her house. All the psychological effects—fear and so on—were transferred to within the non-human components of the picture as the girl waited for some non-corporeal manifestation of nature, culture, or history to gobble her up. But more important in terms of movie invention, Lewton's use of multiple focus (characters are dropped or picked up as if by chance, while the movie goes off on odd tacks trying to locate a sound or a suspicion) and his lighter-than-air sense of pace

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created a terrifically plastic camera style. It put the camera eye on a curiously delicate wave length that responds to scenery as quickly as the mind, and gets inside of people instead of reacting only to surface qualities. This film still seems to be one of Hollywood's original gems—nothing impure in terms of cinema, nothing imitative about its style, and little that misses fire through a lack of craft.

"My Man and I" is a flag-waving love story; one of the worst. It has a multiplicity of themes, situations, and hokums that have been around in Saroyan-type writing since the first issue of *Story*, but it is generally about a Mexican field worker (Ricardo Montalban)—his-pure-in-heart character, his set of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and his simple desire for a foothold in the U. S. A. The story, by Jack Leonard and John Fante, hews to an after-laughter-come-beers-and-then-tears routine: there is a comic-opera scene between his Mexican cronies, then a sentimental one in a bar with Montalban trying to reform his dypsoid girl friend (Shelley Winters), and finally a scene with a doublecrossing farmer (Wendell Corey); and the whole thing is repeated. Director William Wellman wastes plenty of footage (each embrace knocks off the hero's homburg, and we follow its journey on the floor), but sometimes he gives the nostalgic feeling of wandering back in memory trying to find the special streets, embittered characters, and cold lighting effects that probably made him the best hard-rock director of the thirties. Add the quiet acting (by Corey and Claire Trevor) of two spectacularly worn, unhappy meanies, and you find a reason for seeing the film.

It is no secret that the brightest and screwiest movies being made today are around the eight-minute subject of "eternal enmity" by some smart-aleck artists named Avery, Quimby, and McKimson. I will take up their animated cartoons ("Bugs Bunny," "Tom and Jerry," dogs, cats, tweedybirds) in a subsequent issue, but in the meantime the closest approach to their cheerily sadistic style and sharply timed humor can be found in Mitch Leisen's movie "Young Man with Ideas," which is quite a lot of fun because it searches in an unmerciful fashion for the same unique booby traps to make unsuspecting persons indignant, embarrassed, obsessive, or destructive. It opens on some negligible nonsense at a small-town country club (the spouse of the poorest and least appreciated law clerk gets drunk and tells off the firm's big shots) with Ruth Roman mauling her mimicry of drunkenness and Glenn Ford energetically over-acting as her Milquetoast husband. But then the story starts down an uncharted path that takes up the studying habits of law students, the fight of some Los Angeles dead beats against a vicious bill-collecting outfit, and the mistake of answering phones in a bungalow just vacated by a betting syndicate. Leisen never misses an opportunity to dispatch his movie into another street, office, or apartment in order to find one more locale to satirize (Leisen is a sort of slapstick decorator) and one more crass character trying for an illegal foothold in a foolish city. Except for Sheldon Leonard (in his favorite portrayal of a dismally inept Little Caesar) the actors are not funny; but the movie's humor is derived from Leisen's knowing how to keep his people fairly smart in dumb situations, sensitive in slapstick scenes, and just selfish enough when they are being their most virtuous.

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Fear" ("one of the screen's all-time thrillers") is a garish tale of homicide with such original, unemphatic items as yowling cats, cars teetering around San Francisco's hilly streets, and Joan Crawford acting as if she were pushing her tormented psyche through the thickest mud. "The Big Sky" ("in a class with 'Mutiny on the Bounty'") shows a whiskey-laden keel boat being poled and pushed up the Missouri River. Cast with some amiably fearsome stars who act as if they had been coached by Al Capp, and saddled with a talkative Western plot, this film is not up to the talents of its director, Howard Hawks. "Ivanhoe" ("a rich, dramatic, action-filled picture") is informative on the subject of fighting with a mace and pike, but its polished actors are a bore, and the remnants of Scott's story are lost in the care that went into handsomely mounting the panoramas at the jousting fields and on the battlements. "The World in His Arms" shows how Alaska and Ann Blyth were maneuvered away from the Russians by Gregory Peck. It proves that director Raoul Walsh never makes routine melodrama dull, and never fails to fill it with handsome scenic bits and fast action scenes. "Monkey Business" sputters along with a lot of actors, monkeys, and humor in general becoming literally juvenile. "Dreamboat" is in the running with "The Washington Story" and Zsa Zsa Gabor for the sorriest movie mess of the year. "Just for You" betrays the ten-year-old secret that Crosby has lost his hair, most of his crooning voice, and any pleasure he once took in relaxing into the laziest and most easygoing actor in Hollywood.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

H. W. HEINSHEIMER, author of "Fanfare for 2 Pigeons" (Doubleday, $2.75), was connected with Universal Edition before he came to this country, then with Boosey and Hawkes in New York, and is now in charge of symphonic and dramatic repertory at G. Schirmer. He has seen and heard a lot; and much of what he tells is enlightening and important. Unfortunately he seems to have thought it wouldn't be interesting unless he made it funny; and this is unfortunate because humor, for him, is achieved by extravagance and exaggeration—often to the point of distortion and inaccuracy. The distortion doesn't matter when he is telling a funny story about Beecham; but it does matter when he is discussing opera in English and talks about American singers being trained "to parrot foreign sounds so that they can sing opera to American audiences in a language neither they nor their public

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understand," and specifically about Nadine Conner, in a performance of "Fidelio," being "visibly handicapped by singing words she didn't understand"—or "maybe she understood the words, but she did not feel the meaning behind them," and "what is more: the sounds Miss Conner produced were not at all the sounds Beethoven had set to music. . . . One had only to listen to a few of the native German singers in the cast to realize the striking difference." This not only grossly exaggerates the actual defects of Miss Conner's German, but leaves out of consideration how much worse the Metropolitan's German singers would mangle the English words in a performance of "Fidelio" in English, how much less they would understand the words and feel the meaning behind them, and how much less the sounds of the words would be the sounds Beethoven had set to music.

However, Mr. Heinsheimer is accurate as well as amusing when he describes, how an orchestra will pay $4,000 for "Rubevitz's performances of the Tchaikovsky Concerto at a pair of concerts but will be outraged by a proposed charge of $100 for rental of score and parts of a new symphony by a prominent American composer, and in the end will pay $40, which are divided between composer and publisher. Or when he demonstrates how this composer will receive, for a performance of his new piano sonata, approximately seventy-five cents out of the $15 paid by "Rubevitz" to ASCAP for all the copyright music played at his Carnegie Hall recital, at which the total receipts were $7,600 and the other expenses about $1,600.

His humor also points up an accurate description of the monopolization of the concert life of the country by the two giant managements. He concedes that they are right in claiming that their set-up of organized audiences for concert series has "provided music for millions at nominal cost," and "not only given their huge audiences the great stars of our time but . . . also enabled hundreds of young artists to get a hearing in communities who never heard their names before and would not have given them a chance to prove their worth . . . without that gentle but irresistible pressure from the front office." But he also points out that the giants' concert series in two thousand cities, towns, and villages make it almost impossible for an artist not on their list to get engagements; that the giants' power to "grant or deny an artist one hundred concert dates in a season can be the difference between success and oblivion"; and that they exercise similar power over the millions of listeners, determining what artists they will hear and what music these artists will perform. About financial practices which artists have been known to complain of—e.g., the collecting of the regular manager's commission on a reported fee of $350, after which the artist discovers from a member of the concert committee that the fee paid to the management had been $500—Mr. Heinsheimer says nothing, possibly because the managements are, as he observes, "nervous giants, allergic to criticism. . . . They like to think of themselves as national institutions, as pioneers who selflessly give their lives so that beauty may reign in Topeka. They are deeply hurt when a House Judiciary Subcommittee wants to investigate them for alleged monopolistic practices; and when Virgil Thomson accuses them . . . of standardizing the repertory at the level of the least cultivated cities in the chain they break out into tears."

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from opera; indeed he sees it as having already begun in the efflorescence of locally produced opera, old and new, in cities and universities all over the country. Actually this is only part of the efflorescence of all kinds of locally produced music that he has himself described at the beginning of his book; and if he singles out opera at the end it is simply because opera is his favorite form of music. And if he is excited to flamboyant language by everything from the worthless operas of Louis Gruenberg, George Antheil, and Robert Russell Bennett commissioned by the Juilliard School in the thirties to Virgil Thomson's distinguished "Four Saints" and "The Mother of Us All," it is simply because he lived through the "great operatic movement" in Europe between 1923 and 1938, and sees evidence of the beginning of a similar period in the productions of Menotti's operas and Kurt Weill's "Down in the Valley" throughout this country.

What becomes evident in all this is a lack of values and of discrimination. It is evident even in Mr. Heinsheimer's account of the European operatic movement—in the fact that one of his heroes is Alban Berg, whose "Wozzeck" is the product of fidelity to an inner expressive purpose, and the other is Kurt Weill, whose lack of any such purpose is evident in his facile use of a succession of any and all styles including that of Broadway musicals, and in whose "Down in the Valley" this use of borrowed material undictated by inner expressive necessity produces sheer absurdity. For Weill's method of writing this "American folk opera" is to have rural-folk characters sing their anguish and terror in expressively unrelated folk melodies separated from their own texts; and as if this weren't enough, when the man about to be hanged thinks with desperate longing of his girl, or she thinks similarly of him, each breaks into what in actual style—including Robert Russell Bennett style of orchestration—is a leading tenor's or soprano's number in a Broadway musical. The muddle-headedness which has caused this work to be taken seriously and produced all over the country doesn't fill me with the hope that it does Mr. Heinsheimer.

The crossword puzzle had to be omitted from this issue.—THE EDITORS.

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THE NEGRO CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT

SOMETHING has occurred in national politics which does not allow us in good conscience to stand aside and offer our blessings to all nominees as we did in 1948 when EBONY commented editorially: "There is mighty little difference between Dewey, Truman and Wallace when it comes to the racial question. All three are genuine friends of the Negro."

The same is not true in 1952. EBONY believes that for the first time since 1940, the Negro is faced with an out-and-out choice between two nominees who have demonstrated clearly and unmistakably that they stand at opposite poles on the vital problems of the Negro. On the one hand is a candidate who has in his actions and even in some of his words (in his less political-minded moments) defended and upheld Jim Crow. On the other is an honest, sincere liberal who has not just spoken out against all forms of racial discrimination but in every acid test has proven himself a fearless, forthright friend of the Negro.

Ike And His Army Background

EBONY chooses this moment to depart from its traditional nonpartisanship for a simple reason—we fear tremendously the cost to the nation and to Negroes of an administration led by a man whose qualifications for the nation's highest office is 42 years of military training. We are genuinely frightened by the prospect of a President who in 1948 testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that Negroes are inferior and that the Army was justified in its Jim Crow practices. It is noteworthy that at the time 300 New England NAACP leaders joined in blasting General Dwight D. Eisenhower and expressing "opposition, disgust, disapproval and denial of the expressed statement of the General relative to the uneducated status of the Negro and his incapability for integration in the armed forces."

It is not that we do not like Ike, as a warm, well-meaning personality but rather that we are honestly apprehensive of a general in the White House, frightened lest with military thoroughness he obliterates all the many gains of the past 20 years, alarmed that the clock will be turned back to wipe out the greatest era of Negro advance in the history of America.

Stevenson Acts Rather Than Talks

OUR most haunted fears are that some Negroes—misled by the strange shenanigans of some of our power-hungry race politicos—will turn their backs on a man who has demonstrated unmistakably his feeling and friendship for Negroes. Being edited in Illinois, we here at EBONY have had full and ample opportunity to observe and test Governor Adlai Stevenson on the race front. We know him as a man who acts rather than talks. We have seen him fight stalwartly for a state FEPC and lose in every legislative session—simply because of Republican opposition. We saw his ability to take direct, daring and courageous action when he called out the National Guard to quell the Cicero riot despite hemming and hawing by other public officials. We know first hand his role in forcing Southern Illinois schools to drop Jim Crow under threat of losing state financial support.

We believe his view of civil rights—"I regard the right to earn one's living free from discrimination founded on race, color and religion as so fundamental a part of the heritage of all our citizens that the failure of the states to solve the problem clearly warrants a federal approach"—as a forthright, unequivocal statement by a true statesman, who has shown that he practices what he preaches.

And we are honestly appalled at the double talk and behind the scenes sniping directed at Stevenson by some race politicians. Having nothing to carp about in Stevenson's sterling record, they have directed their fire on his running mate, Alabama's Senator John Sparkman. Perhaps the Democrats could have made a better choice for their vice presidential candidate than a man whose past record on civil rights leaves something to be desired. On the other hand, he has supported federal aid to education, public housing and price and rent controls—all of paramount interest to Negroes. And we must consider the political facts of life too. A Southerner has been vice president for most of the last 20 years. We do not recall that Texas-born John Nance Garner diminished the greatness of President Roosevelt in the eyes of the Negro.

The Case Of Some Other Southerners

WE REFUSE to close the books on Sparkman's record, well knowing that time and men do change. For we have in our lifetime seen a former Ku Kluxer, Hugo L. Black, become the foremost liberal in the U. S. Supreme Court. We also recall the shrieks of horror by many race leaders when a man from Missouri, rumored to have once been a Klan member, Harry S. Truman, was nominated for Vice President. Today these same race leaders bemoan the failure of Truman to run for reelection and hail him as the Negro's greatest champion. And while speaking of vice-presidential nominees, it might be well for Negroes to recall the record of Republican Senator Richard Nixon, who voted against FEPC although he comes from the liberal Far West state of California.

These then are the men who encompass EBONY's fears. This is the choice—a choice so obvious and apparent that it would seem there would be no doubt, no confusion. But in these chaotic, topsy-turvy times, desperate men do desperate things for power. It is in these impelling circumstances that EBONY feels it must take its stand in selfish self-interest for our race and our nation.

With utmost urgency we entreat our readers to stand muster at the polls and pass this most important intelligence test of our times by voting for the unquestioned and rightful inheritor of the mantle of Lincoln and Roosevelt—Adlai Stevenson.

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Korea in the U. N.—*an Editorial*

THE Nation

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October 4, 1952

JOHN
STRACHEY

The Absolutists

The Communist and Counter-Communist Unity-in-Opposition

*

Five Pivotal States: Election Round-up

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

That MacArthur Draft

Los Angeles

EXCEPT for a bowl of flowers and a tinted picture of General Douglas MacArthur on the speakers' table, there was nothing to distinguish the first Presidential convention of the Christian Nationalist Party from any other Gerald L. K. Smith meeting.

The convention gimmick drew a total of 3,500 persons to the two meetings, held September 8 and 9 in a downtown auditorium, but there was no attempt to simulate a convention atmosphere. Since General MacArthur and State Senator Jack B. Tenney had been chosen earlier as the party's nominees for President and Vice-President, Smith skipped such troublesome features as parliamentary procedure and roll-call votes.

If spectators were disappointed by the absence of banners, reporters, and martial music, they were offered frequent opportunities to contribute money to the collection boxes and to purchase the complete works of Smith—from "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" to "Ike Eisenhower (Swedish Jew)."

The chairman and executive secretary of the party were allowed to speak briefly, but Smith ran the show. He laughed, cried, screamed, and whispered. All his harangues were cheered with equal fervor, whether the target was Colonel Robert McCormick, *Time,* Rita Hayworth, or the Anti-Defamation League.

The Christian Nationalist crusade, Smith explained, led the campaign to draft MacArthur at the Republican convention in Chicago. "We published more literature, sent out more letters, and spent more money than all the other MacArthur activities combined." Having failed in that endeavor, Smith now intends to put the MacArthur-Tenney ticket on the ballot in at least twenty states and capture enough electoral votes to throw the election into Congress. Then "it would be very possible to elect a Northern Republican for President and a Southern conservative Democrat for Vice-President. This would give us another chance to draft MacArthur and save America."

Smith characterized Governor Stevenson and General Eisenhower as Charlie McCarthy and Mortimer Snerd sitting on the knees of Bernard Baruch, but he saved his most vicious jibes for Eisenhower. In case anyone had forgotten "just how dangerous Eisenhower could be as President," Smith reminded his followers that the Republican candidate is an internationalist, "supported by the world-government crowd"; that his chief advisers are Baruch, Thomas E. Dewey, and Felix Frankfurter; that he "gave Berlin to the Russians and lied about it"; that his brother Milton "has always been a New Dealer"; that he urged the confirmation of Anna Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense, supported the Administration's Korean policy "against the judgment of MacArthur," and "allied himself with the enemies of MacArthur"; that "all the important Jews in America want Ike."

Conversely, MacArthur, he asserted, "symbolizes and personifies true Americanism." The Christian Nationalist Party realizes that the General is not really a candidate for President, because "technically the only candidates involved are the electors who are committed to General Douglas MacArthur for President." However, by placing his name on the ballot "right-wing traditional patriots" in both major parties will have an opportunity to protect their "racial self-respect" and "cast a vote for someone in whom they truly believe."

In accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination Tenney said, "Those honoring the General and myself subscribe to the principles we both have advocated and expounded over a long period of time." Tenney's "principles" are the witch-hunting devices he tested during his ten years as chairman of the California Un-American Activities Committee.

When he was dumped from the committee in 1949 his political power faded fast. He disenchanted the state Republican Party by supporting an apostate delegation opposed to Governor Earl Warren; his bid for a Congressional nomination was defeated in the June primary; and the "freedom of choice" proposal, designed to encourage racial and religious discrimination, which he wanted to get before the people as an initiative, failed to qualify for the ballot. His hook-up with the Smith crusade for white Protestant supremacy is an appropriate ending to his political career.

At this writing, the major attraction in the Christian Nationalist campaign has neither accepted nor rejected the nomination. Republican leaders say hopefully that MacArthur does not wish to "dignify" the movement by recognizing it. Meanwhile its directors are drafting a platform culled from the General's writings and speeches. Smith told the convention he would be willing to "bet a package of chewing gum" that the party would not reject such a platform. However, a week later the platform was still "being printed" and is not yet available.

MacArthur would serve the interests of the Republican Party by repudiating Smith's campaign and program. Smith is eager to cash in on the Old Guard's bitter dislike of the "internationalist" wing of the G. O. P. and is hoping to split the Republican vote. If the Republicans lose in November, Smith is ready to lead a new party of reaction. All he needs is a figurehead, and so far General MacArthur fills the bill.

The possibility of such a development is suggested by a statement issued by the California chapter of Pro America, an ultra-conservative organization of Republican women. Declaring that "any division of concentrated effort" for the election of Eisenhower, Nixon, and a Republican Congress would dissipate the strength needed for victory, the lady Republicans "deplored any movement toward the formation of a third party *until the results of the November 4 election have been determined*" (italics mine).

Meanwhile Gerald Smith attracts new friends and finances with the MacArthur bait and gathers strength from his hero's silence.

HANNAH BLOOM

[*Hannah Bloom is* The Nation's *correspondent in Los Angeles.*]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Tariffs, Rearmament, and Solvency

The Economic Commission for Europe and its able secretary, Gunnar Myrdal, are to be praised for the excellent "Economic Bulletin" just distributed by the United Nations. Its report on the first quarter of 1952 should be studied by all those prone to blame the indiscipline of the French, the laziness of the Italians, or the antiquated methods of the British for Europe's failure to fulfil the NATO quotas set by the Lisbon conference. What it shows, particularly, is the disbalance in the whole Continental economy brought about by the demands of rearmament: a slight but steady increase in unemployment, a decrease in the volume of consumption in spite of a generally high level of imports, no progress at all toward overcoming the dollar gap. Only two improvements are noted—a greater coal output and a considerable reduction in the shortage of steel.

Though the language of the report is diplomatic, it reveals plainly the absurdity of expecting Europe, on the one hand, to increase production and stop begging for dollars while, on the other, closing the American market to important European products. "Europe's prospects of keeping up the present level of its dollar exports," says the bulletin, "clearly depend in part on the degree of firmness with which the United States administration resists the increasing number of pressure groups pleading for higher tariffs."

But in the opinion of those experts who share Mr. Myrdal's concern over the course of events in Europe, the problem will not be solved even by a more liberal tariff policy or by more generous loans from Washington. Only through a resumption of trade between East and West and a return to a normal economy can Europe be rescued from the increasing hardships imposed by rearmament.

Jenner's Disability

A dual standard of political morality doubtless accounts for the strange behavior of Senator William Jenner of Indiana—a crusader against Democratic "corruption" and misconduct in office. In 1942 Jenner received a commission, entered the air force, and served two years in a non-combat zone in England. He was retired for disability on October 8, 1944, and awarded a disability compensation of $172.60 a month, the amount being increased to $179 in May, 1950. Jenner has served in the Senate since he was appointed to fill out an unexpired term in October, 1944. A federal statute enacted in 1932 forbids any person receiving more than $3,000 a year in a federal post to accept officer's retirement compensation unless it is for a disability incurred in actual combat. Jenner receives a salary of $15,000 a year as a Senator, and, so far as the records indicate, he was never in actual combat.

When questioned, he first denied that he was still receiving disability compensation and then brought pressure on Walter Leckrone, editor of the Indianapolis *Times*, to kill the story. (The Indianapolis *Star and News*, owned by Eugene Pulliam, an Eisenhower supporter, had known the facts for several weeks but said nothing.) Senator Jenner now justifies acceptance of the disability payments on the ground that his vision was impaired as a result of an infection and that he may "become totally blind at any time." But the Senator does not wear glasses, and his vision, apart from political matters, seems to be adequate. Our interest in the matter arises from the fact that Senator Jenner has been a violent partisan of the view that government welfare rolls should be open to the public. We hope the Senator retains his eyesight, but we must say that he seems to have been blind to principle for the last eight years.

"Little" Europe's First Month

Despite the two currents of opinion that divide the creators of Europe United, its representatives, now meeting in Strasbourg, seem determined to take good care of the month-old baby, still as frail as it is beautiful. The Consultative Assembly is made up of two factions; those who favor immediate unification and those who believe union can be achieved only by slow and careful stages. To the more enthusiastic federalists, the Eden plan, setting up a joint assembly to oversee the operations of the various European communities—the coal-and-steel and the defense community—and to function within a limited framework, seems almost sabotage.

Mr. Eden went to Strasbourg to explain his position

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and a compromise was the result. Collaboration between "little" Europe—France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—and its older sister, "big" Europe, has been established. Britain remains a part of "big" Europe without assuming too much responsibility in the immediate future; while giving "little" Europe its blessing, it leaves the infant to the tender care of President Spaak of Belgium.

It is to be hoped that gradually the nations which are now merely taking part in the discussions of the Consultative Assembly will join in a real effort to bring about unification—or withdraw entirely. For the moment a clash between 100-per-cent Europeans and Europeans, British style, has been avoided. Mr. Eden's timely warning should be heeded: a federated "little" Europe, behaving as if all the old national, political, and economic barriers of the Continent were about to disappear, will endanger the larger unity of Western Europe which can only be the result of an organic and gradual growth.

News from the Islands

From Hawaii comes the interesting report that Judge Delbert E. Metzger has been entered as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congressional Delegate from the Islands. It will be recalled (see editorial comment *The Nation*, September 15, 1951, July 5, 1952) that President Truman failed to reappoint Judge Metzger to the federal bench in Hawaii after the Judge had incurred the enmity of Senator O'Mahoney, former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, and Senator Pat McCarran for his courageous refusal to accept the dictation of the Department of Justice on the handling of the Smith act cases in Hawaii. Judge Metzger has been a member of the Statehood Commission since it was created some six years ago and is confident that Hawaii will be given statehood within a year. To speed the day, however, the islands should send this distinguished American liberal to Washington as their delegate. From a mainland point of view, one of the strongest arguments for admitting Hawaii to the Union is the likelihood that Judge Metzger might one day represent it in the United States Senate.

Passport Delirium

The farcical character of the new State Department rules on passport procedure has been vividly demonstrated in the recent denial of a passport to the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. Dr. Fritchman applied for a passport on July 14, stating that he had been invited to speak in November before a Melbourne audience celebrating the 100th anniversary of Unitarianism in Australia. After several inquiries he was promised a decision on the application by August 24. But he received no word until into character," writes Mr. Stokes, "or he can toy with something that could be dangerous to our traditions and our liberties." If the General does not recognize the prestige and power of his position as party leader, would he recognize and honor the obligations and responsibilities of the Presidency?

The attempt to divert attention from the Nixon fund by comparing it with the fund on which Governor Stevenson drew to reduce the financial hardships of able men who gave up highly paid jobs to accept appointments in the Illinois state government is thoroughly, and we believe deliberately, misleading. We are sure Governor Stevenson would be the first to concede that the salaries of public officials should not normally be padded out by contributions from private sources. He did what he did because there was no other way of getting first-rate men for key positions. But it is a far cry from an improvised arrangement of this sort to private, personal subsidies of the Nixon variety. Recipients of the Governor's Christmas bonuses did not know the names of contributors to the fund nor did the contributors know to whom payments were being made. The Democrats might have cut short any attempt to link the two operations in the public mind by simply pointing to the lack of any parallel between the interests of the large and widely diverse group of contributors to Stevenson's campaign fund and his performance as Governor and then to the way in which Nixon's voting record reflects the general, and often the special, interests of the millionaires who contributed to his.

AS a postscript in the Nixon affair, we should like to suggest that the "corruption" issue is being weirdly distorted in this campaign. To focus attention on the corruption of American politics without discussing the wider aspects of corruption in our society as a whole is to undermine confidence in representative government. As Stevenson said in his Los Angeles Town Hall speech:

> You are not going to clean up crime and corruption until you clean up civil life. . . . If it is against the law [to play slot machines] in the corner saloons, it is against the law in the country club, too, and how much respect and how much leadership are the citizens going to have who practice a double standard of law observance? They have stopped their own mouths and tied up their own hands, but they still complain about law enforcement. And what would you think about the banker who complains when you clean up gambling in his town because it reduces bank deposits, or the real-estate owner who complains because the tenants don't pay as much rent when the restaurant and tavern on the ground floor have to stop gambling? I have had those experiences and many more besides, including the varieties of business men who will corrupt a state inspector to disregard some law violation. I can fire the inspector if I can catch him. But I can't fire the business man.

Korea in the U. N.

IT IS time to end the Korean fighting. When we look back and count the toll of death, mutilation, material destruction, and international bitterness that has piled up since MacArthur sent the United Nations forces across the Thirty-eighth Parallel in the fall of 1950, we can only marvel that the whole world has not been drawn into the conflict. The war was won then: aggression was thrown back; South Korea saved. Had the State and Defense departments followed the course demanded by common sense and proposed in the United Nations by India and other nations that understood the dynamics of the situation, an armistice could have been arranged with a minimum of difficulty. But the policy of the Asia-firsters prevailed over such counsels; Sir Benegal Rau was rebuffed in the U. N.; the informed warnings of liberal American journals and of most of the press of Western Europe were written off as appeasement; the drive to the Yalu was launched—and soon China was in the war and the hope of a truce out the window.

Now for a year and a quarter the U. N. high command—which is to say a succession of American military men—have been haggling over armistice terms with their Korean-Chinese equivalents. And while this has gone on casualties have increased, steadily if not at a high rate, and Allied bombs have reduced to dust the roads, railways, factories, and power installations in North Korea right up to the Manchurian line. The loss of life among civilians has been terrible, arousing hostility to the United States in "neutralist" Asian countries and bringing strong protests from peace organizations and church groups in the West. Even the charges of germ warfare, unproved by the Communists and flatly denied by the United States, have won a hearing they would never have had if people's minds were not already conditioned to the probability of such horrors. But protests obviously will not prevail against the logic of war, which demands continuous and, if expedient, mounting destruction until the aggressor knuckles under.

The only way to limit the destruction is to end the fighting, and the only hope of an armistice is to bring the negotiations into the U. N. Neither military action nor the stalemate at Panmunjom offers a way out. Up to now the United States has conducted those talks—and the war—as if they were our show. Whenever the situation seemed near a breakdown or new and threatening military measures were undertaken, such as the recent bombing of the great dams and power plants in the north, our U. N. allies have shown clearly their dissatisfaction at being excluded from an effective share in making decisions. There have been signs that they considered our handling of the rebellious prisoners of war less than perfect; that they would like some say on the prisoner-exchange impasse; that they might even hope to be consulted on the long-range political factors that may lie behind the deadlock at Panmunjom.

The latest proposal made by the Allied negotiators, offering a choice among three methods of rechecking the preferences of prisoners to determine whether or not they shall be repatriated, is now under consideration by the Communist delegation. That it will be accepted is most improbable, since it retains the principle of "voluntary" repatriation which is the nub of the Chinese-Korean opposition. Although the Communist truce team agreed to a ten-day adjournment, General Nam Il has indicated that the new proposal fails to meet the "reasonable demand" for return of all war prisoners.

NOW that the United States has reversed its stand and agreed to a debate on Korea in the coming session of the General Assembly which begins on October 14, the issue is likely to be laid wide open. And this we consider wholly desirable, not because it can be expected to produce an immediate armistice but because it will restore the Korean struggle to the U. N., where it belongs. It is quite possible that the United States will use the occasion to try to line up support for more drastic military measures—a blockade of the China coast, for example, or the bombing of Manchurian bases—if the enemy refuses to budge on the prisoners-of-war issue. It is equally possible that the Russians, besides demanding representation for the Chinese and North Koreans, will try to submit their germ-warfare charges to the Assembly. But assuming the worst in both cases, an Assembly debate will enable those states whose voices have been silenced for a year and a half to discuss armistice and peace terms. It is known that several delegations are prepared to suggest compromise solutions of the prisoner-exchange problem. Mexico has already submitted a plan which provides for the immediate repatriation of all willing prisoners of war and the temporary distribution among member states of those prisoners who do not wish to go home.

A full debate in the United Nations will not only end the dictatorship of the American command; it will also permit a new effort on the part of the Asian nations to organize a peace bloc. Nehru has several times offered his good offices to help end the conflict and work out a broad settlement. More and more it has become clear that no agreement will have the backing of the peoples of Asia if it originates in Washington and is negotiated by the belligerents alone. The Asian countries regard any major decision in that part of the world as the business of Asia as a whole, acting within the United Nations. This concept will certainly be developed in the General Assembly, and the attitude toward it of the United States and Russia may determine which power in the long run will have the greatest influence over coming Asian developments.

A Handbook for Demagogues

LAST Wednesday the American people were given a remarkable lesson in political demagoguery. Whatever one may think of Senator Nixon's morals or wisdom, one must admit that in thirty minutes he made a historic contribution to the science of rabble-rousing. Lest his technique be obscured by the political controversy surrounding the whole incident, I will indicate its principles:

1. Pretend to be a poor ordinary man fighting the possessors of inherited wealth. Refer to the fact that the standard-bearer of the opposing party inherited money. Mention your own humble origin and your wife's "cloth coat." Tell the people that poor men like yourself should represent them in Congress.

2. Appeal to people's national origins regardless of how irrelevant it may be. Disclose that your wife's maiden name was Ryan and that the Irish never quit.

3. Attack your opponents as Pro-Communist but don't make the mistake that Joe McCarthy made—be subtle about it. Remind your audience that the same people who opposed you in the Hiss case are against you now.

4. If you are a veteran, mention it but try to be casual. Discuss the battle stars in an offhand way but make it clear that you were under enemy fire.

5. Cast doubt on the honesty of the opposing candidates; mention that your opponent's wife is on the federal pay roll. There is nothing dishonest about that, but it sounds bad, especially if the man isn't there to answer it. Keep harping on the fund controlled by the other party's chief candidate, even though it is completely different from your own fund. Twist the facts just enough to arouse suspicion.

6. Appeal to people's sympathy. Pretend to be the honest man who is viciously persecuted by smear artists. Plead with the people not to let your enemies take your pet dog away. Tell them that it hurts to bare your soul and your finances in public. Repeat this over and over again so they won't notice the important things you have left unsaid. End by promising you will never stop fighting the crooks and Communists attacking you.

7. Above all, never, never discuss the actual thing for which you were called to task by the American people. Never compare your voting record with the economic interests of those who contributed to your fund. Never raise the question whether it was right to take money from people who have a stake in the way you vote. Create your own ethical standards and then point out how rigidly you adhere to them.

If you do all these things, a great general will laud your courage and you will be flooded with telegrams of sympathy and support. And if the people are really as dumb as you think they are, you may some day be President of the United States. NORMAN REDLICH

The Absolutists

BY JOHN STRACHEY

London

THE publication ten years ago of Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" marked the beginning of what may be called "the literature of counter-communism." For the most part written by ex-Communists, this literature is of a special kind. It has been contributed to, for example, by Ignazio Silone, by the essayists of R. H. S. Crossman's volume "The God That Failed," by Alexander Weissberg in his recent book "The Conspiracy of Silence," by André Malraux, by James Burnham, and by many others. The latest addition to it is "Witness," by Whittaker Chambers.

This literature has many common characteristics. It is not pleasant or easy reading. Large parts of it are written on a note of sustained hysteria. Its tone is painful and piercing, and is meant to be so. For these authors are convinced that the Western world is marching, dully and complacently, upon its destruction.

They are the absolutists. They see the world in terms of one all-embracing antithesis: communism and the West; the Devil and God. They do not, to be sure, suppose that the West is perfect. On the contrary, they gird at our existing society, but only because they believe it to be lapsing, to its mortal peril, from its ideals.

In the same way they are at pains to emphasize the strength, resources, and, for that matter, heroic character of communism, but only because they are agonized lest we should underestimate our enemy. The words "absolute," "desperate," "inevitable," "catastrophic" appear constantly in their texts.

Mr. Chambers is by no means the least considerable of these writers. His voice sometimes rises so high that the printed page itself seems to scream. But it would be a mistake, for all that, to fail to take in what he is saying. He hammers out the absolutist view of the world more insistently, perhaps, than any other of its spokesmen. For example, he does not hesitate to write that, from a Communist point of view, both the Great Purge and the Nazi-Soviet pact were justified:

> . . . as Communists, Stalin and the Stalinists were absolutely justified in making the Purge. From the Communist viewpoint Stalin could have taken no other course so long as he believed he was right. The Purge, like the Communist-Nazi pact later on, was the true measure of Stalin as a revolutionary statesman. That was the horror of the Purge—that acting as a Communist, Stalin had acted rightly. In that fact lay the evidence that communism is *absolutely* evil. The human horror was not evil, it was the sad consequence of evil. It was communism that was evil, and the more truly a man acted in its spirit and interest, the more certainly he perpetuated evil.

Upon this basic thesis—that "communism is absolutely evil"—nearly all the contributors to this literature build up their world outlook. Everything is seen in the starkest black and white. Every catastrophic conclusion follows with remorseless inevitability. In particular, a Third World War, which, as they are the first to agree, will probably wreck human civilization, is taken for granted. Any hope that it may be avoided and therefore any effort to avoid it are derided as pathetic examples of wishful thinking. This outlook, rather than its specific content, is the main interest of Whittaker Chambers's book.

Much of that book is taken up with the narration of Mr. Chambers's side of the Hiss case. No one who does not possess an exhaustive knowledge of those horrible and tragic proceedings should comment upon them. Nor is there any need to do so. For, curiously enough, if Mr. Hiss were to be found completely innocent of the charges made against him, the general thesis of this literature, of which Mr. Chambers's book is merely the latest example, would be almost unaffected. It might, at most, be said that these "absolutist" writers were exaggerating the conspiratorial side of contemporary communism—which, incidentally, is not a very easy thing to do. But that is all. If we believe, as in my opinion we must, that Mr. Chambers and the other absolutists are telling the truth as they see it, that is sufficient to make it indispensable to examine their outlook. Whether *their* truth, and in particular whether Mr. Chambers's view of the Hiss case, is *the* truth is another question. In fact, it is that basic other question which once engaged the fleeting attention of the Procurator of Judea. But for our present purpose it is sufficient that the absolutists all see the contemporary predicament of the world in this light.

For *all* the absolutists do see it thus. That is to say, not merely do the small number of brilliant and tortured men who are building up the literature of counter-communism see it thus, but so also do the Communists. The fact is that the world outlook of the counter-

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Communists has a close similarity, in reverse, to the Communist world outlook. It is not only, or principally, that both treat any denial of the inevitability of a Third World War with impatience or at best with pity. Both see the crisis of the contemporary world as "total"—another key word. The ex-Communists—certainly Chambers and in many passages Koestler—agree that the non-Communist world is doomed except by a miracle. They have, they tell us, deliberately joined what they know to be the losing side; they have done so because they can no longer bear the character of those who will be victorious. They bring us their despair. They take to themselves that insanely proud hexameter *"Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni,"* which might perhaps be rendered thus, in modern times—"The winning side is good enough for the gods, but for the old guard only defeat will do."

However, to establish that the absolutist world outlook is shared by Communists and counter-Communists is not to disprove it. These absolutists of what one may call "the post-Marxist right" might reply: "Yes, of course, we share this world outlook with the Communists; for undeniably this is what the contemporary world of total crisis is like. It is just because we alone in the West see all this as clearly as the Communists themselves that we alone are capable of standing up to them. This is, no doubt, what Silone meant when he told Togliatti that "the final conflict will be between the Communists and the ex-Communists."

But will it? As one who was deeply affected by the Communist outlook in the nineteen thirties, I doubt it. Is there not growing evidence that the contemporary world can be seen in terms of another and perhaps deeper antithesis than that across which the rival absolutists glare at each other? No doubt contemporary reality is so daunting that a retreat into competing absolutist faiths *may* be the fate of mankind. If so, there is indeed little to hope for. Locked in the unity of polar opposites, the proponents, some of one faith, some of another, must smash at each other till each has amply verified the dooms pronounced by both. In that worst of all events Mr. Auden's words would come true:

> Violence shall synchronize your movements like a tune
> And Terror like a frost shall halt the flood of thinking.
> Barrack and bivouac shall be your friendly refuge . . .

But is there any conclusive evidence, or even any good evidence, that the stark antithesis in terms of which all the absolutists depict our world is in fact a reflection of reality?

IS NOT another depiction of the contemporary world possible—a depiction in which the true antithesis is seen to be between the absolutists of both kinds, Communists and counter-Communists, and another breed of men whom we might perhaps call, for lack of a better term, the experimentalists? It must be far harder to define this second world outlook, for its very essence will lie in a certain relativism, in a cooler temper and a lower claim. Perhaps a definition can be approached negatively by contrasting the characterization of communism, which might be made from the experimentalist standpoint with the absolutism of the counter-Communists. Mr. Chambers again exemplifies the contrast. For one of the most striking things in his whole book is that his view of communism is completely unhistorical.

Since for him, as for every true counter-Communist, communism is "absolutely evil," it can have no history and no development. It must have appeared in the world at some second fall. It can grow, but only in the sense that hell can enlarge itself. It can never have grown worse, for it was already "absolutely evil." Equally, no doubt, Mr. Chambers would deny that communism could change in the future. Yet nothing can be more confidently predicted than that it will. As the economic development of Russia gathers momentum, it must sooner or later profoundly affect the nature of the Russian system.

This remarkable unhistorical view of communism is not in fact compatible with Mr. Chambers's own pages. In the course of his work he is time after time compelled to explain how he and almost a whole generation of his fellow-intellectuals became Communists. He does so in a series of notable passages—passages far more adequate to their theme than any to be found in Communist writings. For instance, he describes how, while still a devoted Communist, he went to live in Baltimore. He and his wife were at once faced with the problem of how to treat the "colored help" in a human and decent way and yet not cause talk and comment among the neighbors.

> To those who wonder what the appeal of communism is, this episode may be worth pondering upon. . . . When Edith Murray first sat down to table with us—and we were the first white people who had ever asked her to sit at the same table with them—she showed fear, then embarrassment. I will not presume to say what her final feeling was. In any case, what we had to give her was not a place at our table. What we had to give her was something that belonged to her by right, but which had been taken from her, and which we were merely giving back. It was her human dignity. Thus, by insisting on acting as Communists must, we found ourselves

unwittingly acting as Christians should. I submit that that cuts to the heart of one aspect of the Communist appeal.

How can Mr. Chambers even attempt to reconcile this passage and others similar to it with his statement that communism is "absolutely evil"? He would probably do so by an appeal to a transcendent scale of values in which the above evidences of human goodness, to which he has paid so fine a tribute, are as nothing compared to the basic materialism of the philosophy of communism.

But how strained such a reconciliation must seem to anyone who is content to accept a historical view of communism. No doubt it is true that the horrible perversion which has developed in communism can be traced back from Stalinism through Leninism to Marxism. But no one who denies that it is the perversion of something which was, in original and basic impulse, profoundly good has taken the measure of communism. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Chambers does deny, at least in overt statement, though, as we have seen, he admits it by implication when he comes to explain the appeal of communism.

Of course it is impossible to pick out one particular incident as all-important in the process of the perversion of communism. Some people might point, not to Kronstadt, but to the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly. Some might go back as far as 1902, when Lenin, in his first book, "bent the stick" of Marxism, as he puts it, in favor of direct action by a party of "professional revolutionaries." Others might put the point of perversion much later, at the Stalin-Trotsky struggle after the death of Lenin. Some might put it at the decision to end the N. E. P. and carry through collectivization in spite of everything; or at the stifling, first of the Soviets, and then of all inner party democracy; or at the beginning of the Great Purge; or as late as the Stalin-Hitler pact.

In fact, of course, all these events, and many others of comparable importance, were steps and stages by means of which communism has become the tragic perversion that it now is. No historical task is more urgent than for someone with the knowledge, the theoretical equipment, and the political insight to trace the whole development. Nor would such a historical, realistic, experimentalist treatment of communism necessarily lead to a more favorable verdict than that of blank absolutist denunciation.

It is not, however, over their characterization of communism that the world outlooks of the absolutists and the experimentalists differ most widely. They differ far more importantly still in their estimation of the non-Communist world in which we live. And it is here that the absolutist view is so fatal a guide to action. For the counter-Communists show their polar unity-in-opposition with the Communists above all by their conviction that our Western world is unreformable. It is not merely that they believe we can only be saved by a miracle. They see Western capitalism only as it is, or rather only as it has hitherto been. They take no interest, even, in efforts to modify its very nature. Mr. Chambers, for instance, makes it clear that he brushed off British socialism in a few weeks of undergraduate study, and that he never dreamed of taking the New Deal seriously. For them, just as much as for the Communists, capitalism is capitalism and ever more shall be so.

It is this side of the absolutist attitude which leads the counter-Communists not only to neglect but actively to oppose reformist movements of the characteristically British and American type. And thus, as perhaps we are all fated to do, they seek to fulfil their own dark prophecies.

To say all this is, however, very far from denying importance and merit to the literature of counter-communism. Those elements in their world outlook, including their very urge toward catastrophe, which make them such suicidal guides to political action are often assets to them as authors. Above all in Britain and America their works should on no account be neglected. For it is only too true that one aspect of the world is as they depict it. The "crisis of history," as they call it, if not "total" is undeniably very severe. It is true that we often exhibit "intolerable shallowness of thought combined with incalculable mischief in action"—to quote another of Mr. Chambers's indictments.

But the question remains what to do about it? Mr. Chambers says, "Have faith!" The experimentalist tradition, which is overwhelmingly dominant in Britain and America, must add "and works also."

In particular we must devote ourselves to a continuous effort drastically to modify, to adapt, to reform our politics. For it is that effort at continuous adaptation which, amid so much that is shallow and even base in our communities, differentiates them from most others. A defiant reformism can be the only answer to the absolutists of both the left and the right.

Prussia Is Still There

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

WHEN the bones of Prussia's warrior king, Frederick the Great, and of his father, Frederick William I, were solemnly reburied in the castle of Hohenzollern on September 14, it was a ceremony of a much deeper significance than a tribute to a royal family or homage to a monarchy. It was an exaltation of immortal Prussia. Addressing two hundred remnants of Germany's royalty and nobility, the old court chaplain of the Hohenzollern family, Dr. Döhring, reminded them that "unless we Germans want to abandon our history we must imprint on our hearts the idea that governed the great father and still greater son: 'People and Fatherland.' " The Fatherland that Döhring meant was not Germany. It was the real "Fatherland"—Prussia.

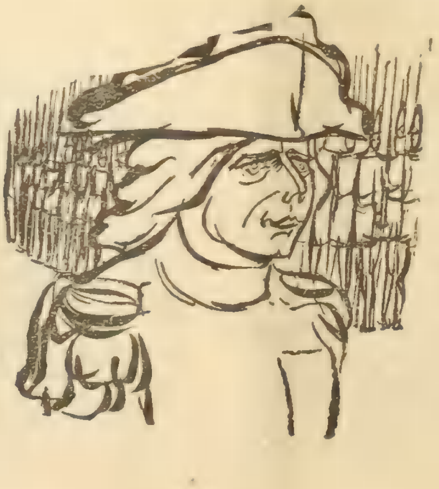
Ever since the brotherhood of arms that won the last war broke up, we have heard unceasing talk about the consequences of a divided Germany, an occupied Germany. Nobody talks about the division of Prussia; yet these separated fragments have a fatal attraction for each other. Any day they may become once more a whole; and the irresistible impulse toward reunion confronts peace with new perils.

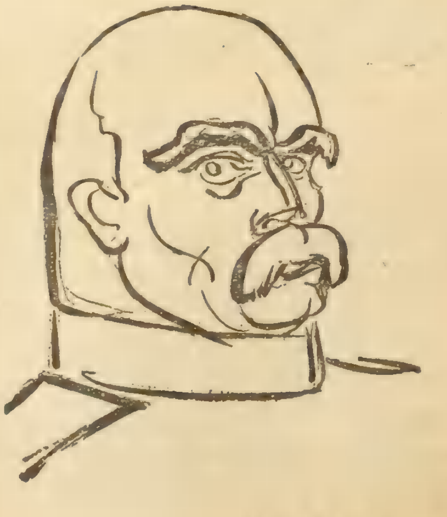
Throughout the centuries Prussia has been the force that has revived a people which seemed, from time to time, irreparably lost. After the terrible beating of the Thirty Years' War, religion and art combined to give new hope to the frustrated German soul; Luther wanted Germany to be "the first in spirit," but the dawn of the seventeenth century saw a religious and a territorial drive inexorably bound together. From 1650 to 1670 and on the rise of Prussia was steady. In the next century, under Frederick the Great, Prussia became the military power which was to provide the foundation of the modern German empire.

After the battle of Valmy, in which Frederick's admirably equipped and trained soldiers were routed by the *sansculotte* rabble of the French Revolution, Prussia's road to hegemony was momentarily barred. And after the disaster of Jena, Napoleon, in Heine's words, "had only to whistle" to make Prussia disappear from the map. But Napoleon did not whistle. Instead, his Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, helped the enemy regain its position as a great power, finally rendering his country the poor service of making Prussia master of the Ruhr—forever after the core of German military strength.

Prussia has always rallied after disaster. As a French historian put it, whenever there is a Brunhilde in the shape of a defeated Germany, a Prussian Siegfried will appear and bring her back to life. In terms of modern politics, the Prussian Siegfried of the second half of the nineteenth century was the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, a man not only strong and aggressive but also subtle when necessary. Bismarck led Prussia to the victories of Sadova and Sedan that wiped out the humiliation of Jena.

A time of decision is not favorable to political particularism, and so Prussia under Bismarck became the champion of German unity. It imposed upon that unity a Prussian hegemony which reached far beyond the limits set by the Congress of Vienna. Nor did the Iron Chancellor permit Prussia's future role in Germany ever to become vague. When the German Reich was restored in 1871, Bismarck ruled that the King of Prussia should henceforth be the Emperor of Germany. The South German states were chained to Prussia, and their submission was rewarded by a promise of future Teutonic greatness. This promise was not disappointed in the years that followed. Germany's strength expanded in all directions. Starting with the customs union (*Zollverein*), its eco-





nomic capacity was rapidly developed, fundamentally altering the power ratio of Europe; next the foundations of an overseas empire were laid. Germany's sword was made of Prussian steel; Prussia alone was capable of mounting the "watch on the Rhine." Those who opposed this process were suppressed or went into exile.

In 1914 when William II called the Germans to war, the same design was evident. It was the voice of Prussia proclaiming hegemony over all Europe. The Kaiser's Chief of Staff, the younger Moltke, described the situation in almost the very words used by the old Moltke on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, when in order to silence the counselors of moderation, he pledged his word that the Prussians could beat the French and that the Emperor of Germany would rule Europe on a much firmer basis than the first Napoleon. World War I was a Prussian adventure from beginning to end.

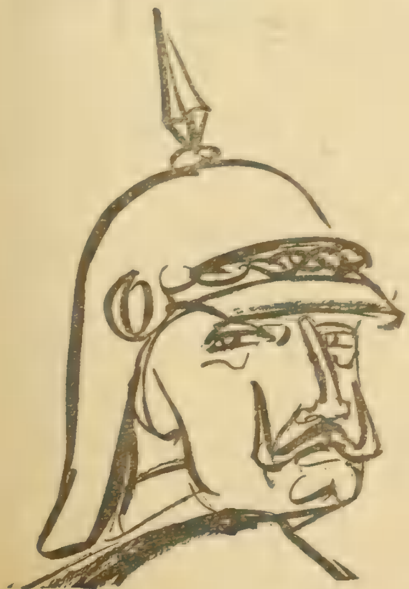
Hitler, though an outsider, revived Prussia because it offered him the sole possibility of reuniting the Germans for a new epic of domination. Everything that was strong and fighting in his Third Reich was genuinely Prussian. When his favorite historian, Rosenberg, called the Nazis "the Prussians of the twentieth century," he was for once accurate. Under the Hitlerian names of *Führerstaat* and *Volkstaat*, it was the *Preussenstaat* of old and recent history which realized the miracle of a military recovery whose overthrow required five years of fighting by the most powerful coalition on earth. It was the Prussian element in Nazism that made the Germans forget the other aspects of a masquerade which fell far below imperial standards. Grotesque and vulgar, in contrast to the dignity of his great predecessors, Hitler was none the less an incarnation of the Reich, and the Reich remains the supreme historical aspiration of the German people.

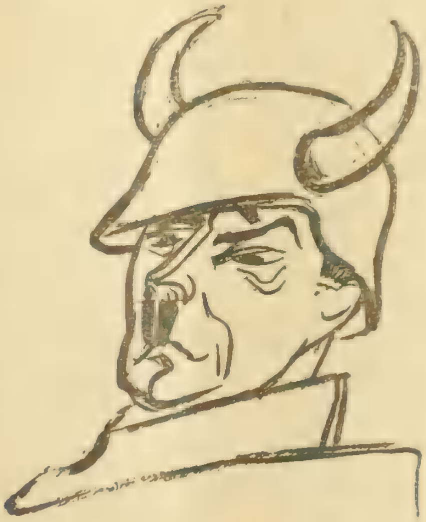
In the years before 1866 Bismarck must have doubted many times whether the European powers would be stupid enough to permit Prussia to organize a great Germany. The Prussians of today, working among the torn remnants of the master state, should logically harbor the same doubts. It is true that the French, who know their ancient enemy better than anybody else, insisted during the war that the important thing was not so much the disappearance of the Nazi regime as the destruction of the Prussian military tradition and power, the end of the "soldier nation." But the idea of "deprussianizing" Germany by displacing its center of political gravity from the northeast to the southwest, toward the Frankfurt region which had once witnessed a great attempt to achieve German unity in a democratic way, was abandoned. The Nazi infiltration into the Bonn administration and into the future Wehrmacht has made a shambles of the hope of turning West Germany into a democracy.

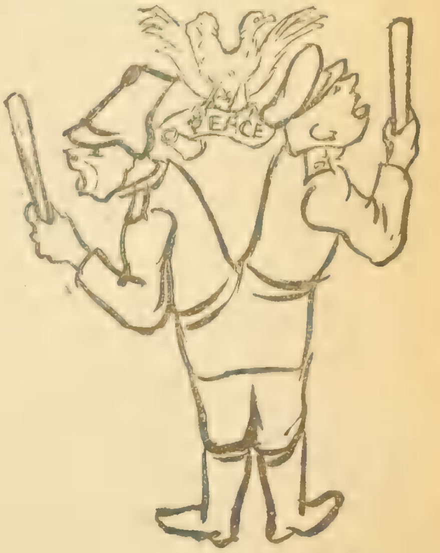
Whatever the name of any of the dozen or so Nazi or near-Nazi groups that flourish in West Germany today—Socialist Reich Party, German Reich Party, Refugee Party (*Bund der Heimatlosen und Entrechteten*), German Bloc, Fatherland Union, First Legion—there is always in it an officer of the old army or of the Gestapo, trained in the Prussian school, even if the group develops its activities in regions outside Prussia. Every little while the West greets with naive joy the news that one or another of these groups has been dissolved by order of the Bonn government or of its own leaders. But new ones spring up, and the spirit that inspires them remains the same.

In East Germany the official theory is that Prussianism is dead, thanks to the economic policies of the Russian occupation. The seizure and distribution of the great landed estates has without doubt undermined the system of power which rested on the Junker ruling caste. But Prussianism in the east is not dead; it is merely repressed; and the Russians, if they are not aware of that now, will one day find it out.

We are faced consequently with a double and threatening reality: a desire for reunion shared by all Ger-







Drawings by Zilzer

mans regardless of section or class, with Prussia, as always, serving as the chief unifying, centralizing force. To say this is dangerous is not to oppose unification as such. In fact, an unsatisfied passion for reunion would be a greater threat to peace than a Germany reunited under proper safeguards. For the present state of artificial division, maintained by arms and the exigencies of the cold war, offers the Prussian spirit its best chance to play off one set of powers against the other, gambling even on the suicidal possibility of German restoration by means of war.

What can one propose to meet this concrete menace? The only answer is unification through an agreement among the Big Four powers which will rule out the massive rearming of Germany and the rise of a new arms industry in the Ruhr, support the growth of democratic practices, and enforce a policy of neutrality. Such a program would reduce if not eliminate the dangers to East and West alike involved in the resurrection of a German Reich. It presumes a common willingness to moderate the cold war in recognition of the rising threat of a new aggressive Prussianism which owes no allegiance or gratitude toward any of its present suitors.

The Prussians of today, east and west, have constantly in their minds the areas of Germany ceded to Poland, above all Silesia and the eastern part of Pomerania. The twelve million former inhabitants of those areas, distributed as refugees all over Germany, are a potential part of Mr. Dulles's "army of liberation." They would march toward a reconquest of their former lands as soon as they were supplied with arms to back up their bruised spirits. Other Prussians are looking toward the West, toward France, against which the generals of so many generations have led armies of invasion, inflamed by the passion for a greater Reich. Others still are flirting with both Russians and Americans at the same time. What they think is this: if America is stronger, it will help them liberate the lost Prussian territories in the East; if Russia comes out on top, it can offer them, as a price for their alliance, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine, or whatever else they fancy.

The heavy industry needed to turn these dreams into reality is already rising impressively in the Ruhr. Its mills have never stopped working, and if it is experiencing any trouble today it is congestion. One need only compare the production figures for 1951: coal—122,000,000 tons for Germany as against 70,000,000 for France with the Saar; steel—16,000,000 tons for Germany as against 10,000,000 for France. The disproportion is increasing with every year, and this is only the start of German and Prussian recovery. Viewed against the history of yesterday and the facts of today, the hopes of the Western politicians and intellectuals who believe that it is possible to rearm Germany without also bringing about a renaissance of Prussia and a formidable pressure from all parts of Germany for a new Reich are so naive as to make one smile were it not for the fact that in this situation lies the real danger of World War III.

Five Pivotal States: Election Round-up

CONNECTICUT

Benton Favored

BY CHADWICK HALL

Hartford

CONNECTICUT has only eight electoral votes, but it is a key state this year because control of the Senate is likely to hinge on three seats and Connecticut will elect two Senators. The race will be close; most Connecticut elections are. Six of the nine gubernatorial elections since 1934 were won by fewer than 25,000 votes in a state where 900,000 voters go to the polls.

The lower house of the Connecticut legislature is regularly controlled by the Republicans through a rotten-borough system which heavily favors the rural districts; the upper house, by the Democrats. The most important fact about the Connecticut voter is that he is a ticket-splitter. Four years ago the state went Republican for the first time since 1932 in a Presidential election, giving Dewey a plurality of 14,456 votes. In 1950 it sent two Democrats, Brien McMahon and William Benton, to the Senate but defeated Governor Bowles by 17,014 votes. Benton, who had been appointed by Bowles to fill Raymond Baldwin's unexpired senatorial term, was making his first bid for public office.

Unlike the Protestant "native," who usually votes Republican in the country and Democratic in the city, the large foreign-born and first-generation population votes for a candidate, not a party. For these groups the "issues" boil down chiefly to the candidate's nationality and religion. Catering to their vote, both parties usually adopt a "mixed" slate—Protestant governor, Irish lieutenant governor, Italian representative at large, Polish attorney general. The voter of foreign descent therefore pays little attention to the party label and habitually splits his ticket.

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Unless there is an Eisenhower landslide Senator Benton is expected to win handily over his Republican opponent, William Purtell, former president of the Connecticut Association of Manufacturers, who was appointed to fill McMahon's seat until the election. Benton had a narrow squeak in 1950, but since then his excellent voting record has gained him widespread support. His fight to oust McCarthy from the Senate has also made him many friends, although it has aroused the resentment of some groups, notably the Irish. The Republican-controlled press has played down McCarthyism, and Purtell is understandably reluctant to commit himself on this issue: he would either have to line up with Benton or support a man who was given a very cold shoulder in Connecticut when he stumped against Benton in 1950. Benton's chances were materially improved when Vivien Kellems entered the race. Running on the Independent Republican ticket, she may take as many as 8,000 votes from Purtell.

The amazing popularity in the First Congressional District of Abraham Ribicoff, whom Joseph Alsop has called the most "independent, intelligent, and courageous" Representative in Congress, is mainly due to his reputation for voting according to his conscience rather than from political expediency. He voted right on the C. I. O.'s list of sixteen key issues, only one of which had anything to do with labor. He showed great courage in opposing price supports for shade tobacco, a widely cultivated crop in his district, and a public-works bill which would have poured $32,000,000 in federal aid into his state—he was against the latter on the ground that pork-barrel legislation should wait until the national deficit was reduced. Despite his refusal to conciliate special interests, large or small, he beat his Republican rival in 1950 by 38,000 votes. But he will have tougher sledding this fall. He is the first Jew in Connecticut's history to run for Senator; his opponent, Prescott Bush, is a well-known Wall Street financier.

The major handicap for the Democratic organization this year is the loss of McMahon, whose large pluralities carried many a weak nominee into office. But the Republicans have made some serious mistakes. They chose Bush instead of Clare Boothe Luce—a proved vote-getter—to oppose Ribicoff, and Governor Lodge's high-handed methods of running party affairs have alienated many county and city party chairmen. Moreover, unless Eisenhower sweeps the state, the bulk of the 13,000 votes which Wallace got in 1948 will almost certainly turn up in the Democratic column.

The big question in Connecticut is: If Eisenhower wins, how large will his margin be? Even though Stevenson loses Connecticut's handful of electoral votes, his barn-storming tour may so dilute the pronounced pro-Eisenhower sentiment that enough persons will split their ballots to send Benton and Ribicoff to Washington.

MASSACHUSETTS

Lodge Dislodged?

BY EDWARD J. MICHELSON

Boston

THESE are trying times for Massachusetts Republicans. Their standard-bearer, the handsome, elegant, and aristocratic Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., up for reelection for a fourth term, appears doomed to defeat. Lodge faces the most formidable opponent of his career, Representative John F. Kennedy, son of the former ambassador to London and grandson of the late John ("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald, one-time mayor of Boston. Most of the state's Republican candidates are as dependent on Lodge's vote-getting prowess as he is on Eisenhower's. And at this writing Ike is not likely to carry Massachusetts.

Senator Lodge

To hold that Lodge, as an Episcopalian, is handicapped in a predominantly Roman Catholic electorate is gross over-simplification, despite the prominence of the Kennedys as Catholic communicants and their donations to charities of all faiths. True, Massachusetts is one of the two states that outlaw planned parenthood. And in some Boston precincts Britain's "partition of Ireland" is still a burning issue. But Lodge and his fellow-Senator, Leverett Saltonstall, both Protestants, have repeatedly defeated Catholics running on the Democratic ticket in a basically Democratic state. Both had at least tacit support from the late Cardinal O'Connell.

In Massachusetts the vote for President has little relationship to that for Senator, which in turn may vary greatly from the vote for Representative. In fact, the young Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., won his first bid for national office in the Landon débâcle of 1936. His isolationism during his first Senate term and his extreme conservatism in general may account for the smallness of his margin—fewer than 100,000 votes—when he was reelected in 1942, after he had gone to war as an army reservist. In 1944 he resigned from the Senate to remain on active duty overseas as General Devers's liaison officer with the French. Returning to the political wars in 1946, he won the most spectacular victory of his career by de-

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EDWARD J. MICHELSON, veteran Washington correspondent, now represents the magazine Tide *in the nation's capital.*

feating the aging Democratic incumbent, David I. Walsh, by 320,000.

This year gloom pervades the Lodge camp because the youthful Kennedy is more than a match for the Senator in assets that count in state politics—charm, wealth, and social prestige. Both men are independents, each in his own fashion. For years Lodge has castigated the more orthodox state and national Republican leaders; he does not think that a contributor's voice in party councils must be commensurate with the size of his check. He also resents the repeated refusal of the state organization to prepare a balanced ticket—that is, to place on it able Jews or persons of French Canadian, Italian, Polish, or even Irish extraction. This year the Republicans have changed their tactics, and the organization candidates for attorney general and auditor are Jewish. The nomination of an Italian American for state treasurer is a further attempt to lure back into the party a large group of foreign extraction.

Kennedy's independence is different but just as irritating to party regulars. He has frowned on resolutions sponsored by his Congressional colleagues excoriating Great Britain for not uniting Northern Ireland with Eire. He refused to sign a petition for a complete pardon for Boston's former mayor, James M. Curley, when that worthy was sent to federal prison on a fraud conviction.

When Representative Kennedy disclosed his aspirations late last spring, he remarked that the state's present Senators were primarily concerned with international crises. That was understandable, he said, but he thought it was time for Massachusetts to have a Senator who also worried about domestic crises, notably the unemployment in the state caused by the flight of the textile and leather-manufacturing industries.

Since then Kennedy, in behalf of organized labor in New England, has fought a National Production Authority plan to grant the General Electric Company generous tax benefits in the form of rapid-amortization certificates on projected new plants in the South; in behalf of the Gloucester fisheries he has urged the Tariff Commission to impose a duty on frozen fish from Scandinavia; he has opposed big appropriations for dams and steam plants in the Tennessee Valley on the ground that cheap power produced at public expense makes it possible for the South to lure industry from New England. Kennedy is supported by the political arms of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., of the non-operating rail brotherhoods, and of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Labor leaders are not happy, however, about opposing Lodge. By their standards his record is good.

Lodge is finding that his role in the pre-convention Eisenhower campaign for the Presidential nomination is becoming more of a drawback than an asset. His exploitation of the Taftites' attempt to steal the Southern delegations at Chicago is still resented in Boston and in the eastern part of the state. The pro-Taft New Bedford *Standard-Times* treats him with as much contempt as does the Chicago *Tribune*. The Boston *Herald* is for him, the *Globe* is independent, and the *Post*, traditionally a Democratic organ, has not yet committed itself.

Since the independent vote in Massachusetts is large, ranging up to 40 per cent of the total, Lodge is worried about stay-at-homes on Election Day.

MICHIGAN

Key Negro Vote

BY NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Detroit

EX-NEWSPAPERMAN Blair Moody, Michigan's junior Senator by virtue of Governor G. Mennen Williams's interim appointment in 1951, will face Representative Charles E. Potter, member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in the contest for the Senate seat of the late Arthur H. Vandenberg. The issue in the Moody-Potter battle is clear. The Congressional box score kept by Americans for Democratic Action rates Moody as one of the nation's ten most liberal legislators, Potter as one of the most reactionary. In a published survey of Senate and House voting records on legislation having "ethical and moral implications,", agencies of the Evangelical and Reformed church, the Methodist church, the American Baptist Convention, the Congregational Christian churches, the Friends, and other Protestant denominations called Moody's record perfect; while Potter was found to have voted consistently against bills with "ethical and moral implications."

Senator Moody

The state's industry-oriented press, however, has told the voters little of Moody's achievements in furthering clean government, consumer interests, peace, and social welfare. And when it has reported his labor and civil-rights record, its account has been colored by the use of such terms as "C. I. O. stooge" and "captive of the left-wing A. D. A." Potter, on the other hand, has received laudatory headlines for his investigation of alleged Communist infiltration into Detroit's labor movement. His

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NATHAN PERLMUTTER is a political observer whose last contribution to The Nation *was a study of Arthur E. Summerfield, chairman of the Republican National Committee.*

loss of both legs in a land-mine explosion during World War II has also been publicized in paid advertisements in newspapers and in television "spots." As a device for gaining votes this is a disturbing if not readily assessable innovation.

Potter entered politics in 1947 when he won a special election for a House vacancy caused by the death of Representative Fred Bradley. In 1948 and 1950 Michigan's Eleventh Congressional district returned him to office. As a member of the conservative wing of the Republican Party he voted to restore the power of the House Rules Committee to keep legislation from a vote on the floor, against easing restrictions on foreign trade, for the removal of price and rent controls, and for the abolition of the Wage Stabilization Board, thereby putting labor disputes under the Taft-Hartley act in time of national emergency. He voted for state ownership of tidelands oil, against legislation to benefit migratory labor in the Southwest, against foreign economic aid, for use of the Taft-Hartley injunction in the steel dispute, for the McCarran immigration bill.

Moody not only always took the opposite side from Potter but voted with Senator Douglas on economy bills, with Senator Monroney on ways of ending corruption, with Senator Sparkman on legislation to protect small business, with Senator Aiken on the St. Lawrence Seaway, with Senators Lehman and Humphrey on civil rights and immigration, and with Senator Kefauver against the monopolistic basing-point bill. His co-sponsorship of a bill that would give temporary federal supplements to persons thrown out of work by the defense-mobilization program focused national attention on the double standard used by the government in its treatment of industries and workers affected by defense dislocation.

This impressive record has prompted Potter to refer to Moody in his campaign speeches as "the most dangerous man in the Senate" and as "Mr. Socialist Welfare State." Moody has retaliated by calling Potter "a captive candidate . . . backed by the king-makers of the auto industry."

In 1948, with the Progressives holding the balance of power, Dewey captured Michigan by a scant 35,000 votes. This year, with the Progressive Party in eclipse, the Democrats have the problem of activating indifferent rather than straying voters. Detroit's approximately 350,000 Negroes, in a population of 2,000,000, gave Roosevelt overwhelming support in four elections. With Senator Sparkman running for Vice-President, this vote can no longer be taken for granted. If a sizable number of Negroes believe that his election means the end of the Administration's fight for civil rights they may stay home in November. Their defection could insure Potter's victory. This situation has forced Moody into an awkward role. An out-and-out advocate of civil rights, he must "sell" to the Detroit Negroes the man he hotly opposed in the convention on the question of seating the Dixiecrat delegations from Louisiana, Virginia, and South Carolina. His chance of returning to Washington depends on his success in this task.

OHIO

Political Paradox

BY RICHARD L. MAHER

Cleveland

UNTIL 1932 Ohio usually chose a Democratic governor and gave its Electoral College votes to the Republican candidate for the Presidency. In the past twenty years the Republican Presidential candidate has carried the state only once—in 1944, when "Honest John" Bricker was Dewey's running-mate. And in the same period Ohio elected a Republican governer—the same Bricker—for three consecutive terms.

Right now, some weeks before the election, it looks as if this year Ohio might go for Stevenson, reelect to an unprecedented fourth term Governor Frank J. Lausche, who runs under the Democratic label but is as conservative as the bankers and industrialists who support him with enthusiasm, and return Bricker, the arch-conservative, to the United States Senate. Bricker appears to have the best chance of all. His opponent is Michael V. DiSalle, who resigned as head of the Office of Price Stabilization last January to seek the Democratic senatorial nomination. DiSalle, a strong progressive, has Lausche's support.

Lausche, the son of a Slovenian immigrant, an individualist in politics, unorthodox in his methods, has adopted the role of "independent" but is a thoroughly practical politician. In 1944, when Roosevelt lost the state, Lausche's huge city majorities far outweighed the rural vote against him. He lost in the Republican sweep of the 1946 mid-term elections but won easily in 1948—although he waited until the last weeks of the campaign to speak for Harry Truman. He was reelected in 1950 and is given a better than even chance in November.

His opponent is Charles P. Taft, the Senator's younger brother. Charles P. Taft is a liberal; in fact, he is often derisively called a "Fair Deal Republican." As a member of the Charter Party, he has fought the Republican machine in Cincinnati. The machine retaliated by opposing him in the primaries, as did most of the Republican bosses, but he won the nomination for governor despite their efforts. He has campaigned for his brother in other primaries, but Bob did not campaign for him.

Charles Taft will cut into Lausche's following among

RICHARD L. MAHER of the Cleveland Press *was the author of the chapter on Ohio in Robert S. Allen's "Our Sovereign State."*

the "law and order" folks. For years Lausche has been the knight in shining armor, fighting the gangsters, racketeers, and crooks. He has closed gambling clubs, removed public officials for failure to halt gambling, and repeatedly asked the legislature for greater powers to preserve law and order. But Taft is also highly respectable. As former president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, he is favorably known to Protestant churchgoers, and his recent attack on critics of parochial schools was praised in the Catholic press.

Taft is making roads a major issue in the campaign. Surveys show that at least $150,000,000 will have to be spent during the next ten to twenty years to modernize the state's highways. Lausche talks of twenty years; Taft wants it done in six. He blames Lausche for the fact that the projected toll highway from the Pennsylvania Turnpike westward is just being begun although it was authorized more than three years ago.

Charley's worst break came when his brother failed to get the Republican nomination for President. Had Bob been nominated, money would have poured in, and Charley would have benefited. Republicans who dislike Charley as much as they love his brother would have gone along out of loyalty to Bob. Today Bob's henchmen in Ohio are refusing to help Charley. So there will be queer doings in Ohio this fall: some Democrats will support Taft for governor and some Republicans, irked by his "New Dealism," will oppose him.

The DiSalle-Bricker contest offers the only clear-cut choice between two philosophies of government. DiSalle represents the New Deal, the Roosevelt-Truman policies; Bricker follows the conservative Republican line. DiSalle attacks Bricker's record and dares him to file a statement of expenditures. Bricker ignores him. DiSalle has been using the new technique of the talkathon in his campaign and here Bricker stole a march on him. He invaded the first of DiSalle's talkathons, spent an hour debating with his rival, and departed, leaving DiSalle to pick up the check for about $1,000 worth of television time. Bricker's confidence is based on the theory that a citizenry which reelected Bob Taft in 1950 by 430,000 votes will not turn him down for Harry Truman's wisecracking ex-price stabilizer.

Michael V. DiSalle

Organized labor in early polls has indicated an overwhelming preference for Stevenson, DiSalle, and, oddly enough, Lausche, who does not get along with labor leaders and calls unions "pressure groups."

TEXAS

Democrats for Ike

BY STUART LONG

Austin

TEXAS'S twenty-four electoral votes can loom big if the Presidential race is close, and conservative Democrats are joining Republicans in an attempt to swing those votes to the state's native son, Dwight Eisenhower.

Although Governor Shivers, who is at the end of his political road, had lived up to the letter of the loyalty pledge given at Chicago, he had little to lose by ordering his hand-picked delegates to the Democratic convention at Amarillo to indorse Ike. The state's attorney general, Price Daniel, who has just won the Democratic nomination for Senator to succeed Tom Connally, had more at stake, but he denounced Stevenson and said he would vote for the candidate who promised to give Texas back its tidelands oil.

The situation is further complicated by the system of cross-filing, which has produced two identical tickets except for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. Strenuous efforts are being made to convince lifelong Democrats that they would be voting Democratic by voting the Republican ticket, since it includes fifteen Democratic nominees. The Democratic Party leadership and the Jack Porter Republicans who took the G. O. P. machinery away from the Old Guard, with the help of *Life*, *Time*, the national press, and the Republican National Convention, are working hand in glove. In fact, the new chairmen of the state Democratic and Republican executive committees, Wallace Savage and Alvin Lane, are law partners in Dallas.

Senator Lyndon Johnson and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn are leading the pro-Stevenson forces. When two members of the state's Congressional delegation announced they could not support Stevenson because of his tidelands-oil stand, Rayburn said in a radio speech that members of the Democratic Committee on Committees had asked him whether these gentlemen want to be assigned by the Democrats or the Republicans in the next session. Since then, eight other Representatives have lined up with Rayburn and Johnson.

A recent Texas poll found that Stevenson's lead decreased 5 per cent after his statement on tidelands oil, but he still has a 6 or 7 per cent majority over Eisenhower. A high-pressure advertising and speaking campaign, financed mainly by oil money, is now trying to swing the needed votes to Ike. Rayburn might be able to dry up some of the sources of Republican and Dixiecrat money by threatening repeal of the 27½ per cent depletion allowance for the oil industry, but he has issued only

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STUART LONG is the editor of a Texas news service.

veiled warnings which have not scared anybody. He has talked of such action for years, and up to now the oil men have been afraid to withdraw their support from the Democratic Presidential candidates. This year, with top industry executives campaigning for Ike through both parties, the situation is different.

Former Representative Maury Maverick provided the pressure at Chicago which forced Shivers and his delegation to take the loyalty pledge but is getting no credit for his deed. Now that Stevenson and Sparkman are on the ticket, Maverick is being pushed into the background and Rayburn is directing operations.

Former Vice-President Garner, who indorsed Truman in 1948, has not spoken up yet, but he is a party man and will probably come out for Stevenson. Jesse Jones and his powerful Houston *Chronicle* may find their way to Adlai's camp. The Dallas *Morning News* has been for Ike all along—it has supported Republican nominees since 1936. The big break away from the Democrats is Amon Carter's Fort Worth *Star Telegram*, which is beating its breast almost daily about tidelands oil.

Lyndon Johnson, with his young, aggressive organization, can probably decide how Texas goes on November 4. If he really turns to Stevenson, Texas will stay in the Democratic column. If he leaves the task to Rayburn, who represents only one district and has limited contacts, Governor Shivers may be proved right in saying that Texas is a doubtful state.

[*Next week's issue will discuss the reelection chances of four Senators of the so-called "Class of '46"—men swept into office by an electorate whose appetite for change had been sharpened by the 1946 meat shortage.*]

The French Left: New Directions

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

USUALLY changes in the direction of the French, or any other, Communist Party are carried out with the utmost discretion and learned of only much later by the outside world. Not so this time: the dismissal of André Marty from the party secretariat, where, in the absence of Maurice Thorez, he, Duclos, and Lecœur formed a ruling triumvirate, and of Charles Tillon from the political bureau were communicated with a kind of relish to all the "bourgeois" papers and news agencies of France. The announcement even washed some dirty linen in public: it declared, for instance, that Marty and Tillon had been playing a "double game" and that "many comrades considered the sanctions taken against them too light."

Are the "fractionalism" and "sectarianism" with which Marty and Tillon are charged really relevant to their downfall? It is interesting to note that practically all the items of the indictment are concerned with Tillon and not with Marty. Tillon, we are told, misinterpreted the real role and significance of the Peace Movement and tried to turn it into a narrow political organization. Having been removed in 1951 from the post of Communist representative on the Peace Movement, he had confessed his errors to the party but nevertheless persisted in them. He had expressed his real views in a secret meeting of party members at the house of "a comrade who had not been reelected to the Central Committee by the twelfth (1949) congress." It was at the flat of this discredited person that Marty had identified himself with Tillon, and after repeated attempts to deny that he had attended the meeting, he had finally admitted the truth. This is the only precise charge against Marty in the whole document. However, it brands as a liar a man who, more than almost anyone else, had been built up into a legend—the hero of the Black Sea revolt of 1919, after whom a Soviet warship had been named.

Charles Tillon was an important figure in the French Resistance and later a minister in the De Gaulle governments of 1945-47. One charge brought against him is that he did not sufficiently identify the Communist Resistance groups with the Communist Party and did not give adequate credit to Thorez—who was actually in Moscow during the war years—for the leading part he played in the Resistance. The connection between this "improper" attitude and the present "purge" is not very clear, and the real reasons for the disgrace of Marty and Tillon must be sought elsewhere.

Since the famous demonstration against General Ridgway on May 28, the failure of the general strike on June 4, and the arrest of Duclos and André Stil, there has been a lot of heart-searching in the party. Marty was held chiefly responsible for these events. But what was perhaps more important, it was clear that he had little faith in an eventual revival of the Popular Front, an idea that began to take shape in June. At a meeting in the Vélodrome d'Hiver soon after the anti-Ridgway riots the wife of Maurice Thorez, Jeannette Vermeersch, who might be called la Pasionaria of France, appealed for a much broader basis for the "anti-American resistance movement." Marty, in a long and boring speech, asso-

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ciated himself with this line only in a vague and lukewarm way. It was obvious that he did not subscribe to the "soft" policy of Duclos or to the Thorez view that without allies the French Communist Party would be incapable of checking the "enslavement of France by American capitalism."

ALTHOUGH the French Communist Party is probably very conscious of its isolation and knows that, as one commentator recently put it, "France would be much more outspokenly anti-American but for the Communists," it has since June come more and more to the conclusion that the battle for the "National Front" is far from lost. One of the great stumbling-blocks was not only the attitude but the personality of Marty, who, unlike Thorez ("the ideal French proletarian type") and the fat jolly Duclos, is considered an intolerant fanatic; in the bourgeois imagination he is the "typical GPU man" and "the Butcher of Albacete," as Hemingway, perhaps exaggeratedly, depicted him in "For Whom the Bell Tolls." The French Communists would find a rapprochement with all other "men of good-will" very difficult as long as Marty was one of the party heads.

Duclos, the "moderate," defined the desired National Front as a great rally of men and women of all opinions, beliefs, and social conditions, whose purpose would not be limited to the preservation of national independence and the defense of peace. The National Front would also seek, he said, "to promote an economic, financial, and social policy which would assure, within the framework of a peace economy, the prosperity of French industry and agriculture, the satisfaction of the most urgent needs of the working masses, the development of fruitful trade with all countries, and the launching of a great public-works and housing program." Only the alliance of all patriots with the Communists in such a National Front, he argued, could "bring about the formation of a government determined to pursue such a policy."

Pierre Cot, leader of the near-Communist Progressives, read into this perhaps a little more than was intended and was rapped over the knuckles by M. Lecœur—the dauphin of the Communist Party and with Thorez, Duclos, and Marty one of the Big Four—for suggesting that since the "coexistence" of capitalism and communism was possible in the world (Stalin *dixit*), socialism and capitalism might "coexist" within France. This, Lecœur thought, was going a bit too far. Yet such a "corruption" of Duclos's words was almost understandable.

While the present leadership of the French Communist Party frowns on right-wing deviations of the Pierre Cot variety—Cot has already in effect apologized in an article in the *Monde*—the victory of the National Front idea over proletarian sectarianism is apparent from the disgrace of Marty. At present the Communists have little hope of translating the idea into reality; but they are looking ahead. Suppose there is a major financial crisis in France, or an attempt to set up a dictatorship or a semi-dictatorship, or imminent danger of war, especially if Eisenhower wins. In 1939 the Communists were more isolated than they are now, but three years later, under the occupation, they were fully accepted as partners in the Resistance. Might not something similar happen again?

And there is another point. Since Duclos was framed by the police, a growing number of French intellectuals, fearing crypto-fascism as much as fascism, have been feeling more sympathetic toward the Communists. Jean-Paul Sartre, until recently hated by the Communists for his play "Dirty Hands" (presented in the United States as "Red Gloves") and much else, has said openly that the French workers are inevitably and legitimately Communist, that they have no alternative, and has poked ferocious fun at his former friends of *Franc-Tireur* and others who theorize about a "non-Communist French left." In *Figaro*, François Mauriac has been wringing his hands over M. Sartre. "Certain young intellectuals," he wrote recently, "embody today a fearful contradiction from which no amount of dialectics can deliver them. They are certain they belong to a civilization that is now on its deathbed, that history is moving in the Marxist direction, and that in the long run the policy of the West can do nothing to stop it. . . . It is another misfortune of France's young generation which, one must admit, M. Sartre has again succeeded in personifying." And with a candor almost inconceivable in any other Western country, Mauriac went on to pay tribute to the "brilliance" of Communist and near-Communist writers, thus betraying once again, despite all his good Catholic deploring, that sneaking regard for the extreme left which exists in some of the most unexpected quarters in France.

It is against this background—which so upset General Eisenhower—that one must view the timid but real hopes lying at the root of the National Front idea. Not an intellectual himself, Duclos relies all the more on the support and sympathy that will be given to the Communist Party by the French intellectuals, who, few as they are, have always had more influence in France than in any other country. Perhaps he exaggerates the importance of M. Sartre's change of heart. At the same time various other quite unexpected and paradoxical factors may play into the hands of the Communists. For instance, there is the important pressure group of the North African French. I have heard it predicted that if the United States should support Tunis and Morocco against France at the U. N., this pressure group would organize a vast *non-Communist* agitation against America throughout France. In such a case one can imagine the French Communists saying no more about "the downtrodden Moslem multitudes fighting for their national independence."

The Artist in Search of a Function

THE BRIGHT MEDUSA. By Howard Mumford Jones. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

LITERARY historians in the academic tradition usually count by centuries, but contemporary American critics count by decades. We speak of the twenties, the thirties, and the forties much as they speak of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and to that extent at least we make culture hum. Movements are finished almost before they are started, and discredited writers are revived before the slower-witted have noticed that they were dead. The young Max Beerbohm's ironic envy of still younger writers who had weeks of activity before them would hardly pass as satire here. We make classics in record time, as witness the case of Scott Fitzgerald—or has he perhaps died again already?

Serious intellectuals like ourselves scorn the loyal followers of the best-seller lists, who have to look lively if they want to read what everybody is reading before everybody is reading something else, but we are only a little better off, and frequently "serious books" can no longer be taken seriously by the time we have got around to them. The more decades our own lives happen to have spanned, the more complicated it becomes, and if we were young in the twenties we now hear people only ten years our junior gravely discussing the characteristics of a historical epoch which seems to us like yesterday. We saw Anderson, Cather, Dreiser, and—if we were very lucky—Fitzgerald plain.

Howard Mumford Jones was precociously publishing books even before the twenties began. In these lectures delivered at the University of Chicago's Festival of Contemporary Arts he begins with a brief reference to the role of mere fashion in literary taste and then proposes to discuss the now legendary decade which came to an end with the depression. What were its actual characteristics? How new and how unrelated to the immediate past does it now seem to have been? Where can we go from there?

From the Mizener biography of Fitzgerald he quotes the opinion that the distinguishing characteristic of the decade was the conviction, much stronger than the surface cynicism, "that anyone could do anything." Finding that rather dubious as well as vague, he comes up instead with the suggestion—new in its emphasis to me at least—that the most characteristic affirmation was an exalted, almost fanatical faith in the artist as such. Religion and patriotism had been exposed as frauds and were obviously dead. America had no culture, and its famous dream had revealed itself to be only a determination to get rich in ignoble and often dishonest ways. But the dedicated artist was still possible. He lived in a social as well as a cultural vacuum; he was usually poor and usually despised; he believed in nothing except art. But in the name of art he would sacrifice everything including himself. This, for all the murkiness of expression, seems to him to be what Fitzgerald is trying to say. This is what Willa Cather certainly does say much more clearly and coolly. The Bright Medusa destroys those who look upon her, but she is the only divine being left in a fraudulent world and hence the only thing capable of inspiring a genuine worship. In his own way Thomas Wolfe, who is taken as the last of that generation, works around to the same conclusion.

Mr. Jones pauses to insist that something very much like this attitude had already been assumed a generation before by Santayana and William Vaughn Moody as well as by other less well-remembered writers and then asks the inevitable "why?" Did this attempt to make the artist the only admirable man really mean that he had, in actual fact, ceased to have any function whatsoever? Did it mean that having long ago lost his primitive ritualistic function, having more recently ceased to reinterpret the myths of a culture, and having, most recently of all, rejected or been rejected by the political system under which he lived, he must either be mystically exalted or dismissed entirely?

The thirties, Mr. Jones says, tried to remedy the situation by talking about "social significance"; the forties by trying to invent a myth to the development of which the artist might devote himself. Both enterprises failed. "Social significance" has become a term of derision, and the myths fail to live outside the circle of the initiates whose business it is to discuss them. Hence the modern artist is still in search of a function. Poetry, painting, and sometimes even fiction tend more and more either to have no subject at all or to invent one which has no reference to anything outside the art itself. Is there any public subject which the artist might profitably discuss in a public language?

This is certainly the hardest of the questions, and Mr. Jones cannot be blamed if he gives no simple conclusive answer. He makes Randolph Bourne the hero of the last section and tentatively suggests that the subject might be "American radicalism"—a term which he borrows from an article by President Conant published in the *Atlantic* a decade ago. As defined it comes pretty close to being what is usually called "liberalism," and there are some who doubt that it really has many supporters today. Even if it has, there is still a question just what form the exploitation might take.

Mr. Jones is at least sure of some of the things which his program does not mean. It does not mean simple-minded, cheerful, right-thinking propaganda of the sort sometimes overpraised at the present moment. Neither does it mean an American version of what the Russians call "socialist realism." It would mean some art having a relation to the spirit of the age analogous to that achieved by many writers of the past who were neither condemned to work in a vacuum nor romantically overvalued in the fashion of the twenties. Three lectures are not long enough to permit any answer much more explicit than that. Perhaps no answer more explicit could be given. If Mr. Jones thinks it could, a longer book would be welcome.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Famous Partnership

BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES, 1912-1924. Edited by Margaret I. Cole. Longmans, Green and Company. $5.

BRITAIN today would have been very different from what it is if there had been no Sidney and Beatrice Webb," writes Lord Beveridge in introducing this book. He amply proves his point by summarizing the outstanding achievements of the famous partnership. In the field of ideas, for instance, they developed the conception of a "national minimum" on which has been reared the structure of the Welfare State. They were protagonists of the inductive approach to the social sciences; they created the London School of Economics; they founded the *New Statesman.*

The Webbs were rather late converts to the necessity for independent labor political organization, but after 1917 Sidney played a leading part in transforming the Labor Party from a trade-union pressure group into an effective national organization. Among the builders of British Labor he ranks with Keir Hardie and Arthur Henderson.

To students of modern Britain, Beatrice Webb left an invaluable legacy in her diaries. In her lifetime she used these as basic material for two autobiographical works—"My Apprenticeship," in which she told the story of her early life and described how she learnt her craft and developed her creed, and "Our Partnership," which covered the first twenty years of her marriage.

This new volume, edited by her literary executor, Margaret Cole, takes the story from 1912 down to the formation in 1924 of the first Labor government, in which Sidney held the office of President of the Board of Trade. Inevitably, it is not comparable to the two earlier works, in which Mrs. Webb used extensive passages from her diaries to illustrate and comment on a running personal narrative. Very properly Mrs. Cole has not attempted to reproduce this pattern but has let the journal speak for itself and confined her editing to footnotes identifying persons mentioned and to clarifying references which might be obscure to some readers.

The Webb diaries were the fruit of a life-long addiction to insomnia, and it is fortunate that Beatrice rather than Sidney was the sufferer. Had he kept a diary it might have provided a valuable factual record, but it would have been dry reading, with little of the literary quality and few of the subjective elements that make Beatrice's journalizing so fascinating.

Sidney was a healthy, happy extrovert whose thinking was purely secular. His wife was a far more complicated being, given to introspection and prone to fits of depression. As her diaries show, she felt keenly the need of religion and all her life groped for a spiritual creed which could be reconciled with her faith in scientific method. "Deep down in one's heart," she wrote in 1920, "is a realization that the discovery of the laws of nature in order that men may become the creators of a better world is an act of piety, one of the ways that we can bring about the Kingdom of God."

Mingled with such musings are detailed reports both of the Webbs' own manifold activities and of contemporary politics. Beatrice and Sidney had friends and acquaintances in all parties, and they were on good terms with leading civil servants. Thus the diaries throw an important light on such events as the formation of Lloyd George's War Cabinet in 1916, the 1917 Reconstruction Committee of which Beatrice was a member, the 1918 election, and of course the war-time activities of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party.

Beatrice combined a reporter's nose for news with a novelist's eye for character. The diaries are full of sharply etched portraits. There is, for instance, James Ramsay MacDonald, "the Parnell of the Labor Party—but a Parnell who does not believe in his own cause"; Tagore, the Hindu mystic and poet, imbued with "spiritual insolence" and hostile to "all that the Webbs stand for," but withal "a person of great intellect, distinction, and outstanding personal charm" whose "speech has the perfect intonation and slow chant-like moderation of the dramatic saint"; Sir Oswald Mosley, "the most brilliant man in the House of Commons . . . the perfect politician who is also the perfect gentleman. . . . So much perfection argues rottenness somewhere. . . . Is there in him some weak spot which will be revealed in time of stress?"

Beatrice has some surprisingly acid remarks to make about the stupidity and ignorance of trade-union leaders, and her moral snobbery—"physical appetites are to me the very devil, the root of the hatred, malice, and greed that make the life of man a futility"—inspires severe strictures on such embodiments of the pleasures of the flesh as Lord Haldane and the Swedish Socialist leader Hjalmar Branting.

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In the early days of the Russian Revolution the Webbs met Litvinov, Kamenev, and a number of other Bolshevik emissaries to England and were unfavorably impressed by all of them with the exception of Krassin. Altogether their attitude to the Soviet Union was decidedly cool. "The conclusion to which Sidney and I had come from a distance," Beatrice writes in July, 1920, after hearing reports from a Labor delegation to Russia "—that the Soviet government had changed its basic ideal from workers' control and general anarchic freedom to rigid consumers' collectivism—seems to be true. The Soviet government is the 'servile state' in being. . . . But it is a servile state run by fanatics who refuse any compromise with the 'bourgeois fetish' of personal freedom."

What caused the Webbs to change their views so strikingly when they finally saw Russia with their own eyes a dozen years later? Perhaps further instalments of the diaries, which we hope Mrs. Cole will release to the world before long, will throw some light on this puzzling question.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Before Pearl Harbor

BACK DOOR TO WAR. The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1941. By Charles Callan Tansill. Henry Regnery Company. $6.50.

"BACK DOOR TO WAR" is the third book written since 1945 in which American policy prior to Pearl Harbor has been violently attacked. First came George Morgenstern's "Pearl Harbor, the Story of the Secret War," which concentrated on the problem of responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster and built up a speculative web from the materials collected by the Joint Congressional Committee, concluding that Roosevelt diabolically maneuvered the Japanese into making their attack. Subsequently, the late Charles Austin Beard published his volume on "President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War." This book subordinated the Pearl Harbor story to a study of Rooseveltian policy in 1940-41 in which actions and public statements were compared in such a way as to support the view that the President planned war while talking of peace. Professor Tansill, though he agrees largely with Beard's interpretation, has written a more comprehensive work and has extended his inquiry to include an earlier period. His book is thus not only a summary of the case against Franklin Delano Roosevelt but a general critique of United States foreign policy from the isolationist point of view, covering the years from Versailles (1919) to Pearl Harbor (1941).

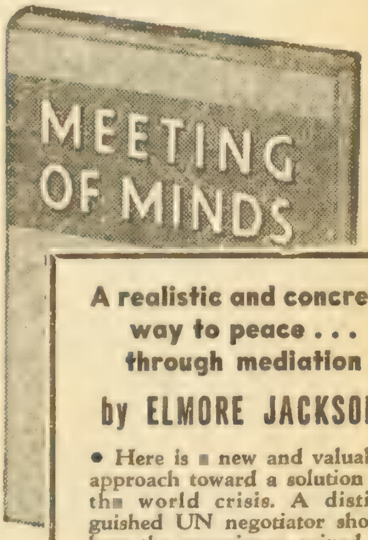
It opens with a condemnation of the Versailles treaty as an unjust and vengeful settlement in which Wilson acquiesced because of his fanatical desire to realize his dream of peace through the League of Nations. The scene then shifts to Asia, where American Protestant missionaries share the blame for the eventual tragedy because of their uncritical attachment to the cause of Chinese nationalism. Their influence at home and the remnants of Wilsonianism led Stimson and his successors to adopt a rigid and doctrinaire approach to the problem of Japanese expansion. Americans failed to recognize the essentially defensive character of Japanese policy, concerned about the spread of communism in East Asia. Thus the United States failed to take a position in regard to Soviet infiltration into and gradual absorption of Outer Mongolia parallel to that taken vis-à-vis Japan in Manchuria. Stimson's policy of non-recognition, says Tansill, "was a bomb whose long fuse sputtered dangerously for several years and finally burst into the flame of World War II."

In the European sphere the "excesses" of Hitler's "fanatical followers" are deplored, but the foreign policies of both the German and Italian dictatorships are considered to have been justified by the previous injustices of Versailles, or to have been merely chapters in the age-long rivalries of the powers, with which the United States had no reason to concern itself. The assumption here appears to be that European power politics always work out a new balance if left to themselves, and that the United States, by breaking down the balance, was responsible, both in 1917 and in 1941, for the unstable and dangerous conditions which ensued. In discussing Europe the author shows a strong sympathy for Germany and a suspicion verging on hostility toward both Great Britain and France.

After Munich, United States influence is held to have stiffened the resolution of Britain and France. The period which followed the outbreak of war in Europe is covered in only 100 of the 650 pages of text. Professor Tansill stresses the desire of both Hitler and the Japanese to keep the United States out of the war—while they, of course, proceeded to complete their vast plans for conquest in the Old World—and adopts a view similar to Beard's with regard to the final steps preceding United States involvement.

This book is difficult to criticize with fairness because of its dual character. On the one hand, it is a work of historical research, polemical in conception it is true, but based on a wide though not an exhaustive study of the sources. On the other hand, it is a work of propaganda, using many of the tricks of professionals in that field. This reviewer is repelled by the latter aspect of the work but feels that the former commands consideration and that it can be read with profit by those who are able to maintain their guard against the author's obvious bias.

These are judgments which require



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specific support. First, there is a frequent use of opprobrious terminology unjustified by any facts adduced and often irrelevant—as, for example, the casual reference to the New Deal, attributed to be sure to another writer, as "a Double Deal." "Wilson consented to play the part of Shylock"; he also "helped to write several chapters of 'Mein Kampf'." The flag of the French Republic is referred to as "the dubious French tricolor." On one page alone (152) Henry Stimson's eyes are myopic, Ambassador Grew's honesty is questioned, and Roosevelt talks "sonorous nonsense." Even more objectionable because less forthright is Tansill's practice of making insinuations in the form of rhetorical questions: "Did American foreign policy follow British suggestions?" "Did the President's political objectives outweigh considerations of national safety?"

Parallel to this use of invective and innuendo, Tansill frequently emphasizes the enormity of an act or policy which he condemns by investing it with "inevitable consequences." Thus the League's approval of Stimson's nonrecognition doctrine was "a fateful step along a 'dead-end' street of fear and frustration, and its *inevitable consequence* [italics are the reviewer's] was America's involvement in World War II" (p. 103). This is not the enunciation of some catastrophic and deterministic view of historical causation but a mere rhetorical device to condemn by association.

Captions are also frequently tendentious and unsupported, even by the author's own opinions in the text. Chapter X is headed, America Anticipates the League in Exerting Economic Pressure upon Italy, but the text indicates clearly that America traded freely with Italy within the limits of the Neutrality Act of 1935. Similarly, a section in Chapter VI carries the heading, Soviet Russia Promotes a War Between China and Japan. This may be true, but there is no evidence in the section so labeled to support it. These are not isolated examples.

On the positive side Tansill has undoubtedly shown that American policy makers underestimated the role of Russia in the Far East in the pre-war decade and that they were not as realistic as they might have been in their analysis of the Chinese nationalist movement. His emphasis on the influence of missionaries on our China policy and the clean bill of health which he gives American business interests in China will interest those who study the perennial problem of the significance of such special-interest groups. In connection with the outbreak of the war in Europe Tansill has brought together from a number of sources evidence suggesting though not proving that Roosevelt attempted to encourage the French and British to stand up to Hitler—a question which will be settled when the White House files are completely open to scholars. To assume, however, that those governments were so badly informed about the United States as to be strongly influenced by Rooseveltian *words* at that time would not seem reasonable. There are many new, interesting, and suggestive bits of information here and there throughout the book. These throw light on the attitude of individuals in and out of government—on the mission of William Rhodes Davis, for example—and on other details.

There is, however, an inconsistency, or so it appears to me, in the author's basic interpretation. On the first page of his book Professor Tansill states flatly that "the main objective in American foreign policy since 1900 has been the preservation of the British Empire," a view which he reasserts on the concluding page of the volume. But if this is so, how can he at the same time insist, as he repeatedly does, that the unrealistic pursuit of the ideal of collective security was at the root of our difficulties. In 1941 in the Far East it was a threat to vital British interests, estimated by Roosevelt and his advisers to be inextricably bound up with our own, which led to the inflexible attitude to which the Japanese reacted by precipitating war. In stressing the role of Stimson in 1932, Tansill, in my opinion, is barking up the wrong tree.

No student of the subject today can honestly support the partial and inadequate accounts of our pre-war diplomacy current during the war. Books like the present volume have contributed toward the questioning of assumptions and a reconsideration of accepted attitudes. They are therefore valuable, even to those who cannot accept their conclusions or approve their methods.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

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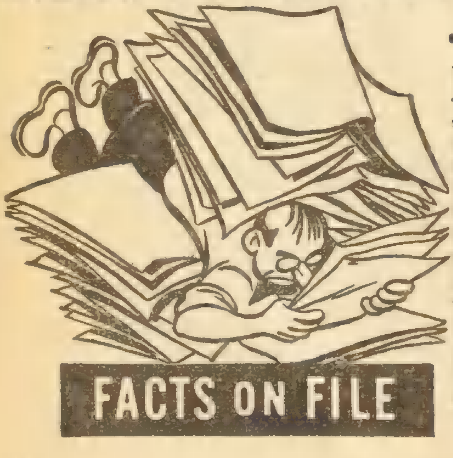

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The Meddling Process

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY. Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand. Collected and with Introduction and Notes by Irving Dilliard. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THERE is not a single book title in the Library of Congress, so Mr. Dilliard informs us, which bears the name of Learned Hand. This collection, then, is the only book in which Judge Hand speaks for himself and propounds his views. We must be grateful to Mr. Dilliard for bringing the book into being; and he has edited and annotated it with care and intelligence.

Judge Hand's great reputation was built up slowly over the years, mostly by the opinions of experts, of lawyers whose cases he decided, and of the judges and lawyers who read, digested, and followed his decisions. His retirement from the bench last year brought forth testaments of affection and respect from all sorts and conditions of people, which constituted a singular tribute to his mind and his spirit. And the reason is not far to seek. Few men of our time have had occasion to study the panorama of American life more continuously or more intimately than Judge Hand, who was on the federal bench for forty-three years. The greater part of that time he was one of the trio of great judges—himself, his cousin, Augustus N. Hand, and Thomas W. Swan—in the Second Circuit of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. This court in large degree made the business law of the country; on innumerable occasions also it passed on the civil rights of our people, testing them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In 1945 the Harvard Law Review Association undertook to classify Judge Hand's nearly 2,000 decisions. It took eighty pages to list even the titles of his opinions, for he began young, at thirty-seven, and continued until he was eighty.

"Men," says Judge Hand, "ask more than scholarship in a judge and in this they are right, for while scholarship may clear the thickets, it can build little. In the end, and quite fairly, a judge will be estimated in the terms of his outlook and his nature." It is this judgment which is being passed on Judge Hand now.

The collection, for the most part, shows Judge Hand on a "busman's holiday," since many of these speeches and papers were addressed to lawyers and societies of lawyers. They contain the generalizations of a singularly wise, skeptical, humorous mind, based upon the garnered wisdom of great learning in many fields and upon an extraordinary range of personal experience. None of them are dated or obsolete. All have great vitality and extraordinary beauty of expression.

What does he choose to talk about? To a graduating class at Bryn Mawr he delivered an address, both wise and witty, On the Preservation of Personality. Other titles are Sources of Tolerance; Democracy, Its Presumptions and Realities; and Liberty. There are tender and searching tributes to other "busmen" he knew so well—Cardozo, Brandeis, Holmes, and Swan. His main theme is liberty, and it runs like a thread through most of the papers and addresses. Judge Hand is very anxious about liberty.

Froude said somewhere that "the moral life of man is like the flight of a bird in the air. It is sustained only by its efforts, and when it ceases those efforts, it falls." In Judge Hand's addresses on liberty there is a continuous insistence on the fearless use of our wings. He dreads the debilitating effect of propaganda. He warns that we must do our own judging and not accept uncritically or lazily judgments suggested to us by others. We must not leave liberty to the lawyers and the courts. In the short and beautiful address, delivered in 1944, on The Spirit of Liberty, he asserted: "Liberty lives in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it." On propaganda: "In recent times we have deliberately systematized the production of epidemics in ideas much as a pathologist experiments with a colony of white mice who are scarcely less protected. . . . I submit that a community used to be played upon in this way, especially so large and so homogeneous as we have become, is not a favorable soil for Liberty. . . . It is a product not of institutions, but of a temper, of an attitude toward life. . . . It is idle to look to laws or courts or principalities or powers to secure it."

He believes in what he calls "the meddling process." "As soon," he remarks, "as we cease to pry about at random, we shall come to rely upon accredited bodies of authoritative dogma, and as soon as we rely upon accredited bodies of authoritative dogma, not only are our days of Liberty over, but we have lost the password that has hitherto opened to us the gates of success as well. Even

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in that very technology in which they so pride themselves, the totalitarians in the end will fail, for they stand upon the shoulders of generations of free inquiry."

Skepticism toward the easy explanation bulks large with Judge Hand. He has his favorite quotation which he would like to see inscribed on every church, every school, every courthouse, and every legislative institution in the country. It is the "prayer" of Oliver Cromwell as he tried, without success, to make an adjustment with the Scots before the Battle of Dunbar: "I beseech ye in the bowels of Christ, think ye that ye may be mistaken."

GEORGE W. ALGER

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN IMPORTANT record is the one issued by Walden, with Griffes's Roman Sketches and his Sonata for piano excellently performed by Leonid Hambro. What Copland is today—our one composer of real creative power—Griffes was in the period before Copland's. And just as the stamp of Copland's power was unmistakable in his attractive early piece "Music for the Theater," or even in his unattractive Piano Variations a few years later, so Griffes's is unmistakable in the fine Roman Sketches in which his mind was still under the influence of French impressionism, and the Sonata in which he struck out in a new style related to the "modern" tendencies of his time, producing a work that is impressive by the authoritative manipulation of the materials rather than effective as a musical communication. That Griffes, with his powers and his capacity for development, would, like Copland, have achieved a personal style with communicative force seems likely; but he died before it could happen. And with that early death in mind one is outraged by the irresponsible nonsense on the record envelope—that Griffes "did not believe in the 'starving in the garret type of artist' and as demonstration of this philosophy took a position at the Hackley School," where "the work, while not especially gratifying to him, gave him time for composition and enabled him to be active in the musical and cultural life of New York City." The facts, which are plain to read in Maisel's biography, are that Griffes had to take the position to keep alive, and that the necessity of composing and, for lack of funds, copying scores and parts in the little time left by his irksome duties wore him out, leaving him unable to resist the infection that killed him.

And while I am at it I recommend a reading of the Maisel biography to Copland, Clifford Odets, and other expounders of the idea that in order to get good music composed we—and that includes the critics—must "nurture" even the composers of poor music. The fact is that we have got our good music not from the bad composers who have been "nurtured" by Guggenheim fellowships and what T. S. Eliot once characterized as "fools' approval" by the critics, but only from the good composers, and in particular from one who continued to produce his works in the little time left by drudgery for a living and in the face of the critics' disapproval. Roy Harris, William Schuman, Samuel Barber, and Gian-Carlo Menotti provide examples of the fact that valuable art may not be produced under the right conditions; and Griffes provides one of the examples of the fact that it is sometimes produced under the wrong conditions.

The Stravinsky Sonata for Two Pianos (1943-44) that Whittemore and Lowe play on RCA Victor's record Twentieth Century Music for Two Pianos I find expertly put together but inconsequential; but Nos. 1, 3, and 5 of Bartok's Seven Pieces from "Mikrokosmos" for Two Pianos are among the more engaging Bartok products. The performances are excellent. Also on the record are transcriptions of excerpts from Copland's "Billy the Kid" and music by Ravel, Bax, and Poulenc.

For some reason I overlooked the first Urania record with performances of Beethoven piano sonatas by Hugo Steurer—something I regret now that I have heard the ones on the second record, which reveal him as an excellent

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pianist and musician. The sonatas he plays on this record are the fine Opus 90 and two that are seldom heard—Opus 31 No. 1, which is one of Beethoven's most uninteresting pieces, and Opus 54, which has an unusual first movement and is altogether very charming.

Claremont has issued a record with Schubert's Four Impromptus Opus 142 played by Lee Pattison. The pieces are among Schubert's finest; the performances I find lacking in the grace, lyricism, and charm which the music calls for. Nor do I find Mr. Pattison's performance of Schumann's great Fantasy, on another record, more satisfying: it isn't first class playing of the piano (the hard, shallow tone may be the fault of the recording or my present machine), and it doesn't create continuous phrase lines—continuous, that is, from one note to the next in impetus and tension. The Schumann Fantasiestück Opus 111 No. 2 on the same record I find uninteresting.

London offers an excellent performance by Kempff of Schumann's fine "Papillons." On the same record are the uninteresting Schumann Arabesque Opus 18 and Liszt's "Tre Sonetti del Petrarca," of which the first is unpretentiously and engagingly melodious, but the second is characteristically bombastic and flashy, and the third sentimentally soulful and boring.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Bach: Cantata No. 201, "Phoebus and Pan"; Schlemm, Wolfram, Niese, etc. with Bach Guild Choir and Orchestra under Koch (Vanguard); Phoebus's aria very beautiful, the rest routine; Schlemm's singing excellent, the other soloists, choir, and orchestra poor.

Cantata No. 205, "Aeolus Appeased"; Schlemm, Eustrati, Lutze, Wolfram, with Bach Guild Choir and Orchestra under Koch (Vanguard); one very beautiful tenor aria, the rest agreeably conventional; Schlemm and Eustrati very good, the other soloists, choir, and orchestra poor.

Beethoven: Overtures to "Egmont" and "Coriolan"; Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); good performances.

Berlioz: "Roman Carnival" Overture; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance; recording cold, lacks spaciousness. (With Debussy's "Nocturnes" and pieces by Ravel.)

Borodin: Symphony No. 2; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance. (With Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite.)

Brahms: Violin Concerto; Stern with Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (Columbia); excellent performance in the luxury style.

Debussy: Nocturnes for Orchestra; Dorati with the Minneapolis Symphony and the Cecilian Singers (Mercury); poor performances; recording cold, lacks spaciousness.

Martinu: Three Etudes, two Polkas, and a Suite, "Les Ritournelles" for piano; Rosen (EMS); the separate pieces engaging and beautifully made, the suite an unsuccessful tour de force in textural uniformity which yields to my ears only monotony; excellent performance. Sonata for Piano and Flute; LeRoy and Reeves (EMS); consistently and attractively inventive music; LeRoy virtuosic, a bit aggressive, Reeves good.

Milhaud: Concerto No. 4 for piano and orchestra; Skolovsky with Orchestre Nationale de la Radiodiffusion Française under Milhaud (Columbia); fluent, diffuse music without much musical energy behind it; performance good. Saudades do Brazil; Skolovsky (Columbia); pleasant evocations of Brazilian popular music, well performed.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Sinfonietta Opus 31; Ludwig with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania); mildly agreeable echo of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony; performance fair; recording harsh, heavy rumble.

Suite from "Christmas Eve"; Ludwig with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania); uninteresting music; performance fair; recording harsh.

Smetana: "The Moldau" and "From Bohemia's Meadows and Forests"; Keilberth with Bamberg Symphony Orchestra (Capitol); fair performance.

Strauss: Divertimento after Couperin; Rother with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania) thirteen of Couperin's descriptive keyboard pieces in heavy transcriptions; performance fair.

"Taillefer"; Cebotari, Ludwig, Hotter with Rudolf Lamy Choir and Symphony orchestra of Radio Berlin under

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Rother (Urania); this gross setting of Uhland's ballad lacks the musical impulse of even "Ein Heldenleben" which it resembles; performance satisfactory.

Stravinsky: Suite from "The Firebird"; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance; recording cold, lacks spaciousness.

Verdi: "Rigoletto"; Berger, Klose, Roswaenge, and Schlusnus, with Berlin State Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Heger (Urania); Berger is excellent, Schlusnus sings well but unexcitingly, Roswaenge is very bad, the chorus and orchestra are fairly good; sung in German; recording very bad.

A Boston Pops Program: Rimsky-Korsakov's Capriccio Espagnol; Tschaikowsky's Marche Slav, Mendelssohn's Fingal's Cave Overture; Fiedler with Boston Pops (Victor); fair performances.

Harp Music: Sixteenth Century music by Mudarra, Narvaez, etc., contemporary music by Caplet, Pittaluga, etc.; Zabaleta (Esoteric); music quite uninteresting, performance good.

Music of the Liturgy in English; Plainsong, Anglican Chant, and Merbecke's Holy Communion; choral groups conducted by Ray F. Brown and Harold W. Gilbert with Andrew Tietjen, organist (Columbia); neither music nor performances musically interesting.

CONTRIBUTORS

KEITH HUTCHISON is the author of "Rival Partners: America and Britain in the Post-War World" and "The Decline and Fall of American Capitalism."

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, professor of history at Vassar College, was attached to the State Department for eighteen months during World War II.

GEORGE W. ALGER is a distinguished New York lawyer and a member of the Loyalty Review Board.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The General and the Particular

Dear Sirs: H. H. Wilson's article, Why They Voted for McCarthy, which appeared in your September 20 issue, is to my mind one of the most comprehensive pieces *The Nation* has run during the last six months and for that reason one of the most valuable. After reading your magazine for six or eight weeks I often feel that it is a little too much concerned with reporting the news and commenting on isolated facts—that the editorial section is disjunctive; but then you run an article like Robert S. Lynd's Our Racket Society [*The Nation,* August 25, 1951], or Wilson's piece, or a special supplement which pulls together all the scattered information you have parceled out and by relating it to a general frame of reference makes it meaningful. Since no article, to my knowledge, has been published during the last year which analyzes the causes, as distinguished from the implications, of some of the trends pointed out by *The Nation* in its valuable off-beat reports on international affairs, it seems to me you could render a valuable service by running something on the international situation comparable to the Wilson type of article on domestic affairs.

New York JOHN C. PEEL

What About Tomorrow?

Dear Sirs: I should like to draw your readers' attention to a statement by Janet Stevenson, who lost her job as drama instructor at the University of Southern California because she refused to answer questions put to her by the administration concerning her political beliefs, and also to two letters on Mrs. Stevenson's dismissal by students which appeared in the August 5 issue of *Summer News,* the vacation edition of the *Daily Trojan,* campus newspaper.

Mrs. Stevenson's statement, which she read to her last class, follows:

> Some time near the end of the spring semester the university authorities received some reports about me which disquieted them. I am not trusted with the content of the report or the name of the reporter, but clearly I am suspected of some sort of subversive thought or act. I was called in and questioned about my loyalty—or more exactly, about my political beliefs and associations. . . . It was explained that the inquiry was made in the interest of intellectual and academic freedom. . . . Let's suppose that I answered the questions. Suppose I was able to swear myself into respectability. . . . Suppose I pass. That's today. What about tomorrow?
>
> Ever since the university conferred last spring with representatives of the state Un-American Committee, it has been widely believed that there are official subversive monitors on the campus—faculty and student. Besides, there have long been volunteer vigilantes among us. So how am I to conduct myself tomorrow? . . . What about my opinions? Shall I express them or suppress them? How will they sound in the ears of the faceless listener with the long tongue? How can I be sure they will be reported correctly (I was misquoted the very first semester I taught here). Then there are the students—their opinions expressed in class, their plays. How shall I deal with them? Would it be safer for all concerned to do a little quiet censoring on the more radical portions of a new play before I read it aloud in class or put it on the stage in the lab? Should I try to steer a playwright off his chosen theme since race relations are a highly controversial matter? How can I pipe down discussion of "What Price Glory," "The Trojan Women," or "Goodbye, My Fancy" when it moves toward one of the many hot spots on our intellectual reservation? Security in one's job is best achieved by the total avoidance of controversy; but controversy is the lifeblood of education. I must be twice as uncontroversial as the next one if I am to feel secure after this. . . .
>
> When the prospect ahead begins to remind me of what happened to freedom under Hitler, I think it is time to balk. Better a little too soon than a little too late. For if the suicide of German intellectuals taught us anything it is that the longer you wait to fight, the harder it becomes. That is the ugly logic behind the comic opera of all this swearing and foreswearing. It is not important that I am fired today and someone else tomorrow, but that hundreds of those who stay on, or come later, accept silence as the price of their jobs. Intellectual freedom provided you conform to a loyalty oath today becomes conformity to whatever is orthodox tomorrow. And tomorrow is only a few hours away. . . .
>
> I have been told I am a romantic, self-destructive, and a lot of other unpleasant things. But I don't see how, believing what I have just told you, I have any choice but to do what I have done. So I am at liberty. And rocky as the ground is up here, liberty is not at all a bad place to be.

Mrs. Stevenson's dismissal caused an uproar at the university; the letters column of *Summer News* was filled, issue after issue, with comments from students, one of which ran in part:

> A student's intellectual curiosity leads him to certain "sensitive areas." A question is asked in class. Tension invades the room. The job of the honest teacher is to meet these probings with facts. But at S. C. these days the tendency is to play it safe—to evade, pass over lightly, dissipate prevailing tension as quickly as possible. During the first few days of a semester the uneasiness is particularly evident: teachers scanning the unfamiliar faces, feeling out new students to detect the "monitor." . . . Folksy humor often serves the prof as protective coloration—proving that he's really an innocuous chap, nothing subversive up the sleeve. . . . Often affectionate references are made to such grand old American institutions as baseball and boxing. A mildly sardonic remark on the absence of democracy in Russia puts the lid on the prof's true-blue Americanism without staining his reputation for objective scholarship.
>
> A play-it-safe orientation does not augur well for America's future. . . . It is unwise to attempt to outdo the Soviet in stiltedness and stereotype. . . .

Another letter, written by a member of Mrs. Stevenson's class, said:

> . . . no creative artist can reach the full potential of his ability in an atmosphere of restrictions born of fear. Therefore . . . a number of us intend to drop graduate study and leave. We cannot continue to pay money to support a university that denies anyone freedom of thought and freedom to hold opinions contrary to those in popular favor.

Although the dismissal was an outrage, some good did come from it: Mrs. Stevenson's stand and the student body's reaction to it may make the administration think twice before it tries to purge some other faculty member for refusing to discuss his political beliefs.

ANN C. HOLLINGSWERTH

Los Angeles

The Brush-off

Dear Sirs: Although the charges of pro-communism which have been hurled at the State Department are utter nonsense, the manner in which the department is being administered has seriously shaken the confidence of those who have dealt with it.

After a frustrating correspondence with State Department officials I recently made a trip to Washington to try to get an explanation of the Hongkong consulate's delays in granting entry permits to Americans of Chinese extraction. I was shocked to find that the attitude of those in the department with whom I dealt was negative, obstructive, and wholly uncooperative. It was an exasperating and disillusioning experience. Critics may say what they want about Secretary Brannan, but at the Department of Agriculture you at least can count on getting a hearing, a relevant answer, and courteous treatment; this is true, in general, of every department but State.

The way in which applications for entry to this country by Americans of Chinese descent who have fled the Communist regime are processed is perfectly outrageous. If their names were Smith and their skins white they would not have to wait an hour, but because they were luckless enough to be born Orientals they must meet impossible qualifications. For example, they have to furnish witnesses and papers from Communist China for identification purposes, even though the applicants can be fully identified by evidence which would be acceptable in the United States. Meanwhile they are separated from their families in America for years and years.

The arrogant and supercilious manner in which questions are brushed aside by State Department employees, as well as what seems to be a racist policy in handling entry permits at the Hongkong consulate, may be due to the atmosphere of fear that hangs over the department. Whatever the cause, it is a shocking state of affairs and one which should be corrected at the earliest possible moment—by legislative measures if necessary.

MAURY MAVERICK

San Antonio, Tex.

Béla Schick

Dear Sirs: It was almost forty years ago that Béla Schick discovered a way to save the lives of millions of children from diphtheria. The diphtheria bacillus was discovered by Edwin Klebs in 1883, but the campaign to wipe out the disease did not get under way until Dr. Schick discovered a method of determining whether or not a child was immune to it. There was a great deal of resistance against the use of the Schick test when it was first introduced, but with the help of the government, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the Millbank Memorial Fund it was gradually overcome. At seventy-five Dr. Schick is still working hard to save lives; as a matter of fact he attributes his youthful energy to the fact that he has never stopped working.

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FREDA KIRCHWEY,
Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1952.

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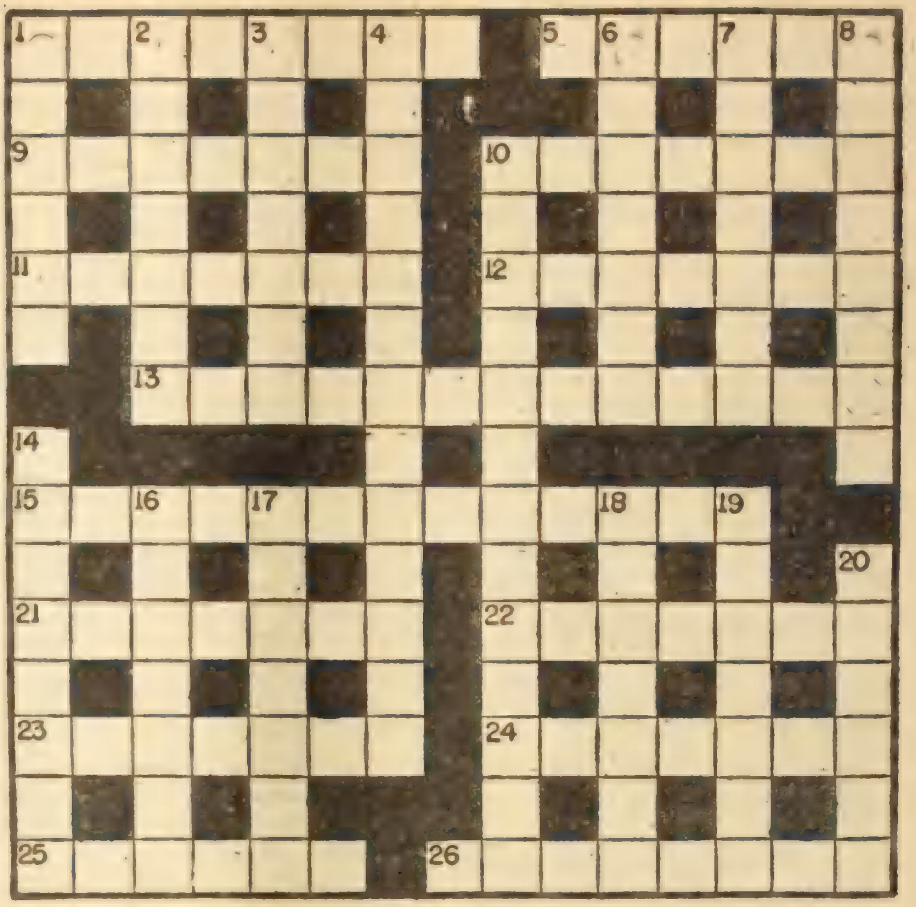
Crossword Puzzle No. 484

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A person might not be particular; but if male, his exclamation upon seeing Marie Wilson could be! (8)
5 And this might keep 1 across in shape. (6)
9 Recalls? (7)
10 Silver, perhaps, is part of the filthy lucre Americans are supposed to love. (7)
11 and 16 down. Smart to know, in short, the state royalty seems to be in. (7, 1, 2, 4)
12 Moronic character. (7)
13 Warners might produce Grange's Island (in color, perhaps). (6, 7)
15 Freshman-Sophomore Flag Rush? (5, 8)
21 Hump-backed Bostonian? (7)
22 Water repellent? (3, 4)
23 In Suomi, no 13 could be (yet not everyone thinks 13 is). (7)
24 Stuck for an answer? (7)
25 Seal that sounds like a little bird. (6)
26 Not races, but theoretically one might have started them. (8)

DOWN

1 Trim the tree? (6)
2 It makes the individual sort of race. (7)
3 Strike relations might be awkward here. (7)
4 Destroyers on a small scale—in fact its end's destroyed. (13)
6 The gate, perhaps, of the first performance? (7)
7 Where the good man came from who didn't cross the road. (7)
8 The quality of little lemon pies? (8)
10 One of the things Burbank found the answer to? (5-8)
14 What the non-union man pays for flowers? (8)
16 See 11 across.
17 Uncorporeal 1 across, with 1 added. (7)
18 Clinch. (7)
19 Brass marker? (7)
20 No pilot's license required when it's on the porch. (6)

* * *

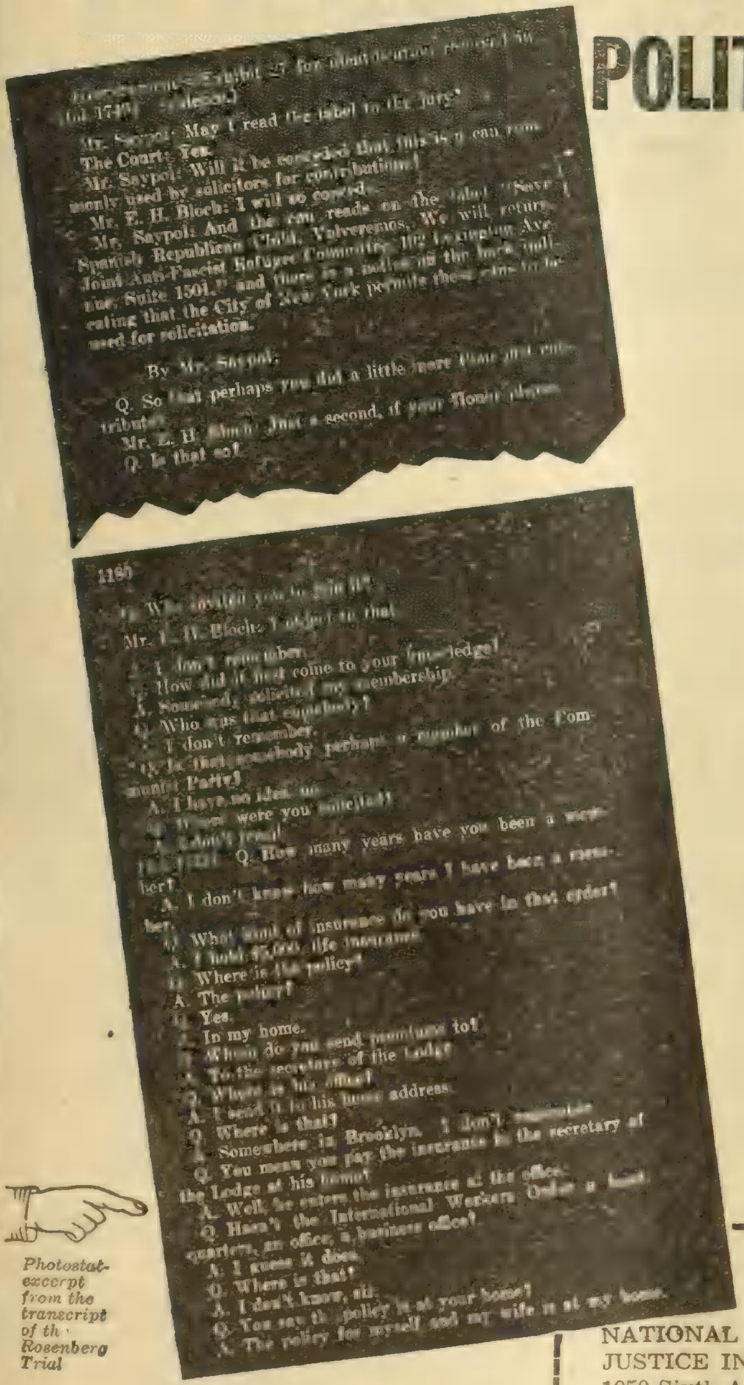
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [redacted]

ACROSS:—1 and 6 HEAVISIDE LAYER; 9 PINKEYE; 11 YES; 12 ISLAND; 13 ET AL; 15 BAYREUTH; 16 TENNIS; 18 ADDICT; 20 BLOOMERS; 23 KRIS; 24 CORNER; 28 YODELER; 29 ARM BAND; 30 and 5 down STEAM ENGINE; 31 STAR SHELL.

DOWN:—1 and 10 across HAPPY-GO-LUCKY; 2 AMNESTY; 3 IN EVIDENCE; 4 IDEALITY; 6 LYLY; 7 YUCATAN; 8 ROYALISTS; 14 MELODRAMAS; 15 BLACK EYES; 17 and 25 across BLIND AS A BAT; 19 DWINDLE; 21 EMBRACE; 22 TO ARMS; 26 TIDAL; 27 PLUM.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

is this ESPIONAGE—or a POLITICAL questionnaire?



[illegible] Exhibit 27 for identification [illegible]
(fol. 1749) [illegible]

Mr. Saypol: May I read the label to the jury?

The Court: Yes.

Mr. Saypol: Will it be conceded that this is a can commonly used by solicitors for contributions?

Mr. E. H. Bloch: I will so concede.

Mr. Saypol: And the can reads on the label "Save a Spanish Republican Child. Volveremos. We will return. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, [illegible] Lexington Avenue, Suite 1501," and there is a notice on the back indicating that the City of New York permits these cans to be used for solicitation.

By Mr. Saypol:

Q. So that perhaps you did a little more than just contribute?

Mr. E. H. Bloch: Just a second, if your Honor please.

Q. Is that so?

1180

Q. Who invited you to join it?

Mr. E. H. Bloch: I object to that.

A. I don't remember.

Q. How did it first come to your knowledge?

A. Somebody solicited my membership.

Q. Who was that somebody?

A. I don't remember.

Q. Is that somebody perhaps a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have no idea, sir.

Q. Where were you solicited?

A. I don't recall.

(fol. [illegible]) Q. How many years have you been a member?

A. I don't know how many years I have been a member.

Q. What kind of insurance do you have in that order?

A. I hold $5,000 life insurance.

Q. Where is the policy?

A. The policy?

Q. Yes.

A. In my home.

Q. Whom do you send premiums to?

A. To the secretary of the Lodge.

Q. Where is his office?

A. I send it to his home address.

Q. Where is that?

A. Somewhere in Brooklyn. I don't remember.

Q. You mean you pay the insurance to the secretary of the Lodge at his home?

A. Well, he enters the insurance at the office.

Q. Hasn't the International Workers Order a headquarters, an office, a business office?

A. I guess it does.

Q. Where is that?

A. I don't know, sir.

Q. You say the policy is at your home?

A. The policy for myself and my wife is at my home.

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Something New in New England

Boston

NEW ENGLAND is one place where the people are in substantial agreement that the horse-and-buggy era was a vast improvement over that of the automobile. If you ask a real Yankee why industry has been leaving New England, he will talk about "lack of raw materials," "high wages," and "high taxes," but finally, if you push him hard, he will say he'd just as soon it did.

Actually, New England has quite a supply of raw materials. Vermont has marble, Massachusetts granite, Maine forests, and all New England has water power which could be harnessed to provide cheap electricity. Moreover, remoteness from some raw materials is compensated for by nearness to markets. The port of Boston is closer to Europe than is New York; as an air center, for the same reason, Boston has a great advantage.

The much-discussed Blanchard Report, prepared by a market consultant for the Massachusetts Development and Industrial Commission, charged that the state government, through its taxes, was hostile to industry. This section of the report received more notice in the newspapers than the statement that many Massachusetts industries suffered from unprogressive management and that many communities gave no encouragement to new industries. Governor Dever's reply to the tax charge was that corporation taxes have not been raised since 1948. Whether taxes on industry, in the aggregate, are higher in Massachusetts than in comparable sections of the country is a hotly debated subject. Certainly a number of industries are expanding despite the allegedly repressive taxes.

Why, then, has New England been losing its shoe and textile factories and periodically finding it harder than other sections of the nation to employ its available labor? In my opinion the primary reason is that the "native stock" inhabitants, who love to refer to their "Yankee ingenuity," simply lack ingenuity. The Yankees have lost their punch. Take the vacation industry, for example, now worth a half billion dollars a year to the region. The New Englanders of native stock had no conception of the wealth in their mountains until a group of New Yorkers, unsolicited, began coming up to North Conway, New Hampshire, to ski. You should see North Conway now! Even today, comparatively little is spent on advertising New England as a vacation paradise. Yet few other areas can offer such a combination of historical interest, fine beaches, lakes, mountains, and good fishing.

New England industries have undoubtedly suffered from high electric and gas costs, complicated by freight rates. President Truman not long ago highlighted the high electric costs when he deplored the fact that New England —or rather its utilities—had resisted federal power projects. Of the 145 federal power projects, at last count, not one was in New England. The newspapers of Boston—with the exception, strangely, of the Hearst papers, and perhaps one other—echo the opposition of the private utilities to a Connecticut River or Merrimac River authority. The *Traveler*, for example, admits that electric rates are higher (about 40 per cent) than the national average but adds that one-fourth of the area's electricity is water-generated, about the same proportion as in the nation at large. This is supposed to prove that nothing should be done to disturb the status quo.

Some of the shoe and textile industries would have to leave even if power costs were reduced; some could be saved. However, new industries in which power costs are not the decisive factor could even now be brought in and many are in fact being established. Life insurance has grown steadily. Research is forging ahead. The tooling industries of Worcester and Providence have maintained themselves well. United Aircraft at Hartford continues to expand. The silversmiths of Taunton and other cities have kept ahead in their field. General Electric, near Springfield, and Monsanto Chemicals, at Lynn, are bulwarks of New England prosperity. Jet motors are produced by General Electric at Lynn.

New England's population has increased despite the decline of some branches of industry. The 1950 census showed that Connecticut, where hard-goods industries are most developed, had grown 16.7 per cent in the previous decade, Rhode Island 10.2 per cent, Massachusetts 9.2 per cent; Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine somewhat less. The growth of the first three states was well above the national mean.

The greater than average unemployment has been due in the main to the imbalance of New England economy—that is, to over-extension in the soft-goods field, where cost of power and nearness to raw materials are decisive factors in price. This imbalance has been supported by diehard Yankees with investments in that field who resent the competition of other industries in the labor market.

Today New England seems over the hump of the transitional period. New creative forces are at work. On a better-balanced diet the region is coming to life again. HUGH WESTON

[*Hugh Weston, writer and lecturer, is the Unitarian minister of Unity Church in Natick, Massachusetts.*]

IN COMING ISSUES

Scheduled for October 18

What You Stand to Lose if Ike Wins

An appraisal of the issues, the platforms, the candidates, with an important editorial statement.

For October 25

Does Eisenhower Mean War?

By D. K. FLEMING

Readers of *The Nation* will remember Dr. Fleming's article in our issue of November 10, 1951—The "Slick" Mentality: Collier's Wins World War III—which attracted wide attention abroad as well as in this country.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · OCTOBER 11, 1952 NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

Information Wanted

Many voters would doubtless like to know why "Honest Dick" Nixon, after passing the hat among his rich friends to raise $18,000 for stamps and such, had to use his franking privilege to poll 23,000 constituents on their choice for President. Sent out by Nixon in his capacity as a delegate to the Republican convention, the letter could hardly be classified as "official business."

Voters will also be curious about a transaction which the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has just uncovered. Nixon, some time ago, introduced a bill to permit Nicola Malaxa, a Rumanian arms manufacturer, to remain in this country. The measure passed the Senate, but a companion bill was opposed in the House on the ground that Malaxa had had questionable relations with Communists. Subsequent investigation revealed that Malaxa had a hand in inducing Senators Nixon and Knowland to support the application of the Western Tube Company for a certificate of necessity from the government authorizing it to amortize the cost of a $10,000,000 plant over a five-year period. Also that Thomas Bewley, formerly Nixon's law partner, is secretary of the newly formed corporation; Herman L. Perry, the man who launched Nixon on his political career, is vice-president, and Malaxa is treasurer.

And while we are on the subject we would like to point out that voters are still waiting to learn more about General Eisenhower's standing as an "amateur" author —a classification which enabled him to make a huge saving in the tax paid on the price he received for "Crusade in Europe." By the curious logic of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, an author who received $500,000 (or was it $1,000,000?) from the sale of a book could properly be classified as an "amateur," although most people would regard earnings of this magnitude as eloquent proof of professional standing. One thing can be said of the Republican nominees: in the best tradition of the G. O. P., both are thrifty business men.

The Case of Mr. Kennan

What Americans still fail to realize is that acts of the Kremlin often have an entirely different political aim from the one that seems logical in Western eyes. Moscow's note demanding the recall of Ambassador Kennan, for example, looked from here like a recklessly hostile reaction. So extreme were both the decision and the language used by *Pravda* in commenting on the Ambassador's Berlin statement (it called him "an enemy of the peace," and a "slanderer under the mask of a diplomat") that American press and radio comment tried to find an explanation in Mr. Kennan's personal qualifications and record. A popular view was that the Kremlin had taken the first opportunity to get rid of an envoy who was at once an expert on Soviet affairs, a master of Russian, and the inventor of the containment policy. They failed to explain why he had been accepted by Moscow in the first place, since these facts were well known to the Soviet government.

A far more plausible explanation, in our view, is that the Kremlin's action was primarily aimed at its own people and its present and potential allies, particularly in the East. It was an announcement—the loudest and most dramatic possible—that Russia need take no insults from the "imperialists." The remark made by Mr. Kennan provided a perfect springboard for this demonstration: almost no criticism could arouse more anger than the charge that his experience as a diplomat in Moscow was worse than his trials in Germany during internment by the Nazis. Indeed, with all due respect to Mr. Acheson's righteous indignation over the Russian note, we can hardly imagine a less diplomatic public utterance than the American Ambassador's. To ask for his recall was to tell the huge Communist Party Congress, which opened last Sunday in Moscow, and the Asian peace conference at Peking, and the Asian and Eastern bloc nations altogether that the Soviet Union is both confident and powerful enough to challenge its enemies in Washington.

Soviet Intentions

Whether this act is also a warning of a more aggressive international policy will become evident when the U. N. General Assembly gets under way next week. Harrison E. Salisbury reported in last Sunday's New York *Times* that "informed Moscow opinion" held otherwise. The view there is that the Kremlin, about to embark on an enormous effort to integrate the political and economic resources of its vast area of influence, will try to avoid a global war. Stalin's long-range analysis of the internal and international situation, published as an article in the *Bolshevik*, seems to bear this out. Obviously intended as

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the basic directive for the party congress, Stalin restated the Marxist dogma that the capitalist countries would be driven by their rivalries and contradictions into a war among themselves. The Communist countries, on the other hand, were already benefiting from the rapid industrialization and economic coordination which had been forced upon them by Washington.

But if, as Stalin says, war in the near future is unlikely, the chance of a reduction of tension is even more so. The opening speeches at the Moscow congress by Malenkov and Molotov indicate that Russia has no intention of relying upon the forces of history to bring about the ultimate downfall of the "camp of imperialism and reaction"; it will take a hand itself in stimulating and exploiting the differences among the Western allies. All of which suggests that the coming General Assembly will probably be one of the most important—and acrimonious—yet held. The presence of five men of top rank in the Soviet delegation is a sure sign that the policy laid down by Stalin will be powerfully promoted at the U. N. as well as at the party congress in Moscow.

New Laurels for Dr. Chisholm

When the General Assembly of the United Nations convenes again in New York on October 14, the delegates might well pause to consider the distinction conferred on one of the U. N. specialized agencies this week. The American Public Health Association has bestowed its Lasker Award—"Oscar" of medicine and public health—on Dr. George Brock Chisholm, director-general of the World Health Organization.

While the diplomats have bickered, the Canadian-born Dr. Chisholm has quietly gone about his job of organizing the medical efforts of eighty-two member nations in his organization's world-wide campaign against sickness and high death rates. The amazing betterment of world health in the brief six years since the W. H. O. was founded, the step-by-step reduction of cholera, malaria, VD, and other cripplers of mankind, is the result of teamwork among men of all countries but it could scarcely have been accomplished without the leadership of this modest physician.

Brock Chisholm's passionate devotion to the ideal of a healthful happy future for all mankind, without regard to national boundaries, proclaims him a genuine world citizen. His employers at the General Assembly can derive a healthy inspiration from his latest honor.

Competitive Aluminum

Some low rumblings in the Canadian press suggest that a good many obstacles will have to be overcome before the Aluminum Company of America is able to start work on its $400,000,000 project in the Taiya Valley district of the Alaskan Panhandle. The blueprint calls for damming the Yukon River below Whitehorse and diverting the impounded waters by means of a tunnel through the Coast Range to powerhouses near Skagway. Thus the consent of the governments of British Columbia, which owns most of the water rights, and of Canada will be required.

It would be a mistake to believe that these consents will be given as a matter of course. As the *Financial Post* of Toronto points out, "Canada has so far been left out of any long-term planning for aluminum supplies in the United States defense program, even though the two countries have agreed to plan defense production on a continental basis." Again Canadians may be inclined to ask why they should export water for production of the metal outside their territory when they are effectively barred by tariffs from selling their own surplus aluminum in the American market.

Certainly the British Columbian government is likely to want assurances that the Alcoa scheme will not in any way impede full development of the Kitimat project of the Aluminum Company of Canada, which is already under construction. The ultimate capacity of Kitimat will be double that of the proposed Taiya Valley plant, but under the terms of its contract with British Columbia the company need not attain full output until the year 2000. Nevertheless, British Columbia has a large economic stake in the rapid completion of the Kitimat project and may well wish to see that objective attained before it provides facilities for a foreign competitor.

Honoring Free Minds

In these days it is reassuring to find free minds still functioning effectively in the field of freedom and reaping honors for doing so. A fortnight ago at a gathering in the Biltmore Hotel in New York the awards offered by the Sidney Hillman Foundation for outstanding newspaper and magazine reporting and for the most notable work of non-fiction in 1951 were given to three authors who uncovered various threats to the rights of Americans. The prizes, of $500 each, were awarded to Carl T. Rowan of the Minneapolis *Tribune* for a series of stories on race relations in the South, to Arthur D. Morse for his article Who Is Trying to Ruin Our Schools? in *McCall's* last September, and to Alan Barth of the Washington *Post* for his book "The Loyalty of Free Men."

The judges—William L. Shirer, Lewis S. Gannett, and Bruce Bliven—deserve praise, too, for choosing the hottest, most controversial subjects on the American horizon and honoring men who had discussed them boldly and uncompromisingly. And the whole affair did credit to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which created the Sidney Hillman Foundation in 1947 to help advance the ideas of its great leader.

But perhaps the most heartening part of the whole ceremony was the address by William T. Evjue, president of the *Capital Times* of Madison, Wisconsin. Coming direct from the lost battle against Joe McCarthy, the famous Wisconsin journalist spoke with the vigor and determination of a man to whom one defeat is only an episode in a war he has helped to lead since the days of old Bob LaFollette. On a later page of this issue we are publishing a slightly condensed version of Mr. Evjue's speech, to which the press in general paid little or no attention.

Warning to the Democrats

THE final and decisive phase of the Presidential campaign finds the Democrats half-organized, off balance, and fumbling three key issues—Korea, inflation, and communism.

By stressing the theme that Administration "blunders" were responsible for our involvement in the Korean War, General Eisenhower has seemed to imply that he favors an early truce. In fact, he manages now and then to sound like a "peace" candidate. Of all the current election issues touching the war, Samuel Lubell reports in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* the one that stirs the harshest expression of anger against the Administration is the drafting of youngsters. Governor Stevenson has courageously suggested that it might have been better if the United Nations forces had stopped at the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but if he is to counter the force of the Republican demagoguery on this issue, he should take a more affirmative position in favor of securing a truce without delay, even at the expense of some "loss of face" for the Administration and Secretary Acheson, who becomes a little grimmer and more inflexible every time Senator McCarthy makes a speech.

The present inflation is of course closely related to the Korean War. On both issues voters show a remarkable ambivalence. They want to see the war terminated as quickly as possible and they resent the inflation which is an inescapable aspect of the war. At the same time, many fear that a sudden end of the fighting might bring a depression. Others accuse the Administration of keeping the war going as an artificial means of maintaining prosperity. Even the voters who say, "We've never had it better" are inclined to say in the next breath, "This boom can't last forever." And on another level many Americans have been so hard hit by the inflation that they can't imagine what this silly talk of "prosperity" is all about. Too much emphasis by the Democrats on the theme "You've never had it better" must irritate millions of voters living in a strange twilight world in which they manage somehow to survive but are constantly tantalized by a profusion of goods and gadgets that are just out of reach. To win these voters Governor

Stevenson should hammer home the theme that peace does not necessarily mean a depression. He should explain how a depression can be avoided. He should also demand for "low-standard" workers specific relief in the form of tax, wage, and price adjustments, and he should project a dynamic—that is, a New Deal plus—program for the underprivileged.

But it is on the issue of "communism" that the Democrats face the greatest danger. Governor Stevenson has spoken out with courage and genuine insight against McCarthyism, but he is in real danger of accepting the Republican thesis that "communism" per se is a major domestic menace. In his radio speech of September 29 the Governor made some statements that will distress his friends and fail to appease his enemies. He sounds out of character when he talks about "the anti-Christ" that stalks the earth, seeking even "to dethrone God from His central place in this universe." This kind of talk will not undercut McCarthy's influence. On the contrary, it will make McCarthy sound like a prophet. It is, moreover, bad politics. Miles McMillin, the astute political reporter of the Madison *Capital-Times,* has pointed out that McCarthy's basic tactic is to refuse to discuss any issue but communism. The object, of course, is to force his opponents to come to him, to discuss the issue that carries his trademark. If they accept the bait, they must either contend that they are more violently opposed to communism than he is or that they can "fight communism" more effectively than he can. Either position necessarily strengthens McCarthy's hand.

THE only sane tactic for the Democrats, therefore, is to scotch the myth that communism *as such* imperils this country. If Stevenson fails to do so, he is likely to lose the election. For if the revolutionary ferment throughout the world today is in fact the product of a Communist conspiracy and nothing more, and if it is true that a handful of Communist conspirators could enslave the American people and imperil their institutions, then many Americans will insist that so grave an evil must be fought by any methods available, including those that are brutal and unmannerly. One cannot combat McCarthy by conceding his premise and then arguing about methods. It is not the "the menace of communism" that the Democrats should be talking about but the substantial values of a democratic society and how best to combat poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, and disease. The other day McCarthy said that he intends to step up the violence of his campaign. One can expect that he will issue a last minute "smear" of Governor Stevenson which will confuse even fairly sensible people by its violence and audacity.

The Democrats have fumbled in their handling of these three issues; they have also failed to organize an effective campaign. If there is any great stirring or excitement in the ranks of labor over this election we have seen no signs of it. For reasons of their own the Democrats seem to be campaigning on the assumption that to win they must carry the wealthier suburbs. But far more voters live in slums than in those suburbs. The danger of an Eisenhower victory is increasing. Every indication points to a huge registration and a record vote, including a large outpouring of "first voters." While the hour is late, there is still time to strike the spark that might kindle a real prairie fire. Nearly half the electorate has apparently not yet made up its mind. But enthusiasm cannot be aroused among the great masses of voters by cutting General Eisenhower "down to size" or by insisting that things were "never better." And it is difficult to inspire hope and confidence in people by saying that all that is needed today is a mere "refreshening" of programs first stated twenty years ago. Republican vulnerability is not the key to the campaign: the people want to believe that there is a way to peace and security and freedom.

Question for Eisenhower

DILIGENT rereading of General Eisenhower's speeches since his nomination has failed to reveal any serious discussion of foreign economic policy. This, perhaps, is understandable, since in no other field have the disagreements between the two wings of the Republican Party been so acute. Anything definite the General might say on the subject that would please, say, Paul Hoffman, would infuriate Senator Taft, and vice versa.

Yet the voters are certainly entitled to the General's views on such matters as trade policy, foreign aid, and Point Four. As the *United States News and World Report* of September 19 points out, the problem of balancing trade between the United States and the outside world "is becoming acute once again and is going to land near the top of the pile of problems that the next President faces in January." A similar warning comes from Joseph M. Dodge, former president of the American Bankers' Association. Addressing the annual convention of that body on October 1, he said: "Recently world trade and currency restrictions have been increasing as a result of mounting balance-of-payment problems coming from the price decline in primary commodities in the last year, the turn from a sellers' to a buyers' market, and growing defense expenditures. Everywhere we see that the same fundamental disequilibrium continues to exist."

Broadly speaking, there are three possible ways of righting this "fundamental disequilibrium." First, foreign countries might take steps to limit their imports strictly to the value of goods they export to us. But most European countries have already sharply reduced purchases in the United States; to do much more, they would have to undertake deflationary measures severe enough to create unemployment, force down wages, and curtail total demand for both food and raw materials. Clearly the adoption of such measures by our allies would affect adversely the morale of their people. They would lead, also, to demands for discriminatory barriers against American imports in order to encourage increased supplies from countries that did not ask for payment in dollars. They would certainly add to pressures for an enlargement of trade with countries behind the iron curtain which were in a position to ship vitally needed food and materials. Even today American efforts to curb such East-West trading are greatly resented by Europeans.

Whatever method foreign countries employed to reduce purchases here to the amount they could pay for from the proceeds of current exports, the closing of the gap would mean a reduction of American export sales by one-third, or some five billion dollars—a severe blow to many branches of industry and agriculture which would, in fact, injure the whole economy. For instance, in recent years 35 per cent of our wheat, 40 per cent of our cotton, 15 per cent of our trucks, and 20 per cent of our tractors have been sold abroad. The *Wall Street Journal* of September 12 warned: "When producers of these things sell less abroad, they may produce less and buy less of other things—starting a chain reaction through the whole economy."

If reduction of American exports is an undesirable method of restoring equilibrium, how about an increase in imports? We are often told that this is an impossibility because the United States is, by and large, the most efficient producer in the world and has little need of foreign goods. But many people who use this argument also support tariffs designed to keep out the goods of more efficient foreign producers. From the point of view of the competitive free-enterprise economics that General Eisenhower expounds, the American tariff long ago became an anachronism and is now a dangerous absurdity. That fact is being increasingly emphasized by big business organizations like the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce and the Committee for Economic Development.

THE battle on this question will be joined again next year when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is due to expire. If General Eisenhower is elected President, will he urge the reenactment of this measure, preferably in a more liberal form? The Republican platform does support the principle of reciprocal trade agreements but with a qualification about "unfair import competition." This qualification, coupled with the voting record of Republican Congressmen on the question—a large majority opposed the original Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and have consistently sought to weaken it at each renewal—makes it very doubtful that a Republican President could do much to encourage the import of foreign goods, even if he wanted to.

If we continue to insist on selling more goods abroad than we buy, how is the gap to be filled? Foreign investment is one possibility, although in the long run this increases the need for accepting more imports, since otherwise the payment of interest and dividends must add to the strain on foreign dollar resources. But in any case private investment on the scale necessary to fill the gap is out of the question. American capitalists will put money in a limited way into the exploitation of foreign oil and other mineral resources, but they do not find attractive most of the long-term development projects for which countries like India are seeking capital.

Thus any attempt to correct the fundamental disequilibrium in trade between the United States and the rest of the world by means of foreign investment must involve government funds. But a majority of Republican Congressmen have consistently tried to reduce foreign aid, and there will be strong pressure on a Republican Administration to make drastic cuts in this department.

Nevertheless, the dollar shortage is a fact: the gap between America's foreign receipts and payments exists and tends to grow larger. Somehow a solution for the problem must be found even if all apparent solutions are unpopular. For if nothing is done, the Western world must drift rapidly toward economic crisis and perhaps even the kind of war for markets that Stalin now hopefully anticipates. What about it, General Eisenhower?

The Rise of Bevan

BY ANDREW ROTH

Morecambe

"I THINK that was the most important conference in the history of our Socialist movement," remarked one of Britain's ablest young Labor journalists and a prospective candidate for Parliament. In retrospect he was not far wrong. Nor was Aneurin Bevan far wrong in suggesting that the international spotlight had moved to the conflict within Labor's ranks because this will determine Britain's future policies. Bevan's wife, Jennie Lee, also a left Laborite, believes the peace of the world depends on the success of three men—Nehru, Tito, and her husband. Without fully subscribing to this view it is possible to agree that the increased Bevan vote reflected an increased desire in Britain for quasi-neutralism.

British politics is clearly changing its shape. The Conservative Party has substantially declined in popularity and has no new leadership or program to halt its downhill slide. The Liberal Party has been reduced to a shadow into which life can no longer be breathed. The Attlee-Morrison-Gaitskell pro-American right wing of the Labor Party, with its reluctance to go beyond consolidating the "welfare state" at its present level, is tending to replace the Liberals as a centrist influence in British politics. Bevan's real victory is his substantial consolidation of the left Labor forces desiring less rearmament, more independence from the United States, more nationalization.

An open split in the party in the near future is most unlikely. Everyone—except crudely powerful union bosses like Deakin and Lawther—remembers the disastrous results of the 1931 split and knows that Labor rank-and-filers detest splitters. This helps explain Bevan's call for unity and his obvious delight when the declaration of fratricidal war came from his opponents. Furthermore, a recent Gallup poll shows that Labor would win any election now by some 7.5 per cent, which would give it a tremendous Parliamentary majority. Much as they may disagree, the leaders of British Labor would rather share the Cabinet among themselves than permit Churchill to remain in power by splitting apart now.

It is clear that Bevan and his supporters are today almost as strong as their rivals. The Bevanites have the overwhelming support of the "activists" who ring doorbells for the constituency parties. They have a substantial and growing minority of supporters among trade-unionists, as was shown by the comparatively small margin of 1,356,000 by which the straight Bevanite motion favoring a rearmament slowdown was defeated. Unions having a total of more than 1,000,000 votes supported this motion. Another indication is the latest Gallup poll, which found that as many ordinary Labor voters would like to see Bevan succeed Attlee as favor Attlee's present deputy, Herbert Morrison.

Although the Bevanites did not want to increase their proportion in the Executive Committee from last year's four out of seven to more than five out of seven for fear of increasing discord, their whole slate of six won, displacing such party stalwarts as Dalton and Morrison. The new twenty-seven-man committee will thus have six Bevanites, supported by J. J. Reeves of the cooperatives and Eirene White in the women's section, against about fourteen right-wingers in the trade-union and women's sections. There is a small group of centrists, including Mark Hewitson. Former Colonial Secretary James Griffiths owes his election to the fact that the Bevanites did not oppose him. As leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Attlee remains a member.

Bitter personal attacks show that the right-wing newspapers now consider the containment of Bevanism the principal task for those seeking continuity of Britain's present foreign and internal policy. They are making Morrison their hero because only he has both the will and the shrewd tactical sense necessary to fight Bevanism with some chance of success. All right-wingers have been appalled by Deakin's clumsiness in threatening the constituency parties with the formation of an organization within the party to squash its left wing. Mr. Morrison would do deftly and quietly what Deakin blurted out crudely in public.

The danger of underestimating the strong feelings of the Labor activists who have pushed Bevan to the fore was demonstrated by the unhappy experience of R. H. S. Crossman, *New Statesman* editor and new member of the Executive. In his introductory speech he suggested that he would speak less harshly than he had planned. He meant merely to emphasize the need for unity but was understood to be intending to water down his Bevanite principles. Immediately cheers turned into boos. Bevan showed his understanding of this sort of incident when he told a packed meeting on Wednesday night that he and others have been pushed ahead not because of their personal qualities but because of the policies they have advocated during these last eighteen months.

For a Free United Nations

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

A NEW item has been placed at the last moment on the provisional agenda of the U. N. Assembly opening in New York on October 14; it is entitled "Administration of the United Nations" and has been added at the request of the Secretary General. Trygve Lie has not revealed his reasons, but various guesses have been made. Some persons believe he will do no more than submit to the Assembly his plan to replace the assistant secretaries general by a number of general directors; others think that he will recommend new rules for the appointment of staff; still others that his main objective is to challenge the decisions of the Administrative Tribunal nominated by the Assembly to pass upon the differences between the Secretary General and his personnel. It is certain that there will be a lively debate over the recent expulsion of members of the secretariat, a matter of vital interest for the prestige, the authority, and the future of the United Nations.

Members of the U. N. staff have been dismissed for various reasons at various times. The purge has taken three main forms: the firing of those regarded as politically suspect; the firing of those who have defended, within the U. N. Staff Association, the rights of fellow-members who have been threatened or dismissed improperly; and finally the appointment of new staff members under a system of selection leaning as far as possible to the right. The case which has provoked the strongest reactions of surprise and indignation is that of Hugh Lukin Robinson, a Canadian. Mr. Robinson joined the staff on January 14, 1950, for a one-year period, as an official of the populations-problems division of the department of social affairs. He did not solicit the post but was invited to take it because of his standing as an expert. When he completed his year of work, his superiors recommended an extension of his contract for two more years. They obtained only one year's extension. When this ran out, his chief applied on his behalf for a contract of indefinite duration. Instead, Mr. Robinson's contract was not renewed. This raised the question: Why was he dropped? Had his value as an expert decreased in the meantime? The explanation accepted by most of his colleagues is that he was penalized because as vice-president of the U. N. Staff Association he had defended members against the discriminatory policy of the U. N. "high command."

Last August 11 the Administrative Tribunal sitting in Geneva rendered a decision rejecting Trygve Lie's contention that the Secretary General has the right to refuse to renew a contract without giving his reasons if he considers them of a "confidential nature." The Tribunal maintained that Mr. Lie's refusal to say why Mr. Robinson was dropped constituted prima facie evidence that the real cause was his activity as a leader of the Staff Association. The Tribunal also cited the Declaration of Human Rights. It could not order the reinstatement of Mr. Robinson, but it could order the payment of compensation, which it did.

In Europe the Robinson case has become a *cause célèbre.* The *Gazette de Lausanne,* a respected and conservative Swiss newspaper, published the decision of the Administrative Tribunal under a banner headline, "Mr. Trygve Lie Condemned" (August 13, 1952). The moderate *Journal de Genève,* after ironically lamenting that in the cold war as waged within the U. N. the governments were "only able to agree on the smallest common denominator, Mr. Trygve Lie," went on to declare that it was unhealthy "to maintain constant uncertainty in the minds of those who should devote themselves entirely to the cause of the U. N."

I have deliberately chosen comments from two leading Swiss journals because Switzerland was for twenty years the headquarters of the League of Nations and during that time the Swiss authorities never asked whether any League employee was or was not a "security risk." But many other European papers have expressed grave concern over what is going on in the U. N. secretariat. The London *New Statesman and Nation* on August 30 said of the recent staff purge: "All are Americans, and most of the dismissals have been due to the intervention of the F. B. I." It is precisely this alleged intervention of the police power of the United States that has most seriously disturbed the U. N. delegations and the rank and file of the secretariat and has created a demand that the matter be fully discussed in the Assembly. In a press conference, widely commented on, Mr. Lie in effect admitted that the dismissals had been decided on for political reasons—so it could not be said that "the U. N. is a Communist nest."

THE CRUX of the problem is whether or not the Secretary General considers the United Nations a sovereign institution. If he does, his first duty is to defend the principle embodied in the U. N. Charter—as in that of the League of Nations—namely, that its officials are exclusively the servants of the international organization and not of the country which has provided the site for the building or the largest share of its financing. If he does not, he will naturally pay more attention to the provisions of the McCarran law or the advice of the State Department than to the Charter.

I do not pretend that the League of Nations was perfect; but at least the officials of the League never boasted of their unending fight for democracy while behaving in a wholly undemocratic way toward the secretariat. E. Ranshoffen-Wertheimer, a former member of the League of Nations staff now employed by the United Nations, writes in his book, "The International Secretariat of the Future": "As long as the governments were democratic, the Secretary General could draw his recruits from a very broad layer. . . . With the abandonment of democratic principles the situation changed. The very qualities that had made a candidate from those countries an ideal recruit now invariably disqualified him in the eyes of his own government."

It is not only a question of respecting democratic principles but also of respecting the U. N. Charter. Article 100 says plainly: "In the performance of their duties the Secretary General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization." The article continues: "Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities." The United States is therefore not entitled to dictate to the United Nations who may or who may not work for it.

The juridical basis and the legislative history of Articles 100 and 105 (the latter deals with the privileges and immunities that the organization must enjoy for the fulfilment of its purposes) have lately been the subject of an exhaustive study by legal experts. The results constitute a veritable arsenal of facts and arguments which decisively support the position I have stated above. I shall return to this study when the issue is debated in the Assembly. But important as are the juridical and legislative aspects of the question, its political significance is greater. In the situation existing today, in which the cold war may go on for years or may suddenly explode into a total "shooting" war, nobody who desires peace can tolerate practices which undermine the authority of the United Nations.

For that organization, with all its defects, is the only instrument for peace at our disposal. If it is to be effective, it needs first of all officers and a staff animated by its ideals and prepared to work and fight for them, without having to fear that a desire for peace may be considered subversive in an institution created to safeguard peace. Trygve Lie should not regard this issue merely as one affecting his personal prestige. It may well determine whether the United Nations shall be the august international assembly conceived at San Francisco to serve the cause of peace or an organization serving the foreign policy of a single great power.

John Foster Dulles: The Cartels' Choice

BY FRANK GOTHAM

AS NEW elections roll around, John Foster Dulles is again being mentioned as the next Secretary of State —with the usual "if." This guessing game has become an institution. Just as we put an egg in the flowerpot at Easter or hang a stocking from the chimney-piece at Christmas, Dulles is quadrennially deposited on the State Department's doorstep.

He was tagged for Secretary in 1944 and 1948, until his friend Tom Dewey failed to make the grade. It is not at all certain that Eisenhower, if elected, would choose Dulles for the post. Dulles's connection with Ike is slender; they have met less than a dozen times. Their relationship is not to be compared with the intimate personal and political friendship between Dulles and Dewey. Yet Dulles, without waiting to be drafted, is clearly out to be Secretary of State. That seems to be his consuming ambition, the desired climax to a career largely devoted to diplomacy.

Dulles resigned as consultant to the State Department last March. He flew to Paris to see Eisenhower late in May. In Chicago in July he wrote the Republicans' foreign-policy plank. Since the convention he has been actively campaigning for Ike—and for John Foster Dulles—and helping compose some of the Presidential candidate's pronouncements on international affairs.

Since Dulles may play an important part in shaping United States foreign policy in the coming years, it is timely to reassess the man. What are his qualifications for the job of Secretary of State? How about his record? Is he the person best suited to guide America's course in world affairs in this volcanic phase of history?

Dulles is sixty-four years old, a tall man with gray hair and blue eyes. He is quiet and restrained, a slow talker, sometimes tantalizingly slow. In knowledge and experience he is excellently equipped, but these qualities failed to keep him from proclaiming in 1939 that "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us." On various other occasions his judgment has gone off the rails; I shall come back to some of them later.

The son of a Presbyterian minister, Dulles is himself a leading Presbyterian layman and has influenced the position of his church in the field of international relations. This makes even stranger his remark in the Senate in 1949 that "moral obligations are rather loose things."

His past is a web of contradictions. His recent utterances tend to divide the American people and disquiet our allies. His opportunism is blatant even to politicians familiar with the temptations of expediency. Americans like their Machiavellis clothed; Dulles stands there just a little too naked.

Dulles was trained for diplomacy as Nijinsky was for the ballet. His grandfather was John W. Foster, Secretary of State in President Benjamin Harrison's Cabinet. His uncle was Robert Lansing, Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State. John W. Foster encouraged his grandson to study international affairs. The boy of seven could have understood little of the meaning of the ceremony at Shimonoseki where in 1895 his grandfather presided over the conference ending the Sino-Japanese war; but when he was nineteen his grandfather took him as his secretary to the Hague peace conference, and the world of diplomacy began to assume a definite shape. From then on his family connections opened one door after another for him. A word from Grandfather Foster helped place young Dulles, then twenty-three, in the big international-law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which he was later to become the top partner. When he was twenty-nine his uncle, Secretary Lansing, suggested

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FRANK GOTHAM is the pseudonym of one of the best and most experienced of American foreign correspondents. This is the first of two articles on John Foster Dulles. In the second, to appear next week, Mr. Gotham will consider the conflicts in Dulles's character and his part in the current election campaign.

to President Wilson that he be sent on a State Department mission to Panama to induce the government to declare war on Germany in 1917 simultaneously with the United States. Young Dulles received the assignment and carried it out successfully.

At the Paris peace conference Dulles was principal American counsel on the committees dealing with reparations and financial affairs and helped draft the relevant provisions of the Versailles treaty. After the treaty was signed he became the first American member of the Reparations Commission.

His career continued to be marked by important tasks. While other budding diplomats collected stamps or played golf, Dulles's hobby was world affairs. In 1927 he advised the government of Poland on how to steady that country's falling currency. In 1931 he represented American bondholders at three debt conferences on Germany's debt called by Hjalmar Schacht in Berlin. At about the same time the far-flung Swedish firm of Krueger and Toll went bankrupt and Dulles was credited with salvaging eighty cents on the dollar for American claimants.

From his partnership in Sullivan and Cromwell he amassed a fortune. The firm counted among its clients the governments or the big-business interests of Poland, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, China, Japan, Denmark, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Colombia. Dulles was attorney for the international nickel cartel. In Germany, Gerhardt Westrick, later a stalwart Nazi, was associated with his firm, and Dulles represented a New York bank that was financial agent for the Nazi government. He also acted for Franco's Bank of Spain in a suit against the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to recover $6,500,000 in silver which the United States Treasury had bought from Spain's Loyalist government. His long experience in defending international cartels, as well as domestic utilities and other huge business enterprises, has naturally influenced his whole political philosophy.

DULLES was not always a symbol of the "internationalism" in the Republican Party. Before the war the New York branch of America First was reported to have been organized in his office, and Mrs. Dulles was said to have contributed money to it. In 1939 he made some rather isolationist speeches and in the same year published a book, "War, Peace, and Change," in which he described the Germans, Japanese, and Italians as super-dynamic peoples. He reproached Britain and France and to a lesser degree the United States for the "selfish and possessive attitude of the status quo powers." He favored treaty revision in favor of the dictatorship countries.

Before the war he not only strongly opposed United States involvement but was even against "aid short of war" to the countries which were later to become our fighting allies. He called such aid "pinpricks" which destroyed American influence with the totalitarian peoples. "I see no justification for our participation in the senseless cyclical struggle," he wrote in 1939. To indicate his attitude immediately after Pearl Harbor, I will quote from a notice distributed by Sullivan and Cromwell to their employees, dated December 9, 1941, and signed by John Foster Dulles: "We will have a strong continuing interest in the welfare of those lawyers who leave us for government service. We cannot, however, assure that this will mean that such lawyers may at the termination of their government service resume their relationship with us where they left off." The ordinary employee of the firm, I submit, must have taken this to mean, that he risked his career if he entered the war-time service of his country.

In 1950 Dulles published a book entitled "War or Peace" in which many well-reasoned passages are interlarded with expressions of naive vanity. If we are to believe Dulles it was he who, during the war, pushed a hesitant Franklin Roosevelt into what was to become the United Nations. Though bipartisanship in foreign policy was fathered by the late Senator Vandenberg several years earlier, the book suggests that it was Dulles who created the war-time collaboration between the Roosevelt Administration and the Republican opposition.

Dulles also claims to have prompted Secretary of State Byrnes to change his policy in 1945 and favor step-by-step independence for Italy's former African colonies. He identifies himself as the man who induced President Truman to put Japan's outlying islands under American strategic trusteeship. He says that a telephone call from him in Paris in 1947 caused Congress to pass the interim-aid bill bridging the gap until Marshall Plan funds began to flow. He professes to have predicted that Russia would have the atomic bomb in 1949 although almost everyone else put the date much farther in the future. These claims are at least exaggerated. One would hardly guess from his story that the decisions for which he takes credit were reached collectively and that his views were those of a group of advisers.

Yet in the post-war period he has repeatedly filled important roles. He attended the meetings of the Big Four Council of Foreign Ministers. He has regularly been a member of the American delegation to the Assembly of the United Nations. For two years before last March he served as consultant to Dean Acheson. His main accomplishments in that office were negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty and preparing the rearmament of Japan. Time will tell whether those were acts of wisdom. And in all honesty it should be recorded that John Allison, now Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, carried much more of the load than the public was ever told. But Allison, after all, is just a career diplomat and not a Wall Street lawyer turned politician.

Dulles's own career took a different course in 1949, when he ran against Herbert Lehman for the United States Senate. One of his major campaign arguments again revealed the streak of vanity. If we were to have a genuinely bipartisan foreign policy, he insisted, it was essential for him to be in the Senate. A couple of howlers which he committed in the campaign probably accounted for his defeat. He unceasingly attacked "statism"—including federal aid to education, which even Senator Taft was supporting—and suggested that Lehman's election would help perpetuate the welfare state and possibly incite a revolution in America. And on one occasion he told voters, in effect, that a look at the face of the people in New York City would reveal why they vote as they do. Afterward he denied that this gibe contained an anti-Semitic implication, but the sting remained.

Before the election Dulles occupied an appointive seat in the Senate for several months. During this period he voted consistently with the Truman Administration on issues of foreign policy, but repeatedly sided with the most reactionary Republicans on domestic questions; he was against amendments to the Taft-Hartley act, against an increase in the minimum wage, against more federal transmission lines for rural electrification.

Operation Mainbrace

BY ERLING BJOL

Copenhagen

THE recent naval maneuvers conducted by NATO—Operation Mainbrace—in the waters around Norway and Denmark caused considerable misgivings, particularly in Denmark, before they started, some tense moments while they lasted, and general relief when they were over. One reason is obvious. Allied naval forces were operating in the Baltic as far east as the island of Bornholm. When the Russians left Bornholm in 1946 the Danish government promised them explicitly that it would use only Danish troops to defend the island. It gave this promise in all sincerity, since nobody at that time dreamed that a few years later Denmark would abandon its traditional neutrality and join an international coalition. But ever since Admiral Brind, the commander-in-chief of NATO's northern flank, announced a few months ago that Allied units would go into the Baltic, the Russian press has been angrily talking about provocation.

The Danish government had other grounds for concern which were unknown to the public. The plan to extend Mainbrace to Bornholm was made without consulting it; its protests when it found out may have caused the decision to send only Danish, Norwegian, and British units into the Baltic and not the presumably more provocative Americans. Moreover, the Danish authorities knew that the Russians had been fortifying the Baltic coast all summer, particularly the island of Ruegen, not far from Bornholm, sending in troops and building sites for rocket-launching. When Mainbrace actually came off, however, the only thing Russian seen in the area was a flying saucer, which may not have been Russian at all but a visitor from Mars. It is true that the American marines who landed on the chilly beaches of northern Jutland found the Russian steamer Kooperatsia anchored smack in the middle of the waters which American vessels were to cross. But as it turned out, she had only sought a lee shore against bad weather, and after a little grumbling left as requested.

The military experts will scarcely divulge what they learned from Operation Mainbrace, but the spectators can draw their own conclusions. The objective was doubtless to discover how the Baltic could be kept closed if West Germany were overrun. There are four outlets from the Baltic which would be vital to the operation of Russian submarines in the Atlantic—the Sound, the Great Belt, the Little Belt, and the Kiel Canal. Denmark is astride two of them and together with Sweden controls the third. The fourth, the Kiel Canal, is in Germany, but the main feature of the operations in Jutland was a push south through Schleswig by Norwegian, Danish, and British forces toward the canal. The American marines were reinforcements for this push. Mainbrace may very well be an indication that Denmark is vital to SHAPE's strategy as a "resistance area" to be held at all costs.

The Danes, who in the last war suffered German occupation though not destruction, would welcome such a strategy, and as soon as the two Jutland airfields of Vandel and Tirstrup have been developed to the standard agreed on at Lisbon, they will be opened to 150 American thunderjets. But that will not be very soon. Danish military sources say between eighteen months and two years must elapse before American planes can be stationed in Denmark.

In 1949 the Soviet Government extracted a promise from Norway that foreign troops would never be stationed on Norwegian territory in peace time. It has now warned Denmark that the projected American bases

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would be regarded as a threat to Russia's security. The establishment of foreign forces on Denmark soil, it asserted, could not be justified on grounds of defense since nobody threatened Denmark. As I write, the Danish government has not yet answered.

For some time after Lisbon the government was reluctant to admit that this plan to make Denmark a safe cork for the Baltic bottle existed. When finally the truth leaked out, the neutralist Radical Party strongly criticized the government for its commitments. But the overwhelming majority of Parliament welcomes the American planes as proof that Denmark will not be abandoned in the event of war. The Socialists are supporting the government on this matter. When they criticize NATO policy, it is rather because they find the armament burden too heavy. In other words, they are more inclined toward Bevanism than neutralism. All political parties agree that the blunders of Mainbrace—the military planning without political consultation—must not be repeated. Nothing happened at Bornholm, it is true, but it is widely believed that this was at least partly due to the caution of the Russians.

Ole Bjorn Kraft, the Danish Foreign Minister, who has now taken over the chairmanship of NATO, replacing Lester Pearson, has emphasized the desirability of closer political-military cooperation. What is in his mind, and what may be proposed at forthcoming NATO meetings, is something like the creation of a NATO political assembly. Kraft is himself a Conservative, but he is supported in his idea by the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, who is a Socialist. The creation of a supra-national political body inside NATO is being advocated also by members of the British Labor Party and, although more cautiously, by the West German Socialist Party.

Roughly speaking, Western Europe is divided between the mainly Catholic adherents of a federal "Little Europe," consisting of the six countries of the Schuman Plan, and the mainly Protestant partisans of a "Greater European confederation." The latter want NATO to be the umbrella of this confederation. They want to have the United States in it. In largely Protestant countries like Britain, Norway, and Denmark practically all parties favor the idea of an Atlantic political confederation. Denmark particularly has been convinced by Mainbrace that some new political organ for NATO is needed.

Class of '46

MISSOURI

James P. Kem: Valedictorian

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

Columbia

THE Senators elected during the meat-shortage days of 1946—Bricker, Cain, Kem, McCarthy, Malone, and their classmates—have left their stamp on each successive Congress. Few groups of entering freshmen have taken such polarized stands on public questions. Extremely conservative on domestic problems and leaning toward narrow nationalism in foreign affairs, these men have attempted to turn back the clock in the fields of social legislation and international cooperation.

Few of them have spent more semester hours in fighting welfare measures and obstructing internationalism than James P. Kem of Missouri. A recent analysis of Senate votes on seventeen important issues in the Eighty-second Congress shows that he took the progressive side just once. His record in opposing international cooperation is unmatched: he voted against the Atlantic Pact, the foreign-aid bill, the Mutual Security Act, the Marshall Plan, the Japanese peace treaty, reciprocal trade agreements, and practically every other bipartisan measure introduced in the Senate in the last six years.

A few months ago Senator Kem might have been selected as the man in his class most likely to succeed, but this summer the Democratic Party in Missouri came up with a blue-ribbon ticket, headed by Phil M. Donnelly and Stuart Symington. Donnelly, a former governor, is again running for that office; Symington defeated J. E. Taylor, President Truman's choice for the senatorial nomination, by more than 185,000 votes.

Kem is campaigning furiously—it is not unusual for him to make six speeches in different towns in a single day—blasting government corruption, high taxation, socialistic decay, and the unconstitutionality of the Korean war. Making a play for the farm vote, he cites his work on the Senate Agriculture Committee, his support of rural electrification appropriations, and his opposition to public-power projects. He says he approves 90 per cent of parity but regards the Brannan plan as the nationalization of agriculture. To him the Taft-Hartley act is the workingman's Bill of Rights, and while he favors the principle of the Social Security Act he opposes the spending of money which is supposed to be kept in a social-security reserve. He assails Symington as a Truman man and suggests that one of the large questions of the campaign is "whether the people of Missouri prefer to be represented by a Missourian, born in

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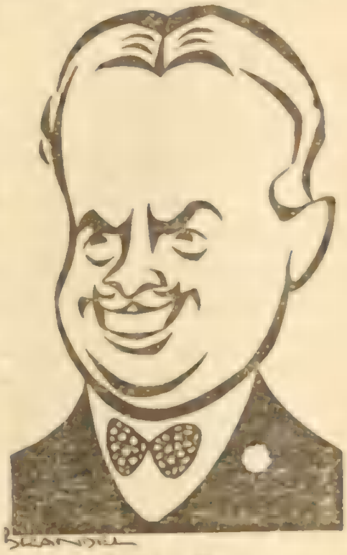
Missouri, reared to her customs and traditions from boyhood, educated in her schools, or to be represented by this mysterious stranger."

Symington is also waging an energetic campaign. He speaks frequently, with force and with restraint. He is not given to demagoguery and limits name-calling to an occasional reference to "political dinosaurs." He concentrates on issues, tearing holes in Kem's farm record large enough to drive a tractor through. He charges that Kem voted against 90 per cent of parity in 1948 and 1949, opposed appropriations for electrical cooperatives in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and in 1950 voted against funds for the Southwest Power Administration — a measure strongly supported by the Missouri Farmers' Association. His heaviest fire is directed against Kem's reactionary record on foreign policy.



Senator Kem

Kem's fortunes will be affected by the voters' disgust at disclosures of graft and corruption in government, their sense of insecurity and frustration stemming from unsolved foreign problems, and the personal charm of Eisenhower. The scandals in the Internal Revenue Office in St. Louis, the questionable activities of certain Missourians now living in Washington, the stolen-ballots incident in Kansas City, all bring the corruption issue very close to home. Eisenhower's official indorsement is expected during his coming visit to Missouri. Kem has said, however, that John Foster Dulles and General Eisenhower are "coming closer to my opinions than I am to theirs."

While Kem, like all Republicans, must buck prosperity, he faces an even greater obstacle in the caliber of his opponent. Few individuals have done more to remove the taint from the term "Washington bureaucrat" than Symington. His record as Surplus Property Administrator, Secretary of the Air Force, and Administrator of the R. F. C. has given him wide—and favorable—publicity. By his high-level campaign and his pledge to further international cooperation and progressive domestic legislation, Symington is attracting many liberal Republicans and independents.

Missouri's political races have the kick of its legendary mule, and no one but a fool or a newcomer would attempt to predict the outcome this year. Some astute citizens, however, are saying that perhaps James P. Kem, who entered the Senate in 1946, will be flunked out this year.

WASHINGTON

Jackson vs. Cain

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Tacoma

WASHINGTON is one state that Stevenson should win. No other is so responsive to the issues the Democrats have emphasized for a decade—public power, timber conservation, new electro-chemical industries, and statehood for Alaska. In 1948 Truman's majority in Washington exceeded his combined majorities in California, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Montana.

Stevenson went over well with the Washington electorate on his recent visit. He offered none of the rambling ambiguities which marked Eisenhower's speech at Boise. People left his meeting in Seattle quoting his reminder that the same Republicans who now promise to develop the Northwest once referred to Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams as "white elephants." His chances are further improved by the campaign of Representative Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson, a veteran of a dozen years in the House, to oust the reactionary Harry P. Cain from the United States Senate. The Indian sign is on Cain so unmistakably that many of his fellow-Republicans hesitate to appear with him at public meetings.

Jackson is well equipped to win. Of Norwegian ancestry in a state where a huge Scandinavian population eats *lefsa* pancakes every Sunday morning, he retained his House seat in the election of 1946, when the meat shortage sent so many Democrats down to defeat. He was a pioneer supporter of Chief Joseph Dam and the Hanford atomic-energy plant, and has the backing of the Grange, the farm co-ops, the public-utility districts, and organized labor.

Cain has behaved as if he had no need of popular support. He has bragged of his relations with the real-estate lobby. He has voted against federal transmission lines in a state with more potential kilowatts to be tapped by the federal government than any other in the nation. He has consistently opposed the aims of organized labor. Conservative Republicans, to whom such acts might commend him, have been repelled by his position on foreign policy. Only Cain and Glen Taylor voted in the Senate against a seventy-group air force.

Often Cain does not seem to know what he thinks. After his return from an overseas trip he told the New York *Times* that he had been "highly impressed with the sense of urgency and determination to resist aggression that he found in all European nations he had visited."

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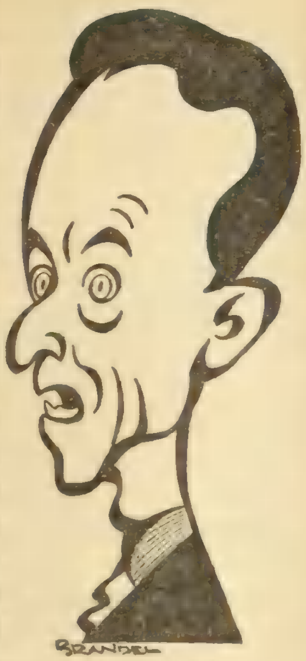
A month later he was quoted in the Bellingham *Herald* to the effect that only Turkey and Spain had "the will to fight Communist aggression." He threw the MacArthur debate into an uproar by introducing two contradictory resolutions—one calling for the withdrawal of the United States from the Pacific, the other for a declaration of all-out war on China.



Senator Cain

For the new office of Representative-at-large the Republicans have nominated Albert Canwell, who several years ago headed a notorious witch-hunting committee of the Washington legislature. After Ed Guthman of the Seattle *Times* had won a Pulitzer prize by exposing the committee's concealment of evidence which would have exonerated a University of Washington professor from charges of subversion, Canwell was defeated for the state senate, but he has now reentered politics as the recipient of a Congressional nomination from his party.

Sharing interest with the senatorial contest is the close race between Governor Arthur B. Langlie and his Democratic opponent, the scholarly and sincere Representative Hugh Mitchell of Seattle. General Eisenhower owes a large debt to Langlie for the services rendered by the Washington state delegation at the Republican National Convention and will undoubtedly campaign for him. This will increase the odds against Mitchell, but it will also make it hard for Eisenhower to avoid association with Senator Cain.

Jackson's chances are considered better than Mitchell's principally because Cain is so vulnerable. Langlie has a fiscal and budgetary mess on his hands, but he blames this on the administration of former Governor Mon Wallgren. Since Mitchell has fewer independent sources of strength than Jackson, his success will probably depend on Stevenson's sweeping the state. From conversations with many Washington voters, it seems evident that the Presidential contest narrows down to the question whether Stevenson's logical and persuasive speeches can offset the widespread desire for a change.

IF A candidate's performance can prove decisive, Stevenson will win the electoral votes of the Columbia Basin states. The great trouble is that he is not yet well known. Loggers and lumberjacks say they will vote for Ike or they say they will vote Democratic; few mention Stevenson by name. The Republicans picture him as a panty-waist, a cookie-pusher, a refugee from the diplomatic corps. Testimony on the other side has been offered by a retired United States forester, John Kuhns, who once went mountain-climbing with Stevenson, and who says that the Governor was "all man" on the flank of a 10,000-foot peak. Stevenson badly needs identification with the Western outdoors, and his headquarters should have played up Kuhn's story.

The Northwest, by and large, has been Democratic terrain since 1932, and Democratic strength should be increased by the recent influx of low-income migrants. But Stevenson will need to make substantial gains before November to overcome his famous adversary's lead in the region. The essential thing is to dramatize him to voters on the $3,000-a-year level. These people already sense three weaknesses in Eisenhower: (1) he is a professional military man; (2) he may be insincere in his pledges; (3) his New York speech to the American Legion advocating the liberation of the satellite nations suggested that he might lead the country into a land war in Europe.

The other day a Nisei truck gardener asked me how Ike could reduce taxes if he was going to give us two mail deliveries a day and 100 per cent of parity for farmers. Once the sincerity of a candidate is questioned, all his statements are received with skepticism.

INDIANA

Jenner vs. Schricker

BY ARTHUR ZINKIN, JR., AND BOB LONG

Indianapolis

INDIANA has always taken its politics seriously. In the contest for the Senate between the incumbent, William E. Jenner, and his opponent, twice-elected Governor Henry F. Schricker, the voters have a crucial decision to make. At forty-four Bill Jenner is probably the oldest young man in the Senate, standing considerably to the right of Senator Taft on both foreign and domestic issues. Henry F. Schricker, at sixty-nine, is a conservative who nevertheless has supported both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations on most issues. The state Republican organization, controlled by Jenner, stood pat for Taft at Chicago, refusing to switch its votes to Ike; the state Democratic organization, controlled by Schricker, led the fight for Stevenson.

Both men are outstanding vote getters. Despite the fact that he was in the air force and did not campaign,

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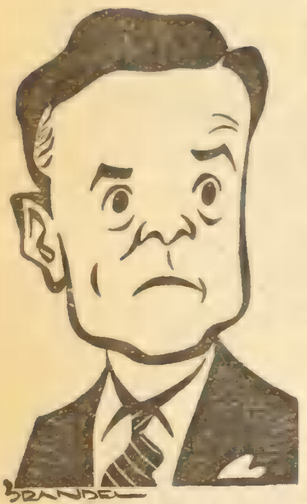
Jenner was elected by 82,000 votes in 1944 to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Van Nuys. In 1946 he won reelection by nearly 160,000 votes and cemented his hold on the state organization.

No one can accuse Schricker of corruption, old cronies in high places, or socialism. He is a moderate Democrat of unimpeachable party regularity, a small-town banker who holds strong views on nothing but the honest and decent conduct of his office. He is the only man to be elected governor of Indiana for two terms. In 1940 he was the only Democrat elected to state office—he won by 4,000; Roosevelt lost the state by 25,000. In 1944 he ran for the Senate against Homer Capehart and lost by 22,000, while F. D. R. was beaten by 94,000. In 1948 he was reelected governor by 140,000; Truman lost to Dewey by 14,000.

Jenner is convinced that the people of Indiana are disgusted with Truman, horrified by the Korean "meat grinder" war, opposed to universal military training, appalled by taxes and inflation. His speeches abound in phrases like "blood money," "Washington plunderbund," and "the Truman Double Deal." He agrees with General Eisenhower on one point, that Truman has no foreign policy; he advocates "removing the crutch in Europe and Asia" and demands that we defend our hemisphere with air and naval bases rather than United Nations forces. In domestic affairs he dwells on "wasteful bureaucracy," the "trend to socialism," and "Communists in government." Labor considers him a top foe.



Senator Jenner

Eisenhower pointedly failed to mention Jenner, the man who called General Marshall "a living lie" and "a front man for traitors," when he asked the voters of Indiana to elect the Republican ticket "from top to bottom." Jenner however, hastened to thank Ike for "your unqualified indorsement of my candidacy." Jenner did not modify his position to obtain Eisenhower's so-called indorsement; his "nationalism" remains clear-cut as an issue. It is Ike's position on foreign policy that appears to be watered down in the minds of the voters.

Schricker considers foreign policy the principal issue of the state campaign and is stressing the fact that "there can be no domestic stability without international stability." He advocates strengthening NATO and the United Nations and is expected to follow party leadership on Point Four proposals. He supports the Fair Deal line on all domestic issues, such as repeal of Taft-Hartley, civil rights, and farm parity.

A recent Midwest survey poll gives Schricker 43 per cent of the vote to 38 per cent for Jenner, with 19 per cent undecided, and the general opinion is that Schricker will win even if Eisenhower carries the state. Republican headquarters, however, were heartened by Senator McCarthy's stunning victory in Wisconsin and say that their man too has his finger on the people's pulse.

UTAH

Battle of the Regulars

BY E. L. HESS

Salt Lake City

THE Senatorial contest in Utah lost some of its interest for the nation as a whole when the Republican primary in September eliminated Marriner S. Eccles, the salty, fighting banker who served as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board in both the Roosevelt and the Truman administrations. Eccles was defeated by the colorless, plodding, ultra-isolationist Arthur Vivian Watkins. The Democratic nominee is the equally colorless, Walter Kiel Granger, who for the past twelve years has been an all-out supporter of the New Deal and Fair Deal in the lower house.

Watkins is a member of the notorious Class of 1946 in the Senate, and his voting record closely parallels that of Jenner, Kem, Cain, and Bricker. But he is a tireless legman for his constituents and abandons his conservative economic views when it is a question of pork and pap for the good people of Utah. As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee and its so-called internal-security subcommittee, he is an ardent follower of Pat McCarran. He also agrees with McCarthy that Washington is full of reds.

Like the whole Utah Republican machine, Watkins was and is pro-Taft. He fought a one-man battle against the North Atlantic Security Pact in 1949, opposed giving military assistance to nations threatened by communism, and joined McCarran in insisting on aid for Franco Spain. His voting record—90 per cent with the Republican leadership—earned him mention by Colonel McCormick as Vice-Presidential material when the Colonel called for an isolationist third party last summer.

Watkins and Granger have similar small-town backgrounds. Watkins served for years as a district judge, and Granger is a farmer-stockman who was postmaster and three times mayor of Cedar City. Both are devout Mormons. The Mormon church hierarchy, managing more than a billion dollars' worth of real and other property in Utah, is staunchly conservative. Though it

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E. L. HESS is the pseudonym of a well-known Western political analyst.

was bailed out by the New Deal in the 1930's, it is violently anti-Truman and thus has no use for Granger.

Granger represents twenty-five of Utah's twenty-nine counties, but he is handicapped by being relatively unknown in metropolitan Salt Lake City, which contains about a third of the state's population. His strength lies in his identification with agricultural interests and his ability to reconcile the demands of Utah farmers, stockmen, and small business men with those of labor and government employees. He has tried to settle the public-land controversy, worked hard to obtain reclamation funds for Utah, and sponsored bills to develop mining in the state.

The so-called "Young Turks," whose efforts to corral delegates for Eisenhower at the Utah Republican convention were said to have been defeated by the intervention of the Mormon church, supported Eccles's bid for the senatorial nomination. With Eccles out of the running and Eisenhower bargaining with the Taft isolationists, the independent Utah vote might go to Stevenson and Granger if the Democrats put up a good fight, but so far they have shown no signs of doing so.

The Weapon of Fear

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

[*For its brilliant clarification of a vital issue in America today we reprint, in slightly condensed form, an address given in New York on September 25 by William T. Evjue, on the occasion of the presentation of the Sidney Hillman awards in journalism and non-fiction. Mr. Evjue is editor and publisher of the Madison, Wisconsin,* Capital Times.]

THIS is indeed genial company for one who comes out of the gloom and humiliation that lie so heavily over a once proud state—a state that in more favorable decades had gained world renown as the ideal commonwealth. It is appalling to see a great state surrender to hysteria and demagoguery after holding fast to sanity and reason for so many years. I wish I could have come here today to tell you that the heritage left by such crusaders for the common welfare as John P. Altgeld, William Jennings Bryan, George W. Norris, and Robert M. La Follette still inspires the people in the Midwest hinterland. Honesty, however, compels a different answer.

It is good to know that men still gather to do honor to a gallant soul who fought so valorously to bring a better life to more people—Sidney Hillman. He occupied a leading role in the great battle to embody in the law of the land the monumental social gains of the past twenty years. If he were alive today he would be deeply concerned over the dim outlines of totalitarianism appearing on the American horizon, emboldened by the fear rampant in American life today.

The use of fear as a weapon in subduing the aspirations of the American people for a better life is not new. Fear has always been so used in the struggle between those who have too much and those who have too little. Chronically allergic to the yearnings of the people for a better life, the intrenched order has always fallen back on the weapon of fear to drive the American people toward subserviency and conformity. It has always been on the lookout for new scare words.

Perhaps this assembly will be interested in a historical review of the vocabulary of fear encountered in one lifetime, now nearing three score years and ten. The start of the story is in the little lumbering town of Merrill in northern Wisconsin. In my boyhood days eight big sawmills there were manned by German, Scandinavian, and French Canadian immigrants. They worked eleven hours a day, six days a week. There was a heavy toll of death and injury—human life was cheaper than safety appliances. In the winter the men went into logging camps, fifty to seventy of them being lodged in a primitive and unsanitary bunk house. In the spring the hospitals all along the Wisconsin River were filled with men from the camps suffering from typhoid, smallpox, or some other contagious disease.

The inevitable revolt came. An organizer for the old Knights of Labor was brought in to lead the strike. The strike leader was branded as an agitator, a Socialist. The workers were told that the mill owners couldn't afford an increase—that the men would be without jobs and Merrill would become a ghost town. The mill owners used this fear to compel a settlement under which the men won the measly victory of eleven hours' pay for ten hours' work. Today Merrill is a prosperous community; it accepted the socialism of collective bargaining long ago without becoming a ghost town. But the intrenched order way back in 1892 had discovered socialism as a scare word.

The next chapter starts with my arrival as a cub reporter at the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* after exploring the academic cloisters of the University of Wisconsin. This was in 1905, when a new social-democratic movement was challenging a corrupt political machine that had long dominated Milwaukee. The *Sentinel,* spokesman for the machine, was painting a horrendous picture of the dangers of socialism, quite as frightening as the Hearst and McCormick scare talk about the New Deal socialism of today. The stolid citizens of the beer metropolis were told that socialism would bring free love, nationalization of property, and the division of wealth.

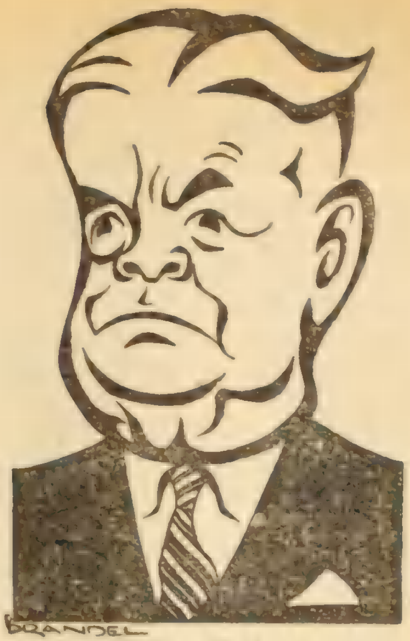
But the people of Milwaukee saw through the machine's use of fear. They elected a Socialist mayor. Under three Socialist mayors—Emil Seidel, Dan Hoan, and Frank Zeidler—Milwaukee gained the reputation of being the best-governed large city in the United States. Frank Zeidler was recently reelected mayor by the people in all parties who favor good government.

THE year 1912 found me sitting on the stage at the Republican National Convention in Chicago as a reading clerk. The situation was so tense that the chairman of the convention had to appeal to the delegates to restore order after they had booed and hissed the Wisconsin Declaration of Principle. I was within a few feet of Senator Hopkins of Illinois, chairman of the committee on resolutions, when he contemptuously moved the rejection of the Wisconsin platform on the ground that it was rank socialism which would destroy our American system. The platform contained twenty-six planks, twenty-four of which were enacted into law in the next twenty-five years and became good Republican and Democratic doctrine. Incidentally, a plank that was hissed and booed the loudest favored giving women the right to vote.

In 1918 the word pro-Germanism was added to the vocabulary of fear. Senator La Follette was opposed to a declaration of war against Germany. The intrenched order gleefully grabbed this opportunity to destroy the hated La Follette movement and its social program. La Follette was branded pro-German, disloyal, and a traitor. Many of his followers were arrested under the espionage act. The newly started *Capital Times* was tagged a La Follette paper and marked for destruction; the state Council of Defense, manned by old La Follette foes, instituted an advertising boycott that lasted for nearly a year. We were denied election to the local Chamber of Commerce. The Department of Justice sent an investigator to Madison to keep us under surveillance. Members of the university faculty, in fear of losing their jobs, signed a round-robin letter urging the expulsion of La Follette from the United States Senate.

In 1918 it was believed that La Follette and his movement had been forever destroyed. But isn't there hope today in the fact that the American people always seem to return to sanity after their periodic journeys into the realm of fear and hysteria? In 1922 La Follette was reelected to the Senate by an overwhelming majority.

Today communism has become the scare word with which the intrenched order can club the American people into submission and conformity. Millions of people have been deprived of the right of free speech by their fear of being branded disloyal. The press, radio, television, and movies have cringed before the assault on the printed and spoken word. Confidence in the government has been threatened by the shadow of disloyalty cast over honest and conscientious officials. A campaign of hate, suspicion, distrust, confusion, and character assassination has been loosed at a time when there is a great need for unity, confidence, and a united front to meet a world menace.



William T. Evjue

This has been made possible, in large part, by the consummate demagoguery of the Senator from my state. In 1949 he knew that he was a dead duck politically unless he could find some way to divert the attention of the people from his miserable record. It was then, on the advice of shrewd friends in Washington, that he decided to ride the issue of communism. Ever since, he has been fiercely using the accusation of communism to throw doubt on the loyalty of those who have dared to criticize his record. I am proud to say that the *Capital Times* has been first on his list of proscribed newspapers. You know the record—the $10,000 from Lustron, the $20,000 wangled out of a sugar lobbyist to support McCarthy's $72,000 loan from a Wisconsin bank, the $5,000 contribution from a Texas oil millionaire (McCarthy voted for the Kerr gas and the tidelands oil bills). Isn't it strange that 500,000 citizens in Wisconsin voted for a man who has had to be prodded to pay taxes to support the government that has supported him during the major part of his adult life? Isn't it appalling to think that a man with his record is being accepted by millions of people as the leader who will save us from communism?

COMMUNISM is a problem that will not be solved by any scheming politician on an un-American committee seeking a headline in the afternoon edition by plastering some innocent person with the label of Communist. It will not be solved by chucking a few Communists into jail. Reason must supplant demagoguery in meeting this problem.

If communism ever comes to this country, do you know where it will come from? Another depression. Communism will come when millions of people are hungry and out of a job, when millions of farms and homes are being lost through mortgage foreclosures, and when business is paralyzed because people do not have the money with which to buy the necessities of life. This is what Moscow is banking on. Stalin knows that mass hunger and poverty have always been the allies of communism in its parade across the face of the earth.

It was the centuries-old exploitation of the masses by a corrupt nobility that brought communism to Russia. It was the centuries of landlordism, colonialism, corruption, and the accompanying mass poverty that brought communism to China. If all there is to this problem of communism is to expose and put in jail the Communists who have wormed themselves into places in government, how is the growth of communism in Italy, under the shadow of the Vatican, to be explained? It is to be explained by hunger, poverty, and denial of land to millions of peasants. Why aren't we willing to accept what we know is a fact—that a social revolution has been sweeping over the world during the past thirty years? The Communists were smart enough to get on the side of the people in this great revolutionary struggle.

The future safety of this country lies with a patriotic, constructive, informed leadership holding to the idea that the best insurance against communism is the well-fed, well-housed, reasonably secure American family. The demagogues who have appropriated the issue of communism to serve their political ends—McCarthy, Hickenlooper, Jenner, Cain, Byrd, and others in the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition—are poor reeds to lean on in a fight against communism. Such men will always vote on the side of the powerful special interests. They can be depended upon to vote against all measures to make life better for more people—protection against dependency in old age, unemployment, and occupational hazards, protection for their life savings, decent housing, medical care at a price they can afford, farm-price supports, the blessings of electricity on the farm, the right of labor to bargain for a fair share of the wealth it helps to create, and the extension of educational opportunity. Have you ever seen any evidence of devotion to this type of insurance against communism on the part of McCarthy, Jenner, and their interest-serving colleagues in the Senate?

Kurt Schumacher

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

THE name of Kurt Schumacher was known to only a few Germans when Hitler's Third Reich collapsed. The radio announcement of his sudden death, on August 21, plunged the whole country into gloom. Few men have been buried with so many tears as this leader of the Social Democratic Party of West Germany.

One of the most important figures of post-war Europe, Schumacher was a miracle of energy and will in a broken body. He worked without pause from six o'clock in the morning to midnight. He hurried from one meeting to another. He often followed a debate in Parliament for twelve hours straight. He drove his party tirelessly toward higher and higher goals. One of his severest political enemies, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, organ of the government and of big business, said of him when he died: "Germany has lost a sentinel who watched ceaselessly over the country and signaled whenever he saw danger. No one can think of his empty post without uneasiness. Something of his courage and passion and honesty must remain alive in Parliament if this nation is to survive."

For Schumacher the glittering façade of West Germany's economic prosperity and physical reconstruction could not hide the shakiness of an edifice which rested on the increasing poverty of the masses. He saw very clearly that the defense of West Germany was in the first place a social problem, and that the Communist danger could not be countered by machine-guns. A docile press at home and abroad decried his opposition to German remilitarization and the European strategy of the Western Allies as grist for the Soviet mill, but on his death it acknowledged that the Soviet Union would stand today on the Rhine if he and the party he founded had not refused to make a deal with the German Communists.

He had taken this stand as a patriot and a democrat whose maimed body was a living charge against all dictatorships. He was anything but a pacifist, and was opposed to remilitarization because he saw that it would perpetuate the division of Germany and make a third world war a dangerously close possibility. He also saw remilitarization as an insuperable obstacle to German democracy, since it would bring the militarists to power. In a third world war, he felt sure, Germany would become another Korea.

His struggle for the workers' right to share in the direction of industry was a struggle to take power from those whom he rightly held responsible for National

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CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

Socialism, Hitler, and the Second World War. His fight for German unity was a fight for European unity. The division of Germany represented for him the division of Europe and of the world. He believed that every opportunity to negotiate with the Russians should be seized—otherwise there would be no Germany and no Europe. The Schuman Plan for the control of European heavy industry, like the Strasbourg Council of Europe, seemed to him to be a parody of a true united Europe and bound to destroy any hope of a peaceful solution of the East-West conflict. The men whom he most feared and distrusted were the big European industrialists who were using the idea of European unity to create a capitalist and imperialist "Europe, Inc." As for the Saar, he did not want to offer it to German nationalism as a weapon which it would use sooner or later against France. On the other hand, if the Saar, which is 100 per cent German, were to be separated from Germany, he feared that Russia would never return the lost eastern provinces.

As a Socialist, Schumacher was a convinced European. The only picture in his office in the federal Parliament was a photograph of Léon Blum. I can still see him sitting alone in a dark corner of the Parliament lobby crying like a child over the passing of the great Frenchman.

IT IS unfortunate that Schumacher often offended by his nationalist tone. His tempestuous personality, his premonition of a disaster which he was trying desperately to prevent, and his knowledge of his approaching death drove him into hasty outbursts which later no one regretted more than he. Within his armor beat an exceptionally kind and sensitive heart.

Both his heart and his head were stirred by any instance of ill-treatment or injustice. Nothing shows this more clearly than his concern with the problems of Jews. However overloaded with work he was, he always had time for their troubles, and he is known never to have refused to meet a Jewish petitioner. Time and again he openly acknowledged the shame of the German people for the crimes they had committed against the Jews. In his first great speech in Parliament he demanded that they be given moral and material compensation, and he and his party initiated the Hague negotiations without which Adenauer, for all his good-will, would have never brought it about. Jewish restitution, however, was the only question on which Schumacher saw eye to eye with the Adenauer government. He supported the Parliament's expert on Jewish matters, the Social Democratic deputy Jakob Altmayer, with all his authority.

Schumacher's undisputed successor is his friend and lieutenant, the fifty-two-year-old Erich Ollenhauer, a wise and capable man who will not abandon the course plotted by his dead leader. The struggle within the Social Democratic opposition will be for the post of deputy leader, hitherto held by Ollenhauer. The Socialist mayors of Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Munich, and other towns, as well as some trade-union leaders, differed with Schumacher on various subjects and will now try to make their views prevail. No Social Democratic politician left over from the Weimar period had any power in the party while Schumacher was alive. He had fought them before 1933, and he never forgot the flabby and disastrous opportunism they had practiced. Tendencies similar to those he combated before 1933 are now operating again in the German Social Democracy, but there will be no serious departures from the Schumacher policy before the next elections, in the summer of 1953. If remilitarization is carried out against the will of the strongest German party, it will have no popular basis and will be imposed on the country by the shameful dictatorship of the Western powers acting through German big business and former Nazi officers.

The Prussian Protestantism of Schumacher and his frequent outbursts of hatred against the Catholic clericalism of Adenauer played a part in the relationship between government and opposition which should not be overlooked. In his tragic grandeur Schumacher resembled the sixteenth-century Protestant revolutionary Thomas Münzer, who was burned at the stake when he lost his fight for social change and German freedom. After Münzer came the Thirty Years' War, which inflicted upon the Germans spiritual wounds as yet unhealed. After Schumacher, what? One thing is certain: the struggle epitomized by the conflict between Schumacher and Adenauer will go on. The federal Chancellor has already committed one tactical error. The whole nation was roused to bitter resentment when he pointedly stayed away from the funeral of his great opponent.

Schumacher on the German Workers

April, 1948

More than a mere policy of anti-communism is needed to defeat world communism in Germany. We must succeed in arousing the self-confidence of German workers and inspire the conviction that as a result of their struggles they will be able themselves to determine the political and economic structure of their country. Without American aid there would be the imminent danger that Europe would fall into the hands of the Soviets. The ideological and political situation in Europe and in Germany, however, is as different from that of the United States as is the economic setup. The common link is democracy. The workers of Germany will defend democracy. But they are not willing to fight for capitalism. The experience of the last decades has shown that in Germany, and throughout Central and Western Europe as well, democracy must have socialist results to insure its successful existence.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Contemporary Fable

HEMLOCK AND AFTER. By Angus Wilson. The Viking Press. $3.

ACCORDING to the *Listener,* the house organ of the B. B. C., "Hemlock and After" establishes Angus Wilson "immediately" as "the most important English novelist to come forward since the late war." This is no great praise. The most important English novelists today — Joyce Cary, Henry Green, and Ivy Compton-Burnett—had all "come forward" before the war, and the better younger writers, book after book, remain promising. "Hemlock and After" is the serious novel of a gifted amateur. It is rich in conversation and characters and deficient in action. What was meant to be its central theme is never realized as fiction. In this country it may become fashionable, for it is often determinedly sophisticated and is very amusing.

The time is the summer of 1951; the unhappy hero is the grand old man—he is fifty-seven—of English letters, the novelist Bernard Sands. After much effort he has completed what turns out to be his last work, the establishment of Vardon Hall, a Georgian country house, as a refuge where a selected group of state-subsidized young writers are to set up an autonomous community and pursue their art. At the beginning there is much talk about this undertaking by politicians, by artists, and by the graceless Vardon commuters who have succeeded the squirearchy. And then, because Mr. Wilson seems to lose interest in it, the whole matter fades from view.

For the novel is less about Vardon Hall than about the decline and fall of Bernard Sands. All his life he has thought of himself, using the terms of his Bloomsbury youth, as a humorist and an anarchist. So advanced are his views on education that he has completely alienated his children; he has been so successful in his role of great author that he has driven his wife into a long nervous collapse. During her illness he has followed hitherto neglected impulses and turned to young men. As an amateur sociologist Mr. Wilson analyzes the strata and codes of homosexual society brilliantly; his picture of this society is witty and malicious.

Sands learns slowly that in acting to gratify the senses and the affections he has damaged his lovers and his family: the tormented wife, the stuffy son, the nasty daughter-in-law, and the bright, bored daughter. The rationalizations which have carried him through two love affairs collapse before his increasing concern with the problem of evil. His sense of the terrible responsibility of love and his knowledge that his humanism has not made him a responsible human being destroy him. The wages of irresponsibility is death. These matters were to have been the center of the novel; they never become fiction, though they are stated, one way and another, again and again.

The minor characters, a wonderful series of grotesques, are distracting: an old woman, all sweetness and light, who has built up a going concern which supplies suitable sexual objects to people with esoteric sexual tastes; her accomplice, the archetype of the spiv; a prissy architect driven by a passion for little girls; and so on. The relation between a foreground in a state of disintegration and this corrupt background is only intellectual. The major characters exist on a level of thought and feeling to which the grotesques cannot aspire. They were intended to play important roles in the fable, but they turn out to be local color.

The action proceeds by fits and starts. The end—Mr. Wilson, with his tongue in his cheek, is imitating Dickens—is weak. After Bernard's death his wife, Ella, cloistered for years with her private horrors, emerges in a frenzy of action to mete out justice and to tie up the loose ends of the plot. It is made clear that some of this justice is cruel or futile and that the neatly tied-up ends will presently come loose. But a serious moral is drawn from this easy resolution: mad Ella, alone, is able to save herself. *Her* humanism, however limited, has not failed her. The life devoted to the cultivation of the intellect and the pursuit of the arts ends, by contrast, in dust and ashes, a dangerous conclusion the implications of which Mr. Wilson does not explore.

Two final comments: unlike much current English fiction, with its nostalgia for amenities which vanished in 1939, "Hemlock and After" is emphatically about the present; it portrays magnificently a middle class trapped by rapid and, for it, catastrophic moral and social change. More important, it marks the advent of new elements in Mr. Wilson's writing. His collections of short stories, "The Wrong Set" and "Such Darling Dodos," however entertaining, read as if they had been written chiefly out of dislike and nausea. In this novel dislike and nausea abound, but they are tempered by feeling and compassion. Considering the dead end to which the short stories appeared to be leading, this change in attitude toward the human predicament is impressive.

ERNEST JONES

Yoknapatawpha County

WILLIAM FAULKNER. By Irving Howe. Random House. $3.

IRVING HOWE'S literary criticism—he has written other kinds—has always been, not sociological in the academic sense, but socially oriented; that is, he has been very much aware of the social values of literature and of the interrelationships among art, the artist, and society. He has been more closely allied to those American critics who believe that literature is most meaningful when it is viewed as an activity complementary to our social, political, and historical processes than to those who insist that a poem or a story should be analyzed primarily in terms of its own structure and language. It may seem strange, then, that he should choose to write about William Faulkner, an author whose experiments with form and language and whose highly imaginative subject matter have made him seem about as "literary" as a writer could be.

Yet Mr. Howe is most effective precisely when he brings his method of social analysis to bear upon Faulkner's subject matter. He looks at Yoknapatawpha County and the people whom Faulkner has put there to live, suffer, and die as if it were a real place and they real people, existing independently of their creator. What he finds, of course, is a world that would be unbearable; none of us could live there for one day and keep his sanity. But at the same time it is a world that is extraordinarily complete in its structure of classes and social types. Almost every condition of man in modern America is represented. From Yoknapatawpha one infers the South, and there is no question that Faulkner has been largely concerned with the predicament of the Southern states during the endless aftermath of the Civil War. But inevitably also it is more, just as is Joyce's Dublin or Kipling's jungle. Whatever Faulkner has had to say about the world in our century, he has put into the fictional world of Yoknapatawpha.

Through his analysis of the relationships among the classes, families, and social types of Yoknapatawpha, Mr. Howe has been able to construct a fairly comprehensive view of Faulkner's social and moral attitudes. Such a construction is always provisional of course, especially so in this case, since Faulkner is a living and still vigorously creative author. Mr. Howe is scrupulous in his recognition of this and also of the fact that he is dealing with fiction, not philosophy, that Faulkner is a novelist, not a moralist or social scientist. But Mr. Howe still achieves a number of illuminating surmises. His section on Faulkner's attitude toward the Negro, and on how this attitude developed from the rudimentary prejudgment of the first novels, is particularly good. His analysis of the dramatic uses to which Faulkner has put the disintegration of Southern culture shows a consistent and well-integrated interpretation of character and incident throughout these complex novels.

Faulkner is not a great novelist, and Mr. Howe's book is certainly not great criticism. But both are important to the program of contemporary American letters. Faulkner, though he does not quite enter the first rank, is perhaps our best novelist; in spite of his crudities and misjudgments, he has written several superb novels; he has shown above all that this country can sustain the serious and consistent artistic treatment of a native subject. Mr. Howe's book is important because it gives us some aspects of Faulkner's achievement as a specifically American novelist, working with the materials provided by this society. Where Mr. Howe fails—in his rather stale reading of some of the novels, in his insensitivity to various matters of style, in his apparent reluctance to go far enough in defining or placing Faulkner's inadequate moral attitudes—his failures are obvious and regrettable, and undoubtedly the reviewers will be at pains to point them out. But this book contributes a valuable comment on Faulkner's work, and it illustrates the direction in which American criticism should proceed—toward the retrieval and cultivation of our chief intellectual heritage, a creative and independent liberalism. HAYDEN CARRUTH

F. D. R.—An Intimate View

WORKING WITH ROOSEVELT. By Samuel I. Rosenman. Harper and Brothers. $6.

RUNNING for Governor of New York in 1928, Franklin Roosevelt sought an assistant familiar with state issues who might help him in the preparation of campaign speeches. It was his good fortune then to discover Samuel I. Rosenman, a young Assemblyman who was to stand by his side faithfully for the next seventeen years. For part of that period Judge Rosenman acted as counsel to the Governor and President; mostly his services were unofficial.

Those services were essentially the same in 1945 as they had been in 1928. Rosenman was one of a team that aided Roosevelt in the preparation of his addresses and that indirectly helped him in the clarification of his own ideas. From time to time the membership of the team changed; in and out of it there moved successively Raymond Moley, Stanley High, Thomas Corcoran, Ben Cohen, Harry Hopkins, Robert Sherwood, and Archibald MacLeish. But Rosenman served the longest and was surely not outmatched in his devotion. He is preeminently qualified to tell the story of that collaboration.

Judge Rosenman has already collected and edited, in thirteen volumes, the public papers and addresses of Franklin Roosevelt. Those speeches were immensely important. The contemporary politicians who were always being surprised by the potency of Roosevelt's appeal never understood that these were his true secret weapons. These were the media through which the Governor and President established a close rapport with public opinion; these were the instruments through which he held the support of his following.

The composition of these speeches was no simple matter. In an era when every Presidential statement had an immediate nation-wide audience of millions, each utterance had to be carefully planned. While the burdens of the Presidency were themselves weightier than ever before, the chief magistrate had also to find time for frequent, fresh reports to those upon whose loyalty he counted. In good measure, Roosevelt's strength lay in his capacity to draw upon a variety of talents, to use other men's minds to create speeches that were nevertheless uniquely his own. "Working with Roosevelt" presents a careful account of the day-to-day process by which these addresses were composed, and is therefore a most illuminating study of F. D. R. and of the way in which his policies were formulated.

As an intimate of the White House, Rosenman has also a good deal to say about the inner aspects of the Roosevelt Administrations. There are interesting glimpses of the official family life of the Roosevelt circle and occasional revealing comments upon larger events, such as the struggle over the vice-presidential nomination of 1944. Fortunately Rosenman scrupulously separates that which he saw from that which he heard at second hand, and the work is impressive in its authority and integrity.

This is avowedly a partisan book. Judge Rosenman could not have maintained the intimacy of his relationship with F. D. R. had he not shared fully the social and political viewpoint of the President. Every chapter of his book is suffused with the certainty that F. D. R. was, despite minor foibles, a great President and a great human being.

These judgments certainly do not detract from the value of the work; indeed, they lend it conviction and feeling. But the author's closeness to its central character does blur the perspectives in the book. Reading, one has the impression that the Roosevelt who greeted Rosenman in Algiers in 1943 was altogether the same Roosevelt who had met him on the Hoboken ferry in 1928. So, too, the basic philosophy and fundamental social objectives of the New Deal are treated as if they remained constant through the whole of those seventeen years.

They did not. As each successive crisis presented its own challenge, each in turn evoked its own response. The rapid development of domestic legislation in these years and the swift shifts in foreign policy were not the products of theories held a priori but of the pressure of events which few foresaw. And the attitudes of the men who created the New Deal changed just as did the laws in which those attitudes were embodied. Perhaps some day Judge Rosenman will stand back from the exciting incidents of the period and give us an account of the evolution of those attitudes as valuable as this account of how they found their way into F. D. R.'s speeches. OSCAR HANDLIN

Corruption in Washington

DEMOCRACY. An American Novel. By Henry Adams. Farrar, Strauss and Young. $3.50.

IN A political year what better reading than "Democracy," which goes as lightly, as epigrammatically, as wickedly, in 1952 as it did when first published in 1880 under the absurd name, Frances Snow Compton?

On democracy: "Democracy, rightly understood, is the government of the people, by the people, for the benefit of Senators." On monkeys and evolution: "'After all, we ought to be grateful to them, for what would men do in this melancholy world if they had not inherited gaiety from the monkeys—as well as oratory.'" On George Washington: "'The truth is that General Washington was a rawboned country farmer, very hard-featured, very awkward, very illiterate, and very dull; very bad tempered, very profane, and generally tipsy after dinner.'" On women: "The capacity of women to make unsuitable marriages must be considered as the corner-stone of society."

The book begins fliply, the plot is contrived, the characters are not sufficiently involved in the action, and some of the circumstances creak ever so slightly with age—but all this is a shadow. The main force is still there, since the author was concerned more with satire and thesis than with the art of the novel.

The scene is Washington, D. C., in the middle seventies, when a newly elected President from the Middle West had come into the city to await his inauguration. The action is both public and private. Publicly it follows the subduing of the pathetic President to the party boss. Privately it follows the career of a new leader of Washington society, Madeleine Lee, and her high-minded attempt to delve into the heart of democracy.

Mrs. Lee is a success; and she meets a variety of diplomats, Congressmen, and Cabinet members, giddy belles and grim hostesses, lobbyists and observers. Most important for her, she meets Silas P. Ratcliffe, the Senator from Illinois, the Prairie Giant of Peonia. Ratcliffe is a man used to running Presidents, and subduing the new one is his natural kind of work. He is, however, a little weary of his own soiled hands, and he decides that if he married Mrs. Lee, he could use her culture and money to disguise the dirt in which he works. Madeleine is fascinated by a mover of power, as she conceives Ratcliffe to be, and despite the differences of background, education, and taste is drawn to the politician.

The turning point of the story is the moment when Madeleine finds that she no longer dominates the boorish Prairie Giant, but that he, massive, crude, and monumentally clever in practical management, has begun to manage her, involving her in his own corruption.

The means by which Madeleine is pulled out of her dilemma—a letter delivered in the nick of time exposing a rather too brutal piece of senatorial corruption—seems a letdown after the genuine development of the two central characters. Madeleine declines too patly, too rationally; the story ends at just the point Adams's contemporary, James,

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A new anthology-magazine of American Arts and Letters

Perspectives USA is to be published quarterly by Intercultural Publications Inc., a non-profit corporation established by The Ford Foundation. The magazine is designed primarily for distribution abroad, and its contents will be made up largely of reprinted material. Each issue will be edited by a distinguished American critic. An American edition—in addition to the English, French, German and Italian editions—will be available to readers in this country. The first issue will appear on October 15 and will include:

JACQUES BARZUN—America's Romance with Practicality
WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS—Poems, a story, and an essay
SELDEN RODMAN—The Painting of Ben Shahn
MARIANNE MOORE—Translations of La Fontaine's Fables
THORNTON WILDER—Goethe and World Literature
ARTHUR BERGER—The Music of Aaron Copland
KENNETH REXROTH—A new poem
OSCAR HANDLIN—Democracy and Power

192 PAGES   8 FULL COLOR   PRICE: $1.50   ANNUALLY: $5.00

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would have clenched the attention—the confrontation and conflict of two vitally clashing personalities.

With our hindsight we can see Adams himself in Madeleine's story. He is letting us in on his own fascination with Washington, corruption and all; letting us see the way he deceived himself into thinking he took the place impersonally, coolly, scientifically; letting us see his double-edged rejection of it. At the time he wrote "Democracy" Adams sheered off from treating in depth the implications of the ideas on democracy, on corruption, on majority government which he raised in the book. He would take them up again, compulsively, symphonically, in both the "History" and the "Education" when he was better able to treat them.

Yet, ending the book as he did in a kind of evasion of his problem, he made an early statement which can interest us yet. It can be read on two levels—for what it tells us of Washington and corruption, and for what it tells us of Henry Adams and his run-in with the political life.

The great themes of the future books here merely decorate a highly amusing and sensuous impression of a small, bright, bad, and agreeable capital city, perfectly recognizable in 1952. Yet "Democracy" has all the virtues of its brilliant surface. There are pages of quotable conversation; there are less frequent excursions into somber comment. There are occasional descriptive passages of real beauty. The landscape of the District was one that Adams loved; its unforgettable features continually intrude, and confuse the satire with affection and regret. In the center is the small square with General Jackson on his prancing horse; near by, the river, the dome, and the monument; and just outside, within easy reach, the luxuriant Virginia woods, Arlington, Mount Vernon, and the soft and shattered ruin of the South.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON

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on Microfilm
for Libraries

Two series of *The Nation* are now available on highest quality microfilm for libraries. Vols. 1 through 105 (1865-1917), $350, (companion to index of unsigned articles published by the New York Public Library). Vols. 1 through 167 (1865-1948), $700. Write for complete information.

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Cornerstone of American Ballet

THE CLASSIC BALLET. Basic Technique and Terminology. Historical Development by Lincoln Kirstein, Descriptive Text by Muriel Stuart, Illustrations by Carlus Dyer, with a Preface by George Balanchine. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

FOR soundness, for clarity, for succinctness, this manual of basic ballet is the best there is anywhere. It is the hardest to misunderstand. The painstaking drawings take you by the hand, they show you the step, the course it takes, the point of it; they do everything for you but dance. As a reference book for laymen—as a "visual dictionary" of basic steps and terms—this book is the handiest to use you can find. The pleasure is the greater because the text is literate, and the bookmaking is superb. The undertaking such a volume represents—five years of disinterested, concentrated effort by a number of collaborators—is immense. Its success is worth reporting, but there is something more remarkable. The real originality of the book is a trait it lays no claim to, and that takes a few words to explain.

Following the traditional order of exercises in a ballet class, the book, exercise by exercise and step by step, collates and codifies current usage in technique and terminology. The logic of its choice is so cogent that it presents the reader with a coherent style. This turns out to be the style which Europeans—and then Americans too—have during the last three or four years come to call "American classicism." Petersburg-descended, the American style is larger, clearer, faster, and more audacious than any West European one, as you see it in company performance. It trains virtuosity of action, not virtuosity of personality or personal expression. The crux of it is in a steady carriage, a steady rhythm, a steady central impetus of movement with no extravagance or mannerism in the extremities; it gives a large scale to the general effect of a company's dancing. This style, vaguely instinctive or indigenous to teachers and dancers from all over the country, has been growing more decided through the last decade; it has been sharpened, clarified, made exemplary by Balanchine's brilliant displays of it in his dance ballets, particularly in the repertory of the New York City Ballet. Now for the first time our still new style is codified and consolidated by a book. The manual brings into sharper focus the work of teachers all over the country, and it documents the role of our dancing in the international tradition or evolution of ballet.

That evolution or tradition in all its complex technical, social, and moral fabric is brilliantly presented by Lincoln Kirstein in a capsule ballet history he contributes as an introduction. Reading it, one realizes that as a historian he is fully aware of the protection given our all too recent and all too insecure ballet by such a consolidation of style—or Chinese Wall—as that of this book, this accurate, useful, careful book. Remembering the labor of assembling and publishing it, one is grateful to him for having conceived so grandiose a project of consolidation and for having carried it out. It is reassuring to watch a citizen among us trying in a disinterested way to preserve our brilliant and impecunious ballet dancing. My only wish would be that Miss Stuart and Mr. Dyer would, after another five years, return with a second volume of advanced technique—one on the variations of rhythm, of stress, and of pace in a step that give it color—to supplement this volume of basic technique; and to show

how our American dance style, from this basic correctness, can proceed further to that edge of personal elegance which Kirstein in writing describes so well and with such zest.

EDWIN DENBY

The Modern Marriage

THE MANY LIVES OF MODERN WOMAN. By Sidonie M. Gruenberg and Hilda Sidney Krech. Doubleday and Company. $3.

OF THE spate of books on how to be human though woman which have appeared in the last few years—and which range from the slick Hillis, "Live Alone and Like it," to the gloomy Farnham, "Modern Woman: The Lost Sex"—this is, on a non-technical level, by far the best.

The authors, a mother and daughter team, do not offer a formula solution to the frequently conflicting problems contemporary women are asked and ask themselves to face, nor do they, as the jacket blurb implies, pretend to chart a "guide to happiness." Instead, in a series of practical and moderately optimistic chapters, they give a clear analysis of the major tasks of reconciliation besetting women today.

They stress that most middle-class young women are "educated" as if they were to spend their lives profitably working at some rather distinguished job for which their training must begin early and the exigencies of which are so great that practical considerations must be shelved while the training period is on. Instead, the authors realistically conclude, most jobs for women, as for men, are neither distinguished nor excessively exigent: they are just jobs, not careers. And unfortunately the great majority never use their special training to any satisfying extent. Meanwhile, with the tacit excuse of career preparation, young women are not permitted to acquire those elementary skills which make the pursuit of their married careers, the only real careers they will ever have, relatively painless.

The recommendation here is not in the fascist tradition that women be prepared only for *Kinder, Kirche, Küche.* Instead, Mmes. Gruenberg and Krech suggest that, especially in the formative—or training—years, girls take a more active part in home responsibility and management regardless of "homework," so that they will not be stunned and bungling neophytes when they face the same problems themselves.

In discussing the modern marriage, the authors come up with the unadmitted but indubitably accurate fact that most young wives are abysmally lonely, whether living in urban or rural communities, lonely, that is, for comparable adult companionship. The small family unit, the gadget-dominated home, both have tended to promote the self-contained cell, so that there is little call for help or real exchange of courtesies between neighbors, much less between relatives. The child-bearing, child-rearing stage, therefore, is apt to be a stagnant one for the mother no matter how this period is lovingly glossed over in later life.

Once the children are in school, the still young mother is too habit-ridden, in most cases, to stir herself to independent activity unless she has to (and throughout the book the authors emphasize that their advice is not primarily for the women who must work for economic reasons but for the "average" middle-class woman who has a choice). Here the good training which the ungifted, unexceptional, but intelligent and quite well-educated American matron has had as a student comes into its own: this training should never be allowed to remain completely dormant. If the field of specialization chosen when young was appropriate in the first place, it should not be tabled permanently. If it was not the right choice, then some more realistic field of special interest should now be developed—and not in a dilettante manner, but with sufficient concentration and consistency to yield, in time, adequate results in terms of accomplishment and personal satisfaction.

The crux of the book seems to me contained in the following recommendation: "Educational leaders (as well as individual women) should give more serious and systematic thought to the distinct stages in the normal life of women. Girls need to be educated and trained somewhat differently from boys. But the different need applies not so much to skills and knowledge as to orientation of women toward realistic expectations for their future lives" (p. 202). This way lies sanity, a diminution of conflict, of frustration, and of just plain waste.

"The Many Lives of Modern Woman" is sound, written way above the level of the usual "how to" article, and seems the most logical analysis yet available of the development of the American woman's life pattern.

FRANCES KEENE

Books in Brief

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE. The Dynamics of American National Government. By James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason. Prentice-Hall. $7.50. One may hope that some of the 70,000,000 Americans who witnessed the recent national conventions turned from their television sets with new curiosity to understand political behavior. An excellent introduction to the problem is provided by this fine book by two able college teachers of politics. It is designed to catch the imagination of readers and to stimulate creative participation in political democracy. The different sections deal with the nature of American society, the essentials of democratic government, civil liberties, the Presidency, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, Congress, and foreign affairs. Beyond this, Burns and Peltason have covered the essential facts and major problems involved in the use and abuse of Congressional investigations,

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government regulation of business, social security, political apathy, and military-civilian relations. The final chapter contains a brief presentation of liberal, conservative, and democratic-socialist ideas for dealing with contemporary problems. There are excellent charts, tables, diagrams, and a selective bibliography. Sprightly writing and some of Herblock's mordant cartoons make this a book to be enjoyed by the general reader.

LAMIEL. By Stendhal. Translated and with an Introduction by T. W. Earp. New Directions. $2. It is annoying to read on the dust-jacket of this new translation that "this little masterpiece—Stendhal's last novel—appears now for the first time in English." The first English translation appeared almost a quarter of a century ago. But it is good to have "Lamiel" available, inexpensively, in a crisp version by T. W. Earp, who has also supplied a useful preface. It was Stendhal's one attempt to write a popular novel, although judging by what he completed it is not very clear *how* it was intended to be popular. Unfortunately, he died before he could finish it. Two-thirds reads like a final draft; the rest grows ever more a series of hasty notes—death approaching—on his intentions. Lamiel, it is a commonplace of Stendhal criticism, is a female Julien Sorel. Stendhal describes magnificently the girlhood of this adopted daughter of a village schoolmaster during the reign of Charles X and life in a Norman château after she had been taken up by the great lady of the district. She learns about ennui, *her* malady, in the château and about sex in the woods and then runs off during the July revolution to make her fortune in Paris. She comes to a very bad end. The provincial scenes are brilliant and very funny. The rest was simply not written, although to the Stendhal enthusiast even his notes about what he would have done will have their great importance.

CORRECTION: In last week's issue it was erroneously noted that "The Bright Medusa," by Howard Mumford Jones, which was reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch, was published by the University of Chicago Press. The book was published by the University of Illinois Press.

Art Begins Again in Germany

BY JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES

Munich

IN THE first years after 1945 German art was in a state of confusion. Anything could be produced, everything could be sold—since there was nothing else to buy—so long as it was what the Nazis had forbidden. Groups were formed and geniuses announced, in Berlin especially, only to disappear again. Expressionism had been dying fifteen years before; but under "reeducation" it was hastily revived and sold to the younger generation as the latest thing in modern art. The exhibitions were a circus of epigones. Meanwhile in the South a few artists were feeling their way and finding one another. In 1947 a few of them began to meet in Munich.

In the group were four painters—Gerhard Fietz, Rupprecht Geiger, Willi Hempel, and Rolf Cavael—and a very young sculptress, Brigitte Meier-Denninghoff. They had Klee and Kandinsky as their spiritual fathers and as temporal father old Willi Baumeister, who was again teaching in Stuttgart after the Nazi ban. The next year Fritz Winter, once a Klee-Kandinsky student at the old Bauhaus, returned from West Siberia. At the end of 1949 the seven formed an exhibition group—"ZEN49." The name owed a little to the German love of mystical philosophy, but it also suggested an affinity to the ancient Chinese, for whom art was a branch of meditation.

In April, 1950, the ZEN49 group held their first show at the American-administered art-collecting point in Munich, then sent their work on view through West Germany. There was Baumeister, who certainly needs no description here. There was Winter, loose, dynamic, with a spatial-romantic color and a swinging line. Fietz, by comparison, was characterized by sensitive, precise, and rather magical drawing, perhaps showing greater depths but with less coming to the top. Geiger was just the opposite—a surrealist architecture built in contrasts of the flat and spatial, colors like trumpet blasts. Cavael's tiny, floating compositions had the "look of silence," still-points of the greatest concentration. Hempel's golden colors gave again the southern Adriatic, where throughout the Nazi period he had his home. Meier-Denninghoff produced forms—in metal, wood, and stone—which seemed ambiguous until one realized that she was rendering the landscape, woods, and mountains in an abstract plastic art.

All this, however, amounted to much more than "organic abstraction." What was common to all the artists, with their various personal styles, was the conviction that art was no play of forms. Their pictures had content—and pride of content. Through the discipline of non-representation both nature and the human theme were coming out again. A great deal that the abstract artists had had to leave aside—chiaroscuro, atmosphere, and lyrical emotion—now returned. One might say that the old antithesis between surrealism and abstract art had been resolved. In this new trend both "form" and "composition" in the cubist-abstract sense had disappeared. Line and color were used independently, and each canvas seemed a glimpse of some bigger reality, caught as it rushed by. The sculptures, in the richness of their plastic forms, carried a threat, surely not independent of the menace of these times.

The next step was to expand the group from its regional beginning. That meant attracting artists from other parts of Germany and from outside. From Berlin, Theodor Werner was invited, a painter of Baumeister's generation who had worked for years in Paris. He brought something to the movement which he had learned from Joán Miró, rhythms with a long, slow elegance. With him came two sculptors: Carl Hartung, handling problems of mass and space like those of Moore's middle period and carrying them farther; and Hans Uhlmann, working principally in wire, a sort of rhythmic drawing in the atmosphere. Three painters came from the Rhineland—Hubert Berke, Hans Trier, and Josef Fassbender. Berke was one of the last of Klee's students in Germany and had learned from him without imitating his style. Trier is another temperament like Fritz Winter, using a fast dynamic line with color as a counterpoint. Fassbender produces little; he is a strange introverted poet who invents, somewhere on the level of the archetypes, a legendary world. Finally, the Paris painters Hans Hartung and Pierre Soulages accepted membership and showed their work.

Like the original group, all varied greatly in temperament. But the contrasts of the second exhibition—Werner's worldly elegance with the dark romantic Winter, Berke's delicate *peinture* with Geiger's sheets of color like projected light, the intense space-tension of a tiny Carl Hartung with a massive rhythmic Meier-Denninghoff—only brought the inner correspondence out. Style here was no more the common element than it was for the painters of the *Blaue Reiter*. Kandinsky saw under their various styles "the spiritualization of matter." And that is the tradition, the "submerged tradition," from which the ZEN group springs. But it has grown up to meet the latest French development, that expressed by Hartung, Schneider, Soulages. These three have now become members of ZEN.

This year the election of Julius Bissier, Woty Werner, and Frederick Thieler has brought the number to thirteen. It could be tripled if a strict eye were not kept on quality. Every day in West Germany one comes upon young artists in whose work the tendency is plain. It hardly seems too soon to speak of a new "school," although it is still a school without a name.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE Kinesis films, produced by a group of little-known San Francisco experimentalists, are mostly animated "cartoons" that have the glitter and bang-bang sort of interest of Pollock-Motherwell-Hoffman paintings, and practically drug you with their quick, even-cutting pace, lush over-scoring of music, and shallow richness. The idea of most of the Kinesis group is to take something that is practically nothing (thick swirls of lavalike paint, etc.), make it march, expand and fade, relate it to Mozart or Dizzy Gillespie, and hope that it takes wing like music. My own feeling is that if you put as much music into films as do Gordon Belson and Hy Hirsh, you won't have a picture so much as a repetitious exercise in rhythm. Belson's new animations give the impression of a Jackson Pollock kaleidoscope set in motion to mamba sounds; the over-all effect is morbid and thick. Hy Hirsh puts on a stunning display of tricky neon-colored evolutions, but her film—Arp-like ovals deploying across the screen like a formation of airplanes through three symphonic movements—almost sent me to sleep.

Weldon Kees's "Apex Hotel" (not animated) steals the Kinesis show, partly because the camera work and cutting are as primitive as the drawing of "Moon Mullins" but principally because it is such an aridly neat and unbiased picture of architectural debris. Kees's camera takes you through a crumbling two-story dwelling, a completely unilluminating tour that keeps you guessing about where the house is, what shape it originally had, and who lived in it. The movie crawls down a steam pipe at the pace of a half-dead bug, sits on a busted light socket for four seconds, stares down a toilet bowl, examines the MacArthur headline of an old newspaper. Kees may never threaten Greg Toland or James Wong Howe as a lensman, but he has a wonderful eye for accidental composition—shapes, lines, and textures lock together as though they were set in concrete. The effects he gets are sometimes quite jolting, as though things were appearing as they are, without any evidence of mood, or participation.

"This Is Cinerama" is a series of pedestrian travelogue ideas (a ride on a roller-coaster, bagpipers skirling around Edinburgh Castle, Niagara from a helicopter) showing what the new three-lensed camera and cycloramic screen can do. To judge from the audiences' reactions, the movie industry some day will throw its old camera equipment in the ash can and start rebuilding movie theaters with fifty-foot-long curving screens and three projection booths midway in the orchestra section. Fred Waller's invention is a device for widening the screen image to take in periphery impressions seen from the corners of the eyes; three synchronized images joined at the edges are thrown on the screen, which seems to half-surround the spectator. The impact of this presentation will probably open the pores of the movie industry, and I am all for it, partly because it will bring into power the panoramic shots and documentary photography originally basic to the medium, before the theatrical people took over talkies. There are some disappointing things that Cinerama's backers (Lowell Thomas, Mike Todd)

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failed to mention. The big, deep screen is much too large for comfortable viewing, and the sound is roughly equivalent to being at the center of a volcano. You frequently look at an image that offers some of the distortions of a concave or convex mirror—it is apparently not yet possible to show a perfectly straight line across the screen. The three-dimensional effect is strictly an illusion; it would be interesting to see the result of an alliance between this invention and a stereoscopic device.

So much for the out-of-the-ordinary movies. Now the problem is how to enjoy such pillars of platitude as some of the following releases. "What Price Glory?" owes its spark and vitality to the Cagney-Dailey acting team, which doesn't seem bothered by having to shoulder the oldest luggage of slapstick and pathos. Going along with modern Broadway ideas, someone at Twentieth-Century-Fox got the notion to do this War I play and movie (which had guts, explosive energy) as a snappy, overdecorated semi-musical, with soldiers on motor cycles running smack into haystacks, tough officers choking up at the sight of a wounded youngster and cursing the horrors of war, and every so often the oh-so-cute Corinne Calvet being maneuvered by a crowd of drunken friends into a position where you can either look up or down her dress. The rivalry between Captain Flagg and Sergeant Quirt is worked out with a ballet-like synchronism between its two leads, both of whom seem to have ripened in recent years and to have become curiously uneasy and eccentric, even verging to the slightest degree on madness—Cagney, with a crazy waddle and ferocious decisiveness, and Dailey with a loose-tongued delivery and the signs of frenzy in his Gary Cooperish face. Their befuddled digressions into mannerism give the film the sharp accents and jagged rhythms of silent films, and lessen the romantic distortions of director John Ford, who derived his shapes and colors from Thomas Benton's paintings.

"The Happy Time" takes a sweet look at a twelve-year-old being indoctrinated into the mysteries of life in 1910 in Ottawa; it stars Bobby Driscoll, a juvenile whose strident ambition to get ahead in films has gained him some of the indigestible qualities of Betty Hutton and Jerry Lewis. "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" is mainly lacking in a sense of when enough is enough; the hero is a great-lover-writer-hunter-soldier who has lover's quarrels and reconciliations with everyone but Ethel Barrymore and daydreams endlessly. Its only actors who manage to combine fire and grace are an eerie hyena and the alto saxophonist Benny Carter.

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued Berlioz's "Harold in Italy" played by Beecham with his Royal Philharmonic and William Primrose as viola soloist. It is a better performance than Koussevitzky's, and better recorded (*i. e.,* with clarity in the brilliant climaxes that were blurred by reverberation in Koussevitzky's performance). But it suffers from the stodginess and fussiness that have been evident in Beecham's recent work; and it suffers further from Primrose's vulgar playing—in particular the fat-toned wailing which the engineers allowed to obliterate some of the miraculously beautiful orchestral details in the third movement. The recorded sound (from my city machine again) is excellent.

One of Brahms's finest instrumental works, his Symphony No. 4, receives its definitive recorded performance from Toscanini and the NBC Symphony on an RCA Victor record. It is a performance free of all the traditional changes of tempo in the first and last movements, and wonderfully satisfying in its steadiness, its continuity of impetus and flow, its organic coherence, its clarity of texture, its exquisite modeling of phrase. And with bass stepped up it is excellently reproduced.

Similar clarity, continuity, and coherence are part of what is impressive in Cantelli's performance of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 with the Milan Scala Orchestra on an HMV record. And in addition there is the interest of a performance free of traditional excesses—one that gives us the work strictly as it is written. Here and there it is a little too rigid; but for the most part it is a refreshing experience. The orchestra, unfortunately, isn't first-class, or doesn't sound first-class on this record, which seems to have been dubbed from 78s: the sound requires stepping up of bass and treble, and isn't spacious and voluminous; contrapuntal texture isn't clear; the second movement becomes enveloped in a hash of distortion.

On another HMV record, also dubbed from 78s, are Mozart's Symphony K.425 ("Linz") and Haydn's Symphony No. 88 played by Fritz Busch with the Danish State Radio Symphony. The tempo of the first movement of the Mozart symphony seems to me too fast for the proper effect of the music, but otherwise the performance is excellent; and so is the performance of the Haydn. The recorded sound of the Mozart requires stepping up of bass; that of the Haydn requires even more bass but a reduction of treble to avoid stridency, and even then the sound is not clean in the third and fourth movements.

Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 49 ("La Passione") (1768) and 73 ("La Chasse") (1781) are on a Haydn Society record played by Harry Newstone with the Haydn Orchestra of London. No. 49 has a superb slow first movement and an engaging minuet movement; No. 73 is a more engaging work throughout. The performances are outstandingly fine; the recorded sound of No. 73 is good, but that of No. 49 requires reduction of treble to avoid stridency, and even then is a little unclean in the last movement.

By virtue of a book about Berlioz noteworthy, among other reasons, for its author's inability to say anything illuminating about Berlioz's music, Jacques Barzun has become the man to review performances and recordings of Berlioz's works in the *Saturday Review* and to compile "Pleasures of Music: A Reader's Choice of Great Writing About Music and Musicians" (Viking, $5). In the customary editor's introduction, entitled Music and Words, he envelopes the subject of writing words about music in a haze of diffuse bright chatter, and more relevantly offers explanations of the preponderant number of items in the collection that are not writing about music but merely involve music indirectly in some way—e.g., excerpts from novels, Barnum's account of the Jenny Lind tour, Prokofiev's confession of error after the Zhdanov denunciation. Mr. Barzun also states his criteria of selection: "the representative worth of the sample, the greatness of the mind that conceived it, and the felicity of the prose"; but a large number of the selections are not to be accounted for by these values or any others; nor has he chosen the best work of even the great writers. What he has done in this collection is to demonstrate again, as in the book on Berlioz, the enormous amount and range of his reading, and again his astounding lack of discrimination. And one begins to see the process which produced both books: a lifetime of indiscriminate collecting of bits of material into files, then an equally indiscriminate emptying of the files into books.

CONTRIBUTORS

HAYDEN CARRUTH, was formerly editor of *Poetry*.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON, author of "The Crooked Corridor: A Study of Henry James," is at work on a biography of Henry Adams.

EDWIN DENBY is the author of "Looking at the Dance."

JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES has written on art for various publications in this country and in Europe.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Racism Northern Style

Dear Sirs: Many Northerners criticize the South for the violent acts it has committed against the Negro population. Few Northern whites are aware, however, that their communities are often just as guilty of injustice toward the Negro as Southern towns. The exoneration of policemen guilty of beating or killing Negroes by all white juries—whose sense of justice is clouded by the drunk, razor-wielding stereotype of the Negro—is building up resentment for which there is no outlet because the authorities and the press conspire to keep the people ignorant of what is going on. Yonkers is one such community.

On March 19 at about 9 p. m. Stanley LaBensky, a recently retired Westchester County policeman, walked into Yale's Tavern on Riverdale Avenue in Yonkers and complained to the bartender, Sam Serbay, because drinks were being served to Negro patrons while he was there. Shortly after leaving the bar LaBensky encountered some Negro men on the sidewalk. Whipping out his unlicensed automatic pistol LaBensky jammed it against the first man's stomach, saying, "So you don't think I'd fire this thing?" and shot at point-blank range, killing Wyatt Blacknall instantly. LaBensky then fired two shots into James Blacknall, nephew of his first victim, who died three hours later. Another member of the Blacknall family, William, narrowly escaped being shot as he ran for help when LaBensky's gun jammed.

The local newspaper in reporting the crime quoted Acting Public Safety Commissioner William J. Comey as saying that the slayings were "unprovoked." In the same paper was a front-page two-column spread dedicated to LaBensky's achievements as a revolver expert and his "heroism" in World War II, including a photograph taken of LaBensky in police uniform "demonstrating shooting from a motor cycle." No personal tributes were made to Wyatt Blacknall's service in World War II nor to James, too young to have served in the war, but married and the father of a two-year-old son.

The Negro people vigorously protested these killings and also the newspaper's method of reporting the case at an overflow rally held in Yonkers, where a resolution was drafted asking Governor Dewey to disqualify District Attorney George Fanelli as LaBensky's prosecutor. Fanelli, the man responsible for order at Peekskill in 1949 and later the man who investigated the disorder, said that there was no need for a protest meeting and that "the indictments in this case will be prosecuted vigorously."

On June 11, in White Plains, Stanley LaBensky was found innocent of both counts of first-degree murder by an all white jury. LaBensky had claimed self-defense. In his charge to the jury Judge Liddle said that if the jury found that LaBensky believed he was about to be assaulted or about to be robbed, then he had a right to shoot.

It may well be that LaBensky's action in killing these people and the jury's action in acquitting him was influenced by the fact that the Blacknalls were not the first Negro men to die at the hands of policemen in Yonkers, and LaBensky was not the first to go unpunished for murder.

On August 27, 1949, Thomas Wilson, a twenty-six-year-old veteran who worked as a hod carrier, was brutally clubbed and then shot to death in a bar on New Main Street by Patrolmen Allison Hopper and Frank Porach. Wilson was unarmed. His brother, Leonard, was present, and when he asked Patrolman Hopper not to shoot he was told to stand back or he would get the same treatment as his brother.

The Yonkers Police Department found no fault with the conduct of the policemen, and District Attorney Fanelli did not see fit to make a separate investigation of his own, so the two policemen resumed their duties as guardians of Yonkers law.

Amanda Wilson Flamer, sister of the dead man, filed a suit for civil indemnity against the city of Yonkers. When the case came to trial, the policemen denied beating Wilson, despite the coroner's testimony that the corpse bore scalp wounds to the bone, and asserted that the bleeding and beaten Wilson was moving toward them as though to attack when Patrolman Hopper shot, in direct contradiction to even the policemen's own witness.

Mrs. Flamer lost her case and is now trying to raise the hundreds of dollars necessary to have the court records printed in order to appeal the case.

The greatest difficulty in the Wilson

case has been to find witnesses willing to testify in court because of the fear of police retaliations. One witness who testified that Wilson was killed unnecessarily was subsequently told by a policeman, "We have the F. B. I. watching you."

One eyewitness to the Wilson slaying who had courage enough to testify in court was a mild-mannered man named Oliver Phillips. By the time the Wilson case came to court, however, Oliver Phillips was dead of bullet wounds inflicted by another patrolman, rookie James Waldron.

Early in the morning of September 15, 1951, Patrolman Waldron, who was off duty and out of uniform, was celebrating the birth of his first child by drinking in Yonkers bars with three friends. Sometime after 3 a. m. the four men drove into Morgan Street, an out of the way street in a Negro neighborhood known for its "after-hours" house of prostitution.

The policeman's story of the incident is that his friends' car broke down on Morgan Street and that he shot and killed Oliver Phillips and seriously wounded Payton Miller because they had attacked him. The three able-bodied men with Waldron do not claim to have been attacked and explain that they did not help Waldron because they were "frozen to their places."

This story was greeted with a good deal of skepticism in Yonkers, but two days later Captain O'Connor of the Police Department announced that Waldron's story was "correct in every detail." District Attorney Fanelli again made no investigation of the affair, and Waldron continues as a policeman, as do Hopper and Porach.

PERSONALS

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Payton Miller, survivor of Waldron's shooting spree, filed a charge of first-degree assault against Patrolman Waldron. A grand jury cleared Waldron of this charge and at the same time indicted the victim for second-degree assault.

The widow of Oliver Phillips has filed a civil suit for $75,000 indemnity against the city of Yonkers, but there is even more difficulty in getting witnesses for this case, since many of the people who saw the shooting are themselves engaged in illegal activities.

Despite the fact that Thomas Wilson, Oliver Phillips, and the older Blacknall were all veterans of World War II, the veterans' organizations not only have made no protest but have actually allied themselves with the police in suppressing any possible protest.

With the exception of the American Labor Party, no political, religious, or civic group of any kind has issued a statement condemning the killings or sought ways of avoiding further incidents of this type.

The Negro community in Yonkers is more of a ghetto today than ever before in its history. The people smolder with an anger for which there is no outlet. The local N. A. A. C. P. has taken no effective action in any one of these cases, and people generally show little trust in it as an organization.

CLAIRE HURWITZ

Yonkers, New York

The African Sculptor . . .

Dear Sirs: I read with read great interest the appreciative remarks of S. Lane Faison, Jr., on my book "African Sculpture Speaks," in your September 27 issue. With all due respect to the liberty of a reviewer, I would like to comment on one of his statements which would appear contrary to what I have written.

He says that my "approach is fundamentally different from" what Picasso said ". . . when the form is realized it is there to lead its own life." First of all, Picasso's statement does not refer to African sculpture but to cubism. Secondly, it was I who used this quotation on the very first page of my book, to indicate that this statement, in my opinion, is also applicable to African sculpture. Furthermore, I elaborate upon this concept in several instances—for example, on page 130—and tried to show that the appeal of African art to the Western mind is not because it originates in Africa, but because its "abstract" quality is so akin to cubist paintings. Thus instead of being fundamentally different I am fundamentally in agreement, considering our approach to African art from the artistic viewpoint.

The fact that in another section of my book I related the sculpture to its ethnic origin and tried to convey the African's concept—the reason behind the sculpture—has nothing to do with the great emotional reaction we experience from contemplating an African carving. My contention is that if, through intellectual channels, we can understand the meaning of an art manifestation in its own surroundings and can couple this with an emotional resonance, our experience has been enriched.

LADISLAS SEGY

New York

. . . and the Cubist

Dear Sirs: Despite the author's tendentious rebuttal of my review of his book, I still think Ladislas Segy has written a fine work on African sculpture. I also still think he is in arrears in his discussion of its impact on modern art. After rereading page 130 I find no reason to change anything in my review. No doubt, as Segy says, "it was the *spirit* of that African sculpture, its content, its inner drive, which was captured by the modern artists." And no doubt this content, first digested, was then recreated by them. But the recreation led to sharply differing results, and therefore all generalization about the modern response to African sculpture is misleading if it does not explore these divergences.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Williamstown, Mass.

The Well-worn Shoes

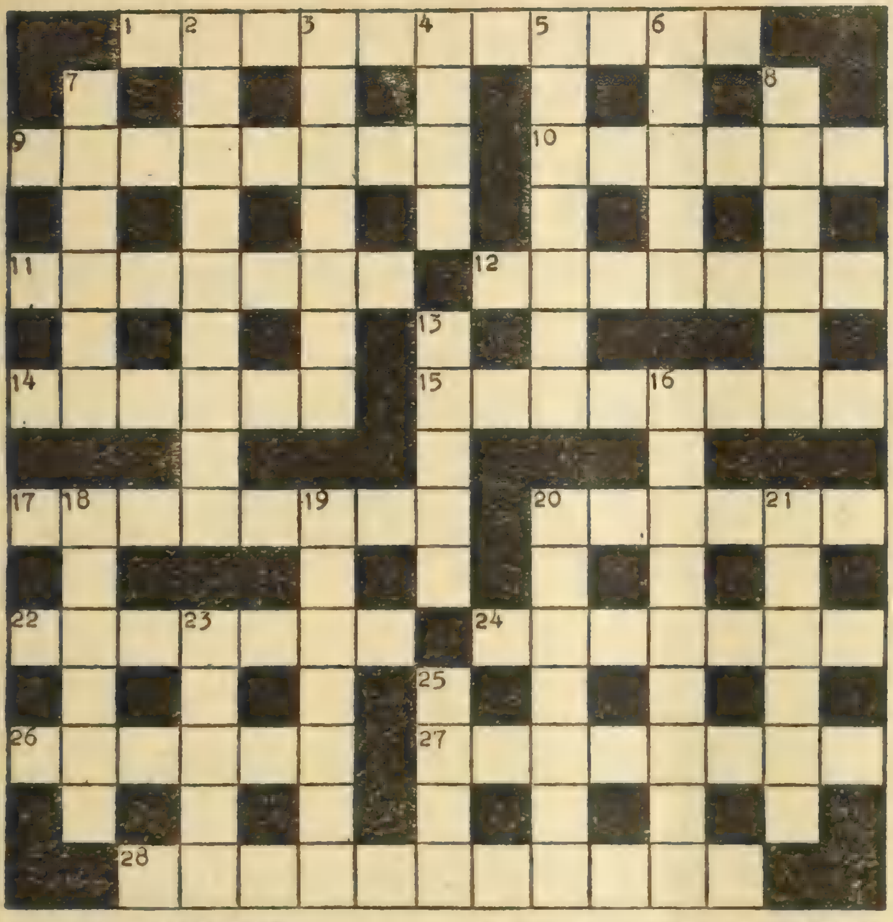
Dear Sirs: Many of your readers must have seen the photograph of Stevenson which showed a hole in the sole of one of his shoes; this little poem, written by Russel A. Morehouse, was prompted by it:

As a choice of candidates
  From which to choose,
I'm votin' for him
  With the well-worn shoes,
Not choosin' him
  Who stands revealed
With too many men
  Who're too well heeled!

Edmonds, Wash. RICHARD BRADLY

Crossword Puzzle No. 485

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Ensign? (4, 7)
9 Harte's were connected with what sounds like a game on the level. (8)
10 Part of the Big Lie recalls an association with the Red Poppy. (6)
11 Synonyms of a beginner concealed in and confused with the Adam's Apple. (7)
12 Loaded with poison? (7)
14 Bring back a stone barrel from Connecticut, perhaps. (6)
15 Not likely to be a mermaid, but when one is angling for a wife he might hope to. (8)
17 You might Handel's to suit your voice when singing "away down south." (3, 5)
20 This is a sort of bug in a river. (6)
22 Patrick's alternative was not to be quick. (7)
24 Rides to part of an estate, but not first, second, or third. (7)
26 Act essential in the make-up of the realm. (6)
27 What one doesn't like to hear from either the back seat or from under the hood? (8)
28 Mechanical device that heats the meanest quarters with hot water? (5, 6)

DOWN

2 Causing tears to appear. (9)
3 Rather young bird to leave with a weapons carrier! (7)
4 Instructions not to eat quickly? (4)
5 Firmly fixed (but not when raining. (7)
6 Men in this feed on dreams, according to Aeschylus. (5)
7 Shut up! You probably can't understand it, anyway! (6)
8 and 13. The low level of sawdust, perhaps. (6, 5)
16 Anyway, would it be correct to say 3 is of all the birds? (9)
18 He was creative enough to come up with half the body missing. (6)
19 Something to help you hold your drink, when in a bad way? (The Capitol has one.) (7)
20 Where to look for the band of 3? (7)
21 Over-age fish? Hoover implied every one would be full. (6)
23 Raise up. (5)
25 Serves, perhaps, at court. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 484

ACROSS:—1 SOMEBODY; 5 CORSET; 9 RENAMES; 10 CREAMER; 11 and 16 down CHICKEN A LA KING; 12 OMICRON; 13 DANGER SIGNALS; 15 CLASS STRUGGLE; 21 BRAHMAN; 22 SEA WALL; 23 OMINOUS; 24 IMPALED; 25 SIGNET; [illegible] ANCESTOR.

DOWN:—1 SPRUCE; 2 MANKIND; 3 BUMPKIN; 4 DISINFECTANTS; 6 OPENING; 7 SAMARIA; 8 TARTNESS; 10 CROSS-QUESTION; 14 SCABIOUS; 17 SOMEONE; 18 GRAPPLE; 19 EPAULET; 20 GLIDER.

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THE *Nation*

October 18, 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Louisiana Travesty

New Orleans

THE note of low comedy is ineradicable from the public affairs of the state of Louisiana. Bourbons and demagogues wield the pig's bladder and the bull whip alternately. Characteristically, state officials came a cropper when they recently launched an anti-Communist drive.

The last session of the Louisiana legislature passed a Communist-control act which declared that all Communists and members of Communist fronts who intend to stay in the state more than five days must register with the Department of Public Safety. The penalty for non-registration is a fine of $1,000 to $10,000 and a jail term of two to ten years. Persons registering must give their occupations and organizational ties.

There was virtually no opposition to this dubious measure. Only the New Orleans League of Women Voters lobbied mildly against it. The New Orleans *Item* has consistently opposed McCarthyism, the one paper in the state to do so, but it did not say a word about this home-bred eruption of the plague. The bill passed the state senate with but one dissenting vote.

The official in charge of administering the law, Colonel Francis C. Grevenberg, state superintendent of police, set September 1 to 15 as the registration period and during those two weeks issued frequent press releases urging the reds to stand up and be counted. As a spur to compliance, he hinted darkly of having obtained information from the F. B. I. But the registration deadline passed and the rolls remained blank.

Then on September 23 the state police arrested two New Orleans men, Louis Lockett and Robert Burns, both Negroes, for violating the control act. It seems that in filling out the required forms when they registered to vote they had declared, "I am now affiliated with the Communist Party." Lockett explained how they had happened to do it. "There's a line on the registration blank for voting," he said, "that says something like 'I am now affiliated with the blank party.' You fill in the blank 'Republican' or 'Democrat.' But Burns and I both read the thing to say, 'I am *not* affiliated with the blank party.' Being veterans and having had lots of non-Communist forms to sign before, we inserted the word Communist to show we were not affiliated with that party. We're both good Democrats."

Lockett was discharged from the army medical corps two months ago and is still in the reserve. During World War II he served in the Coast Guard. Burns was honorably discharged a year ago after a four-year hitch in the air force, including service in Korea.

The district attorney's office accepted the charges against the two men, and they were sent to the parish jail, unable to raise the required $5,000 bail.

Fantastic as the incident is, it reveals some sinister facts about Louisiana. First in illiteracy in the union, the state uses an extremely complicated voting registration form and expects the applicant to fill it out without assistance and to the satisfaction of the registrar. Registrars have been heard to boast that "not even a college Ph.D. could get on the books if we didn't want him to."

In addition, the state police's choice of its initial victims was highly significant. At work was the ageless equation of bigotry: a Negro who tries to vote is "uppity" and therefore is probably a red. The larger intention behind the arrests, whether they hold up in court or not, was to intimidate further the prospective Negro voter, who already has good reason to suspect bias in the mechanics of vote registration.

To give due credit to the perspicacity of the state police, they made the best possible application—for their purposes—of a completely pointless law. All has been quiet on the Louisiana labor front; no challenges to racial segregation have assumed serious form; the Progressive Party is defunct. But to the discomfort of the Dixiecrats, the qualified Negro electorate has been booming.

More than 95,000 Negroes are now registered to vote in Louisiana as against about 25,000 in 1948. In the Democratic primary this year the first Negro since Reconstruction days ran for governor and finished fifth in a field of seven. Court decisions have opened the rolls in nearly three-quarters of the state's parishes, or counties.

It is doubtful that any number of "control" laws can stop this march to the polls. But Louisiana's dextrous police have vividly demonstrated that the truncheon designed to maim civil liberties can be easily used against civil rights. For this reason, the little legal farce deserves a moment of serious contemplation by the rest of the nation.

ALFRED MAUND

[*The author is assistant to the director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.*]

WHAT YOU LOSE IF EISENHOWER WINS

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · OCTOBER 18, 1952 NUMBER 16

The Stake in Stevenson's Victory

THE NATION indorses Adlai E. Stevenson for President of the United States. We do so without concealing or minimizing our differences with him and the Democratic Party on several important issues. We do so because, after weighing soberly the policies and practices of both parties and candidates, we believe the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower would be a disaster for the country and perhaps for the world.

The facts on which we have based our decision are given in detail in a special section of this issue—What You Lose if Eisenhower Wins. That any liberal who reads those facts will fail to arrive at the same conclusion we cannot believe.

Our chief difference with Governor Stevenson is on his handling of the issue of communism. As we pointed out last week, he seems to us to be exaggerating both the danger of communism in America and the measures required to deal with it. In his Detroit speech on October 7 he defended the Smith act, approved putting Communist leaders "behind bars," gave unqualified praise to the F. B. I., and pointed with satisfaction to the 1,500 federal employees ousted for "doubtful loyalty." In our opinion this wholesale indorsement of the government's internal-security program was an unfortunate concession to current hysteria, and we believe it will only strengthen the hand of the McCarthy fanatics.

The Nation is opposed to communism. We have no doubt that there are spies working for the Soviet government in this country. We believe they should be ferreted out and punished by legal methods. But we are in complete disagreement with the idea that communism as a doctrine or Communists as such constitute a serious threat to our form of government and our way of life. Those who hold this idea—among them the Republican candidate and his backers—betray a basic lack of confidence in the democratic system.

In our view communism is an anachronism in America. It offers no threat to a highly industrialized, highly productive economy like our own so long as that economy functions effectively to provide a decent standard of living, and so long as individual liberty continues to flourish under democratic safeguards. It is only in countries whose people are struggling under the burden of poverty, ignorance, and oppression that communism exercises an understandable appeal.

We are disappointed, as we have said, that Governor Stevenson failed to deal with the Communist issue in these terms. In spite of this we have confidence in his essential democracy and liberalism, his passionate love for America, his concern for human freedom. We are deeply impressed by his personal integrity, his willingness to take positions contrary to those held by important groups of potential supporters. We share his belief that government can and must serve the people, and we trust his assurance that the best features of the New and Fair Deals will be continued and improved.

GENERAL EISENHOWER is today the willing spokesman of big business and the most reactionary elements in the Republican Party. We have been astonished, as well as horrified, by his readiness to accept these groups, abandoning the more liberal leaders who fought and won the battle for his nomination at Chicago. We have been shocked, too, by his public indorsement of McCarthy and Jenner, and by his cool repudiation of national policies which he helped to shape during and after the war.

Today Eisenhower has behind him the concentrated economic, financial, and industrial power of the country. His candidacy has unified American reaction, North and South, East and West. His following embraces the "angry right" of the Republican Party, which he was supposed to have routed at the Chicago convention, the Dixiecrats, and beyond these the semi-fascist rabble to whom McCarthy and MacArthur are heroes.

We no longer have any doubt that an Eisenhower victory would endanger the social gains of the last twenty-five years and slam the door on further reform; that it would intensify the drive against civil liberties, greatly strengthen the military–big business influence in government, and increase the power of the Dixiecrats.

In other countries his victory would be taken as an indication that the United States had ruled out the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the cold war. Indeed, Eisenhower's pronouncements on foreign policy —"liberation" for Eastern Europe and China, and

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"Asians against Asians"—have already been interpreted abroad in this sense. A recent editorial comment in the London *Tribune* on the liberation proposal was echoed with greater or less vehemence in many journals:

> The policy in fact is one of a general crusade against communism to be waged without end until this doctrine of government is confined to the borders of Russia itself. Why the crusade should stop at this point is not so clear. The case for destroying communism in Russia should surely be no less strong than the case for destroying it in China. However, the lapse of logic is merely an illustration of the criminal insanity which underlies the whole program. The plain fact is that General Eisenhower is outlining a policy to which he knows no Russian government could possibly give its acceptance. He thus rules out any faint possibility of negotiation and invites us to a conquest, as the Russians would see it, more formidable by far than anything which ever filled the mind of man before.

GOVERNOR STEVENSON, on the other hand, while insisting that negotiations with the Russians should be based on strength, has firmly advocated making every effort to achieve peaceful coexistence:

> Coexistence is not a form of passive acceptance of things as they are. It is waging a contest between freedom and tyranny by peaceful means. It will involve negotiation and adjustment—compromise but not appeasement—and I will never shrink from these if they would advance the world toward a secure peace.

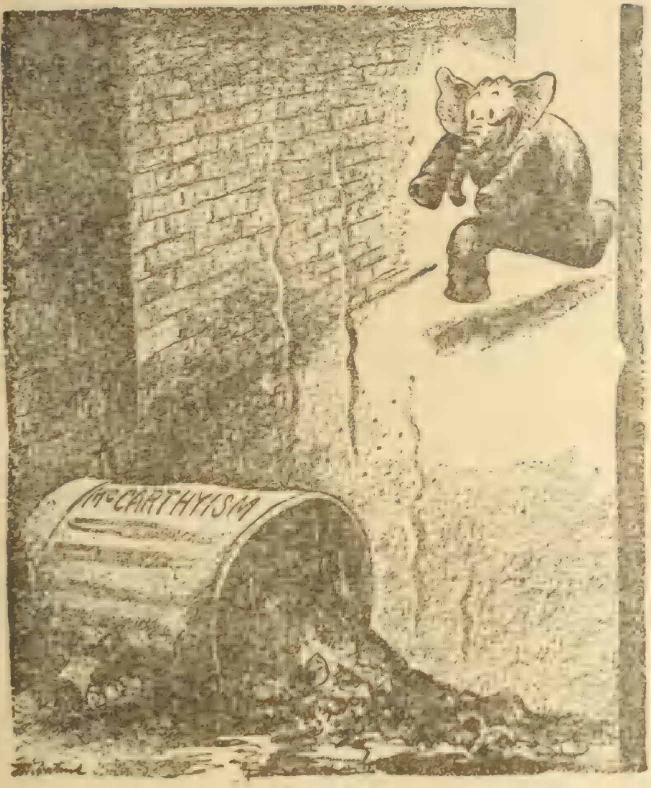
He has denounced the suggestion that we should instigate civil war in satellite countries, characterizing this idea as "dangerous, reckless, foolish . . . and likely to lead to the sacrifice of the lives of the very people whom we hope to liberate." He has said: "We must never close our minds or freeze our positions. We must strive constantly to break the deadlock in our atomic discussions."

Governor Stevenson offers the country a constructive domestic policy geared to the concept of improving the standard of living of all groups in our community. He offers the world a foreign policy geared to the concept that peace and the survival of democracy can be secured only by rescuing from ignorance and misery the masses of humanity now involved in a great revolutionary ferment. These positions are more, we believe, than mere campaign promises. The token of their good faith is Stevenson's own record and the achievements of the Democratic Party under Roosevelt and Truman.

The Republican record is one of opposition to every progressive policy at home and abroad. The leaders chiefly responsible for that record are the men who control the mind and policies of Eisenhower.

This year, according to recent polls, independent voters form at least half of the electorate; more than in any previous election they will determine the outcome. Because of this the independent voter carries an immense and unprecedented responsibility. *The Nation's* readers are almost without exception both liberal and independent. They vote not according to party labels but according to their best judgment as to candidates and issues. To all of them we say: Failure to recognize that there is a clear choice between Eisenhower and Stevenson is to misread the time-table by which we live. To elect Stevenson is the only possible choice for the independent voter.

Fitzpatrick on the Campaign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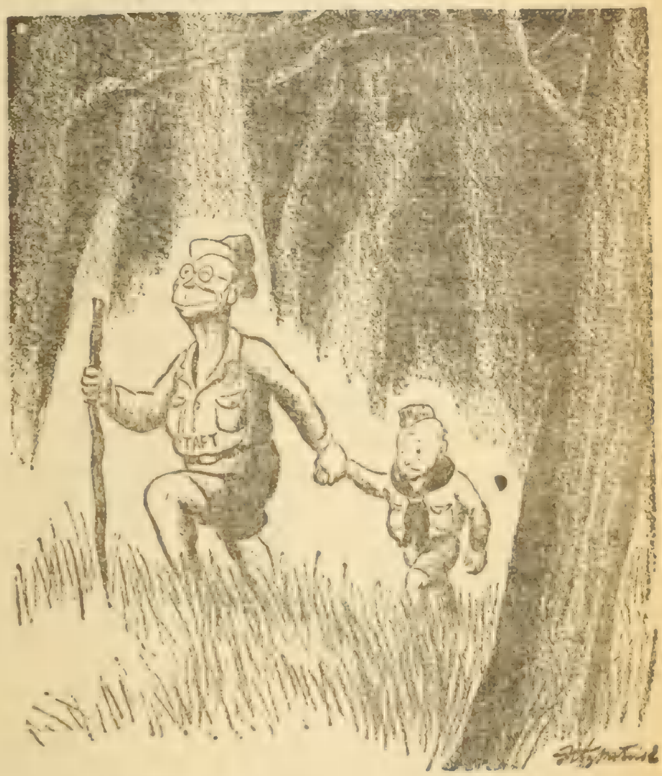
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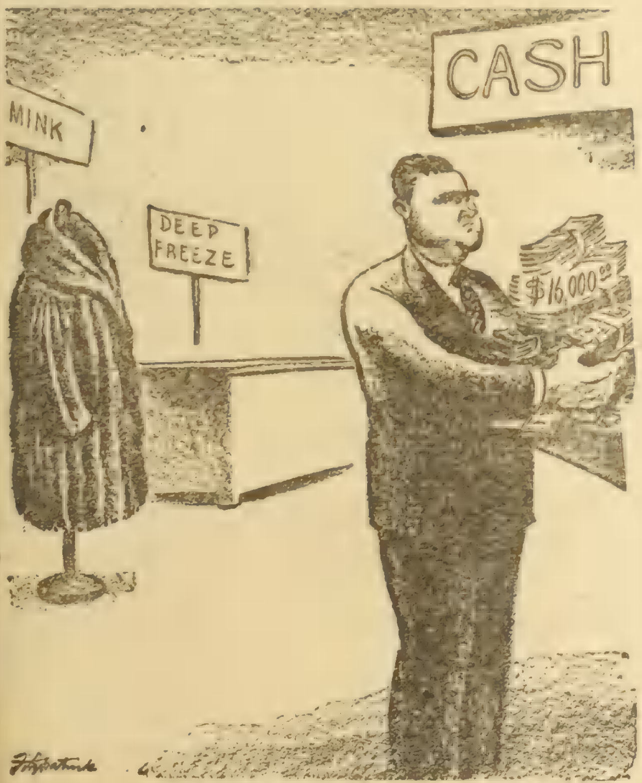
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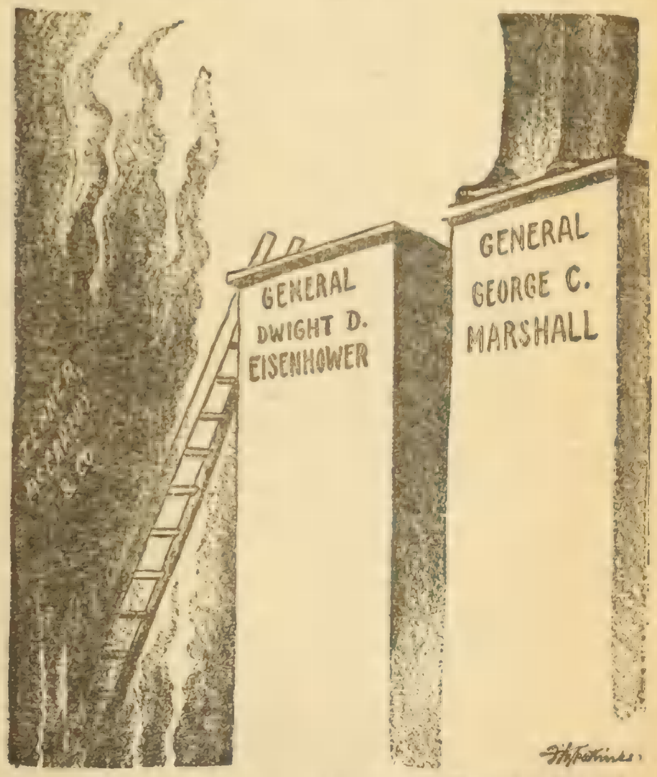
GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL
Fitzpatrick

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Off on a Strange Crusade

WHAT *YOU LOSE* IF EISENHOWER *WINS*

The Republican Record Exposed

WHEN Dwight D. Eisenhower became the Republican candidate for the Presidency of the United States, he brought with him the untarnished glamour of the general who had led the Allied forces to victory in World War II and the prestige of the head of NATO. He commanded the respect of the entire American community. Today, three months after his nomination, he stands revealed as a man with a consuming desire for the Presidency—a reactionary, a compromiser, ready to concede principle to expediency in order to win.

For proof, look at the record. Today General Eisenhower has publicly embraced the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party, represented by Senators Robert A. Taft, Joseph R. McCarthy, William E. Jenner, Harry P. Cain, and Richard M. Nixon, and has accepted as his own the program of the Republican Old Guard.

If Ike wins, his next in command will be Richard Nixon, creature of the real-estate, oil, and China lobbies, second only to McCarthy in the tactic of smear and run. Vanished are the important Republican liberals who initiated the boom for Ike as part of a new deal for the Republican Party.

Who Wins with Ike?

Is this a temporary retreat, typical of all political campaigns, that can be reversed once the election is over and Ike has won? No. If Ike wins, the Old Guard in the Republican Party will hold the positions of power. Unschooled in civilian affairs, Ike, more than most Presidents, will be dependent upon Congress. In a Republican Congress the dominant figure will be Senator Taft—head of the Republican Party's Policy Committee, arch-isolationist, the man who voted against the Marshall Plan, the Mutual Security Program, Point Four, wage-and-price controls; joint author of the Taft-Hartley act; a Senator who puts economy above security and has opposed virtually every measure to improve the living standard of the American people.

It is the Taft–Old Guard program that Eisenhower is offering as his formula for victory. Is it likely that he can or will discard Taft or the program if he wins?

The Interests Behind Ike

That Ike should have capitulated to Taft and McCarthy, that he should have embraced Cain and Jenner and all the Republican "dinosaurs," is not surprising if one examines his sponsors.

Not a single important section of industrial power is behind Stevenson. Behind Eisenhower stand the chief banking, oil, steel, rubber, coal, and chemical interests, the private utilities, the armament industry, the automobile, electric-products, and food industries.

The plan to make Eisenhower President was formulated in 1945 by four of the most powerful dynasties in this country—the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans, and du Ponts. These four families have direct assets of over five billion dollars. They have immediate access to assets of over fifty billion.

The real "brain trust" behind Dwight D. Eisenhower, representing these interests, consists of three men—Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank; Thomas J. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society; and Thomas J. Watson, chairman of International Business Machines. These three, as trustees of Columbia University, arranged that the presidency of that institution be offered to Eisenhower as his introduction into civilian life and as the first step in grooming him for the Presidency of the United States.

In July, 1952, the du Pont interests, which had strongly favored Robert A. Taft for President, were won over to Eisenhower's candidacy by the appointment of Arthur E. Summerfield as chairman of the Republican National Committee. Mr. Summerfield is one of the largest automobile dealers in the country and through his Chevrolet agency is linked closely to General Motors, controlled by the du Ponts.

ARE YOU an industrial worker, a white-collar worker, a farmer, a small business man, a professional, a member of a minority group? Whoever you are, this is what you have to lose if Eisenhower wins:

A fair chance for peace, an economy geared to the needs of the ordinary citizen, relief from inflation, equitable distribution of taxes, public development of natural resources in the public interest, the return to an America free from fear and free from want.

Look at the record and judge for yourself.

Are You an Industrial Worker?

If you are, you know that since 1932, under the New Deal and Fair Deal, labor's average wage has risen 90 per cent, while the average number of hours worked has decreased. Time and a half for overtime is accepted practice; paid holidays and vacations are provided by many employers. These gains were obtained by the workers themselves acting through their unions. But their right to organize freely and to bargain collectively was given great impetus in 1933, when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, and again in 1935 when the Wagner act was passed. Progress continued under successive Democratic administrations which recognized that greater well-being for workers meant greater well-being for the country.

In 1947 a major blow at the rights of labor was struck by the Taft-Hartley law, sponsored by Senator Taft and Representative Fred Hartley, both Republicans. President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, but the Republican majority overrode his veto. The nature of the law is best revealed by the fact that organized labor unanimously opposed it while the National Association of Manufacturers spent $3,600,000 trying to sell it to the American public.

Taft-Hartley is an attempt to hobble free labor unions. It gives the employer the power to prevent mass picketing, the power to enforce the open shop, the power to destroy union treasuries by damage claims. It imposes upon union leaders the infamous loyalty oath which no enemy of America would refuse to take and no loyal American needs to take. It has prevented hundreds of thousands of workers from improving their lot through unionization.

In the five years before the Taft-Hartley act was passed, the labor force was increased by 900,000 persons and union membership by 5,000,000. Since 1947 the labor force has increased by 4,500,000 persons, but unions have gained only 800,000 new members.

Under the law, fines and damage suits have cost the United Mine Workers $5,470,000, the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department $2,000,000, the International Typographical Union of the A. F. of L. $11,000,000. Thirty damage suits totaling $30,000,000 have been brought against the Oil Workers Union of the C. I. O., and twenty-five injunctions and two thousand contempt charges have been piled on members of the union.

The United Packinghouse Workers face a $2,756,000 damage suit brought by Armour and Company. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union was fined $750,000 for picketing the Juneau Spruce Company of Alaska in a dispute with the International Woodworkers in 1950. The National Association of Marine Cooks and Stewards has paid $65,000 worth of penalties in employers' suits since the Taft-Hartley law was passed. The United Automobile Workers in Indiana is being sued for $190,000 in damages, the New York Teamsters for $3,000,000.

The obvious intent of these actions is to deplete union treasuries, weaken organization, and reduce benefits to union members.

The 1952 Republican platform favors the retention of the Taft-Hartley act, though Eisenhower has said he wants some amendments to it. Contrast this with the Democratic platform's opposition to the law and the outspoken demand for its repeal by Governor Stevenson.

If Ike and his crew win, *Robert A. Taft, principal author of the Taft-Hartley act, would become chairman of the Senate's Labor Committee in control of all labor legislation.*

Civil Liberties, the Professional, and the Public

If you are a lawyer, teacher, writer, minister, librarian, actor, artist, doctor, then your whole future depends upon the outcome of this election. For you must have freedom of thought, association, speech, and action in order to function. Upon your freedom depends the society of the future.

Goebbels taught the world the value of the big lie. He also taught the world how to destroy opposition by shackling the freedom of the leadership groups. These techniques have already appeared on the American scene. The requirement of loyalty oaths is spreading through the professions. Book purges are frequent. The pressure of economic boycott has virtually regimented the entertainment industry and has invaded the teaching and scientific worlds. Fear of economic and social ostracism is creating a society of informers. Black and gray lists and private Gestapos are a commonplace. Trial by slander and insinuation is replacing due process under the laws of evidence.

The freedom of the professional groups was first attacked; but the intention is to strike at every sector of the community. Carried to its logical conclusion, this campaign would make the America of tomorrow just another totalitarian country in which one must think and act as the ruling clique orders.

Who is responsible for the attempt to impose regimentation on America? John E. Rankin, the Democratic reactionary from Mississippi, gave it its real start in 1945, when he succeeded in winning permanent life for the House Un-American Activities Committee. The measure was passed by the votes of 137 Republicans and 70 Democrats, 63 of whom were from the South.

The "success" of the House Un-American Activities Committee in destroying reputations, undermining constitutional safeguards, and wrecking careers encouraged the greatest attempt yet made to destroy the very foundations of American democracy. The present leader of this undertaking is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Since 1949 he has based his career on making repeated, unproved, and slanderous charges that our government, and particularly the Department of State, is infested with Communists. Without absolving the Administration of responsibility for unjust acts under the federal loyalty program, the most serious attack on civil liberties has been the work of the Republican-Dixiecrat congressional coalition.

The go-ahead signal for McCarthy came from Senator Taft, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. It was Taft who provided McCarthy as a keynoter for the Republican convention. It was Taft and his associates who brought about Eisenhower's indorsement of McCarthy—of the man who called Secretary of Defense Marshall "a man steeped in falsehood." Eisenhower owed his selection as Supreme Commander to General Marshall.

Speaking in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he was introduced by McCarthy, Eisenhower urged McCarthy's reelection on the ground that the Wisconsin Senator and he saw eye to eye on the need "of ridding this government of the incompetents, the dishonest, and, above all, the subversive and disloyal," and that they differed only as to "methods."

Would Eisenhower repudiate McCarthy once both had won? It is hardly likely. *If the Republicans gain control of the Senate, McCarthy will become chairman of the Committee on Government Expenditure — with the power to investigate every government department. If Eisenhower wins, McCarthyism will be not only respectable but the measuring rod of American practice. And perhaps the last opportunity to win the fight for constitutional freedoms will have vanished.*

Are You a Farmer?

The struggle of the American farmer against poverty is an epic one. In the twenty years since 1932 the farmer has made marked progress toward achieving a fair living standard, thanks to price supports and marketing clearances. The government has also been of incalculable aid in showing farmers how to conserve the soil, achieve farm ownership, benefit from research, get credit at reasonable rates, instal electricity and telephones.

Farm output has risen 75 per cent since 1932. Ten billion dollars has been added to the farmers' gross income—an increase of nearly one-third. In 1951 the average farmer's net income was $2,800, not large but almost ten times what he earned in 1932. Three-fourths of the farmers own their own farms.

Can these gains be held and continued under a Republican Administration? The Republican Party platform makes a series of promises to the farmer. How do promise and performance compare?

The record of the Republican Party is a clear contradiction of the pledges of its principal candidate and of its own equivocal platform. The Republican Eightieth Congress (1947-48) proved its true intentions by cutting the number of commodities to be supported, reducing price floors and commodity loans, and limiting the ability of the Commodity Credit Corporation to acquire new storage facilities.

Since 1948 the Democratic leadership has succeeded in putting price supports back at 90 per cent of parity through 1954, and has increased the borrowing capacity of the C. C. C. by two billion dollars. This in the face of Republican opposition.

In 1950 all the Senate Republicans and 56 per cent of the House Republicans voted against raising the borrowing power of the C. C. C. by that amount to insure an adequate loan program.

In 1952, 53 per cent of the House Republicans voted against straight 90 per cent of parity price supports.

In 1952 four out of five Republican Senators voted to cut soil-conservation funds from $280,000,000 to $150,000,000, thus maintaining their consistent opposition to the Soil Erosion Act, which was passed in 1935 over Republican opposition.

In 1947, 82 per cent of the Republican Senators voted against conservation payments to farmers. In 1948, 93 per cent opposed appropriations for soil-conservation payments. In 1951, 80 per cent voted against the soil-conservation program in its entirety.

Although the Republican Party now urges the development of rural electrification and communication, it has consistently opposed this ever since 1943.

In 1943, 73 per cent of the House Republicans voted against adequate funds for rural electrification, funds intended to expand transmission lines and to service additional areas. Three years later 40 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted against funds for constructing public electric-generating plants.

In 1947 the Republicans tried to cripple the Rural Electrification Administration by slashing appropriations. In 1951, 86 per cent of the House Republicans voted for an amendment which, had it passed, would have turned over the control of publicly developed power in the rural areas, not to the R. E. A., but to the power interests.

The era of agricultural surpluses is gone. To meet the growing food needs of a growing population (5,840 more tons of food per day were required in 1952 than in 1951), the fertility of the soil and the productivity of the farmer must be raised to the highest possible level. Yet as recently as July, 1951, three-fourths of the Senate Republicans voted to slash funds for getting news of research progress to farmers, even though this knowledge meant millions of dollars of savings to the farmer and to the consumer.

The Choice for the Small Business Man

There are four million independent business men in the United States today. Like the farmers, they have improved their lot, thanks in part to the policies of a friendly Administration.

The Republican platform promises to aid small business "in every practical way." But the Republican record shows that its primary interest is the protection of big business.

In 1947, for example, 91 per cent of the Republicans in the Senate voted to kill a million-dollar appropriation for anti-monopoly enforcement by the Federal Trade Commission. Again, in 1947, 93 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted to exempt railroads from the anti-trust laws and overrode President Truman's veto of this exemption.

The small business man has been helped since 1947 by some $576,000,000 worth of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 99 per cent of which were repaid. In the last session of Congress, Republican leaders tried to abolish the R. F. C.

If the Republicans come to power, the bankers will probably win their fight to raise interest rates, and as a result small business can be pushed to the wall. This despite the fact that in the five-year period of 1945-50 bank profits after taxes rose more than 60 per cent.

Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank and one of the chief backers of Eisenhower, is of the opinion that "corrective recessions" are not to be feared. But in any recession, however limited, it is the small business man who is knocked out first, while big business, with its immense resources and credit, can usually "ride out" the slump and even profit from lower labor and other costs.

The small business man has a choice. He can back the Republican candidate and look forward to an end of all the measures in his behalf provided by the New and Fair Deal administrations. Or he can return the Democrats and expect relative stability and prosperity.

Are You a Member of a Minority Group?

If you are, and have suffered discrimination because of race, color, or creed—in education, housing, employment, the armed forces, or at the polls—you have little reason to hope for a change for the better if the Republicans win.

Since 1948 a legislative program has been pending in Congress to insure civil rights in all these fields. It has been held up by the filibustering tactics of the Dixiecrats in combination with the Republicans.

If Eisenhower wins, the chances of enacting that program in 1953 are practically non-existent.

The Democratic platform seeks an end to the filibuster and reiterates the party's demand for federal legislation to insure equal opportunity in employment, the end of segregation in the armed forces, and equal participation in the nation's political life.

The Republican platform is silent on the filibuster and on the issue of equal treatment in the armed forces. While it voices opposition to discrimination in employment, it would leave enforcement to the states, enacting federal legislation only as a supplement if necessary.

How real is the opposition of the Republican standard-bearers to federal action against discrimination may be gauged by two significant facts: (1) Nixon and Taft, as members of the Senate Labor Committee, in 1952 filed a minority report opposing the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices

Commission. (2) Democratic Governors Shivers of Texas, Byrnes of South Carolina, and Kennon of Louisiana, chief protagonists of the white-supremacy theory, have repudiated Stevenson, announced their support of Eisenhower, and called upon their followers to do likewise—as an expression of their opposition to the civil-rights plank of the Democratic Party and the civil-rights views of the Democratic candidate.

Has Eisenhower rejected the backing of the Southern reactionaries? Quite the contrary. He has welcomed it and in large measure indorsed their views.

Are You a Naturalized American?

Or are you a newcomer to this country? Have you relatives in Eastern or Southern Europe or in Asia whom you would like to bring to the United States?

Then you have something to fear from an Eisenhower victory. Because it will mean that the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, described by Senator Herbert H. Lehman as "a bill specifically designed to create a second-class group of citizens by holding the fear of denaturalization over the heads of hundreds of thousands of naturalized citizens," will not be repealed.

Condemned as "un-Christian" and "un-American" as recently as October 2, 1952, by the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, this law (1) gives consuls and immigration officers unlimited authority to exclude aliens and deport naturalized citizens; (2) makes possible the exclusion of aliens on the basis of a guess as to what they might do in the future; (3) legalizes the denaturalization of any naturalized citizen who joins an organization on the Attorney General's list or refuses to testify before a Congressional committee investigating subversive activities; (4) threatens the foreign-born among us with possible deportation, with or without hearings, for acts committed decades back which may have been lawful when they occurred; (5) puts naturalized citizens abroad in jeopardy of loss of citizenship and exclusion from the United States without notice or hearings; (6) cuts quotas in half for Latvia, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania; (7) lays down a statutory discrimination against colonial peoples as well as all others whose family tree includes 50 per cent of "Asia-Pacific ancestors"; (8) surrenders American sovereignty by delegating to foreign governments the power to decide which of their citizens or former citizens the United States may admit; (9) provides for the deportation of political and religious refugees for a wide variety of reasons.

To be sure, the authors of the law are Democrats. But it was passed by the combined votes of Republicans and Dixiecrats. The fight against the McCarran bill was led by Democrats, together with one Republican, Senator Wayne Morse, who has withdrawn his support from Eisenhower. President Truman vetoed the bill, but his veto was overridden by fifty-seven to twenty-six in the Senate. Of the fifty-seven, thirty-two were Republicans and twenty-five Southern Democrats.

Senators Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted for the McCarran act, against amendments to it, and to override the President's veto.

The Public Interest and Natural Resources

A key test of the Republican pledge to improve the lot of the American people is the party's position on the natural resources of the country. Eisenhower's statements indicate that if he wins, the public interest will be sacrificed to that of the private power lobbies.

The offshore-oil resources in two areas alone, Texas and California, are worth forty billion dollars. The Supreme Court has ruled that the interest in these resources is vested in all the people of the United States. None the less, Eisenhower has advocated turning these enormous assets back to the states.

On a second basic question, how the country's power resources shall be developed, Eisenhower has chosen the side of the private utilities even though government development means cheap power, lower prices, more jobs, flood control, and much-needed conservation. "Anyone who thinks I am not sincerely interested in flood control and reclamation . . . is just simply talking through his hat," said the General on October 4. Maybe he *was* interested on that particular day. But on August 20 he was attacking the Federal Conservation and Development Program, and on October 6 and 7 he wanted the private interests drawn into these undertakings.

Power for the People

In 1951 federal hydroelectric power installations generated 45 billion kilowatt hours, 14 per cent of all the electric power sold in the country, an increase of 44½ billion since 1933. Federal power flowing through an 18,500-mile network of government transmission lines has powered atomic development, new industries, homes, and farms; assured flood control; reduced prices, and so expanded power consumption. Federal dams since 1933 have brought almost 2,500,000 new acres of land under irrigation, as compared to 706,000 new acres between 1920 and 1932.

Under the federal program a million families are the beneficiaries of conservation plans, with 18,000,000 acres of land restored through terracing, 2,000,000 acres safeguarded from erosion, 5,000,000 acres leveled for irrigation, and 900,000 acres made ready for tree planting. Fifty-two million acres of pasture and range have been restored since 1936; timberlands are being preserved; our mineral resources are being explored with a view to their conservation. The Bureau of Mines has discovered a method of making gasoline from coal on a commercial basis cheaply enough to compete with the natural product.

The Power Interests Seek Control

A constant battle, either against the expansion of these projects or for their control, is being waged by the power lobbies with the help of the Republicans in Congress. The private utilities are trying to prevent the construction of new dams unless the power is sold to them and to destroy the preference and protection given to rural cooperatives and public-power districts.

Electric power costs more in the Northeast than in any other section of the country. In New York the electricity consumer pays three times as much as his counterpart in the West.

Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, a liberal Republican, stated in the Senate on February 9, 1948, that opponents of pending plans for federal construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway were seeking to hold up that development until the utilities could get control of Niagara power. "If they succeed in doing so," he said, "it will be the biggest steal of national resources ever put over on the people of this country." In June, 1952, Senator Aiken, referring to this prophecy, said: "It has come true to an alarming degree, for that is what they [the private utilities] are doing today."

The strength of Republican opposition to public power was demonstrated on June 18, 1952, when the Senate voted, by a majority of three, to recommit the Green resolution authorizing federal construction of this country's share of the St. Lawrence development project. A majority of the Republicans voted for recommittal.

If the Republicans win, Senator Harry P. Cain, Republican, of Washington, becomes chairman of the Public Works Committee. Senator Cain has the dubious distinction of being the power-lobby champion, the first Senator from his state in twenty years to vote against low-cost public-power projects.

Economy—at Whose Expense?

Eisenhower says that a major goal of a Republican Administration would be to reduce government spending and effect savings of twenty-one billion dollars within four years. An alluring prospect! But at whose expense?

Today 89 cents of every federal dollar budgeted by the federal government for the current year is spent for past, present, and potential wars—for direct military purposes, foreign military aid, interest on debt, veterans' appropriations, atomic energy, merchant marine, and other activities related to defense.

Only 3 per cent of federal funds is used for general administration; 3 per cent for aid to business; 2 per cent for farm programs, including research and conservation, as well as price supports; and 3 per cent for welfare.

Since Eisenhower and the Republican Party believe in economizing on all forms of federal assistance, the chances are that any cuts made would be in these appropriations. Such cuts would affect the welfare of a majority of Americans. One-third of American families have an annual income of less than $2,000. One-half have an annual income of less than $3,000. These families need public housing, public education, public health services, cheap public power, soil conservation, and farm assistance. They need lower prices and lower taxes.

What are they likely to get?

No Housing Relief

In 1949 the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency estimated conservatively that a minimum of 1,250,000 sound and acceptable housing units would be needed each year for at least ten years to meet existing shortages and raise housing standards.

In the 1920's, 41 per cent of the new residential units built were for rental purposes. From 1946 to 1950 this was true of only 17 per cent, forcing a greater dependence on home ownership. Private industry in this interval has built more than one million units. The cost per unit averaged $12,000, $17,500, and $25,000. But more than half of the families of America cannot afford to pay more than $7,500 for a house. They need public housing.

In 1948, 76 per cent of the Republican members of the Senate, led by Senator McCarthy, killed a measure for slum clearance for public housing. Similarly, a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition killed a Senate bill to give housing assistance to middle-income families.

In 1949 Congress passed a law authorizing the building of 135,000 public-housing units, as against a need for 1,250,000. In 1951 the Senate forced the House to agree to 50,000 units to be built in 1952.

Senator Nixon was part of the coalition which tried to cut the number from 50,000 to 5,000.

Public-Education Squeeze

Today 29,800,000 children attend public elementary and high schools. By 1960 their number is expected to increase to 37,000,000. For them 200,000 new classrooms are needed now, and 375,000 in the near future.

To meet current necessities, ten billion dollars should be applied to the construction of new buildings immediately. According to an April, 1952, report of the United States Office of Education, two out of five buildings in twenty-five states, containing 21 per cent of the pupils, are totally unfit for use. One-third of our school population attends classes in fire traps. Local administrations are unable to raise more than half of the funds called for.

To handle this situation the Administration proposed a $300,000,000 federal appropriation for educational necessities, to be dispensed by the states themselves. The bill was passed in the Senate over the opposition of the Republicans, led by McCarthy and including Taft. It was killed in the House by the G. O. P.

In 1951 the Senate Republican-Dixiecrat coalition succeeded in cutting $50,000,000 from a proposed $100,000,000 appropriation for defense-area schools.

The 1952 Republican platform states that school needs should be left entirely to local and state authorities.

Public-Health Neglect

Forty million Americans live in communities without adequate public-health facilities. The so-called volunteer health insurance covers only 10 per cent of the doctors' bills of America, 26 per cent of hospital bills, and 12 per cent of total medical expenses.

Yet when the Administration in 1951 sought a grant of $27,500,000 to create more local public-health units, 71 per cent of the Republicans in the Senate opposed the measure. The bill was passed in the Senate but was killed by the Republicans in the House.

The Administration's efforts to enact federal health insurance, which began in 1946 with the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, have been frustrated by the Republicans, headed by Senator Taft and spurred on by the American Medical Association.

The lack of doctors and trained nurses throughout the country is alarming. By 1954 the doctor shortage is expected to reach between 20,000 and 25,000. The current shortage of nurses is between 50,000 and 65,000. An expenditure of $370,000,000 more a year is required to enable existing medical schools to perform their present functions.

Ever since 1949 the Administration has tried to put through a five-year emergency program of assistance to medical, dental, and nursing schools. The A. M. A. has been the main opponent.

This program, initially indorsed by Senator Taft, was killed in the Senate with the concurrence of Taft and by a vote of 91 per cent of the Republican members; Nixon and McCarthy voted with the Republican majority.

The Cost of Living

The high cost of living is the most urgent and difficult problem for most Americans.

During the war years and until 1946, under OPA controls, living costs rose only 6.6 per cent. From June, 1946, to May, 1952, the cost of living has gone up 41.6 per cent. Why?

Living costs rose largely as a result of the attack on price controls by the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition led by Senator Taft. In June and July, 1946, the OPA controls were killed by this coalition. By December, 1947, prices had jumped 34 points.

On February 18, 1947, the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in the House ended OPA, over Democratic opposition, by cutting off funds.

Has your rent gone up? Thank the Republicans. In May, 1947, 95 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted for a 15 per cent "voluntary" rent increase.

A special session of the Eightieth Congress, called by the President for the specific purpose of reinstituting price controls, was prevented by the Republicans from taking action, although living costs had risen 22 per cent and food prices 40 per cent.

In 1948 and 1949 the Republicans were able to block action on the Administration's request for stand-by rationing, price, wage, and commodity-speculation controls.

The National Association of Manufacturers led the fight to abolish controls, promising the public in full-page advertisements that the end of controls would increase production and lead to early "adjustment of prices."

When the Korean war broke out, the Defense Production Act was passed, giving the Administration limited powers of price control. But by 1952 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition had forced through crippling amendments which virtually killed effective controls.

Even before the war-time controls were officially ended in 1947, the effectiveness of the OPA was destroyed by a Taft amendment permitting manufacturers to pass on to the consumer all increased costs, and by the Wherry amendments restricting controls on agricultural products. In 1951 similar amendments to the Defense Production Act were passed, sponsored by Senator Capehart, Republican, of Indiana, and Representative Herlong, Republican, of Florida.

Ceiling prices on meat were increased by one billion dollars as the result of the Butler (R., Nebraska) amendment prohibiting slaughtering quotas. Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted against meat-price control.

In 1952 the Republicans completed their contribution to the high cost of living by decontrolling fruit, vegetables, milk, and speculation in raw materials. The final ax was put to all federal rent controls.

Senator Capehart, should the Republicans win this election, is scheduled to become chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, which controls price legislation.

Who Will Benefit from Tax Cuts?

Eisenhower says a major goal of the Republican Party is lower taxes, possibly even 55 per cent lower. But who will benefit?

The Republican Eightieth Congress, despite three Presidential vetoes, passed a law lowering certain taxes. Under this law a man who earned $250,000 a year, married and with two children, benefited to the extent of 58.4 per cent; a man who earned $50,000 a year, 29.1 per cent. But a man whose income was less than $5,000 a year, saved only 3.5 per cent.

In 1950 and 1951 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition succeeded in so raising individual income taxes that, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of November 28, 1951, "low-income individuals get the stiffest percentage in their federal income taxes." A single person with a net income of $800 in 1952 will pay *25 per cent more* than he paid in 1950. But a person with an income of a million dollars a year will pay less than he paid two years ago.

It is estimated that families making less than $1,000 per year today pay out in taxes, hidden and direct, approximately *23.6 per cent* of their incomes.

Corporations Protected by G. O. P.

The loopholes in the present tax laws favor oil companies, insurance companies, fictitious family partnerships and corporations, and high-bracket families. Corporations were saved $500,000,000 in taxes when Republican Senators voted nine to one to delay a tax increase from January 1, 1951, to April 1, 1951. In the oil industry, for example, 27½ per cent of the value of oil produced is exempt from federal taxes on the theory that production depletes the owner's assets. With tax loopholes plugged and adequate excess-profits taxes, ten billion dollars could be collected.

G. O. P. Tax Program Serves the Rich

The wage-earner and the low-income family will not benefit from the Republican tax program.

For years the National Association of Manufacturers, a principal spokesman for the Republican Party, has been urging a federal sales tax. This would affect most seriously the middle- and lower-income families.

Another Republican scheme is to place a constitutional limitation of 25 per cent on income taxes, whether personal or corporation taxes. Families making less than $20,000 a year would get no benefit under this plan. But the excess-profits tax on corporations would be wiped out and taxes on the very rich would go down as much as 70 per cent.

The Democratic platform promises to try to plug the tax loopholes. The Republican platform makes no reference to this. Nixon, Taft, and McCarthy led the fight against price and wage controls and against efforts to plug the tax loopholes. In the light of the record, what is Eisenhower's tax promise worth?

What Outlook for Peace with Ike?

Is peace possible? Who offers the best hope for peace—Eisenhower or Stevenson? Which party—the Republican or the Democratic? These are the questions every American is asking.

On the great issues of foreign policy what is Eisenhower offering his anxious countrymen?

On August 25, in the text of his address before the American Legion, he said: "Our government once and for all, with cold finality, must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognize the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia. Never shall we rest content until the tidal mud of aggressive communism has receded within its own borders."

Is this a declaration of peace? Hardly. And Eisenhower has since elaborated his views.

For the Far East he has put it plainly: "If there must be a war, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom. . . . We do not want Asia to feel that the white man of the West is its enemy." As an immediate project his slogan is: Let's bring our boys home from Korea. While this is a popular, human, and understandable wish, as a policy it increases the risk of extending the war in Asia.

For Europe his proposal is "liberation," which, if actually attempted, would mean total war.

On the issue of war and peace Americans had the right to expect Eisenhower's own ideas, not those of Taft, McCarthy, Knowland, Dewey, Dulles, and the China lobby. But every pronouncement Ike has made on foreign policy is a rehash of the views of the reactionary Old Guard. The assumption must be that he shares them.

Could the General, as President, dependent on one hand on the Pentagon and on the other on a Republican Congress, provide a policy which would prevent war?

On the basis of his campaign and of the Republican record in Congress we do not believe he could.

The Korean War

Let's take a look at the Korean war. Whether or not that war could have been avoided, there is something basically dishonest in Eisenhower's repudiation of responsibility for the events which led up to it. Can he have forgotten that John Foster Dulles, his Republican platform writer, urged in the United Nations the original withdrawal of American troops from South Korea? Or that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, of which he was a member, decided that American troops should be pulled out? Or that General MacArthur gave the final O. K. for their withdrawal?

Has he forgotten that 60 per cent of the Republicans in Congress voted against a bill authorizing military assistance to Korea in 1949? Or that when the war broke out in Korea, Dulles sent a cable to the State Department from Tokyo saying, "To sit by while Korea is overrun by unprovoked armed attack would start a disastrous chain of events leading most probably to world war"? Or that Senator Taft told the Senate on June 28, 1950: "If a joint resolution were introduced asking for approval of the use of our armed forces already sent to Korea and full support of them in their present venture, I would vote in favor of it"? Has he forgotten that "his boy," Dick Nixon, was among the 86 per cent of House Republicans who in 1950 voted against economic aid to Korea, thereby killing it?

G. O. P. and China Lobby Prevented Truce

And is Eisenhower really ignorant of the reasons why our troops are still in Korea?

Two opportunities for honorable withdrawal from Korea followed the outbreak of the war. The first arose when we succeeded in pushing the North Koreans back across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The United States and the U. N. had achieved their objective, the Chinese Communists were not involved in the war, and there was every chance to make an honorable peace. Why wasn't the war ended then? Walter Lippmann, one of Ike's backers, says the reason was the insistence of MacArthur, who strongly opposed it and was supported by the Republicans in Congress. The Administration took MacArthur's advice.

The second opportunity arose after the intervention of the Chinese Communists. In the winter of 1951 India was able to win acceptance by the Chinese Communists of the basic principle of the resolution adopted by the United Nations on January 13, 1951, which would have established a cease-fire and arranged for subsequent negotiation of all outstanding questions. This response was rejected by the U. N. under United States prodding. Instead, Communist China was formally branded an aggressor. The initiative for peace, then lost by the U. N., was never regained. Six months later the U. N. eagerly accepted similar terms in an atmosphere much less favorable, with the result that truce negotiations were launched which have now been dragging on for more than a year.

Why did all this happen? It happened because the Administration became the prisoner of the China lobby and its leaders—Taft, Nixon, Knowland, McCarthy, and MacArthur. These men wanted no action which would give even de facto recognition to the Chinese Communists around a conference table.

To prevent this, the Republican leadership then and now has been ready to risk extension of the war in Asia. From the very first General MacArthur, Senator Taft's keynoter at the Republican convention, has favored the use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Korea and an attack on Manchuria, even though this might mean converting the struggle into a war with Russia.

With a few honorable exceptions, the Republicans in Congress have supported MacArthur and the powerful China lobby.

Operations of the China Lobby

On November 23, 1950, Senator Knowland urged that the neutralization of Formosa be ended and aid given to Chiang to fight the Chinese Communists on the mainland. On April 5, 1951, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Martin, made public a letter from MacArthur indorsing the use of Chiang's troops to open a second front on the Chinese mainland. This was the letter which led to MacArthur's recall.

On February 12, 1952, Senator Taft expressed himself as favoring Chiang's invasion of the Chinese mainland, saying that he saw a 600,000-man army begging to be sent to do the job. As recently as June, 1952, Taft was saying that we could have won the war in Korea if we had followed the advice of our greatest soldier, General MacArthur.

Not only has Senator Nixon accepted the Taft–China lobby attitude, but a public-relations representative of the China lobby helped Nixon in his senatorial campaign.

Plan Chiang War with U. S. Backing

When Eisenhower calls for the withdrawal of our troops from Korea and a war by Asians against Asians, what does he mean? Would he actually leave the South Koreans to fight alone against the Chinese and the North Koreans? Would he expect them to win such a war? Is not the implication rather, given the Taft-McCarthy-Nixon-Knowland-MacArthur position, that we should be ready to finance Chiang to make war on Red China at an appropriate moment? And if this is what Ike and his team have in mind, what would be the result? Could Chiang reconquer China? And could such a war fail to involve other parts of Asia—and Russia?

Let's look at the record of Chiang Kai-shek. The United States has never withdrawn its support of Chiang. Between 1945 and 1949, $1,600,000,000 was given to the Chinese Nationalists by the United States. Chiang lost the war against the Chinese Communists not because he lacked military support. He lost it because of the corruption and inefficiency of his rule and his refusal to introduce necessary reforms.

What reason is there to believe that the same Chiang, even if armed to the teeth with American weapons, could win the vast millions of hungry Chinese to his side, as Eisenhower and Taft apparently assume? As for the concept that such a war could be limited, who except the most cynical would take that risk in the context of present world events? How, then, is the Taft-Eisenhower-China-lobby policy a formula for peace?

Do you buy it? We do not!

The "Liberation" Policy

For the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe, Eisenhower has another formula called "liberation," taken over from John Foster Dulles, scheduled to be Secretary of State if Ike wins.

In his speech before the American Legion in New York, Eisenhower announced that the slave states of Eastern Europe must be liberated. On September 23 he said: "We shall help each captive nation to maintain an outward strain against its Moscow bond."

How Dulles and Eisenhower propose to liberate the peoples of the "slave states" of Eastern Europe by peaceful means neither has said. Dulles proposes to give these peoples "moral" backing in their resistance to Soviet domination. But when even so innocuous an instrument of moral encouragement as the Voice of America came up for support in Congress, 70 per cent of House Republicans in August, 1951, voted to reduce its appropriation by $15,000,000. And as recently as October 8 Ike himself was sneering at the Voice of America.

But such an "innocuous" operation is not what other Republicans have in mind. Representative Charles J. Kersten (R.) of Wisconsin successfully sponsored in the last Congress an amendment to the Mutual Security Act providing a $100,000,000 fund to help finance resistance in the satellite countries. And in a statement issued from General Eisenhower's headquarters, Kersten denounced the policy of containment and declared that "it would be immoral and un-Christian" to negotiate a state of "peaceful coexistence" with Russia.

Dulles, after first talking about air drops of machine-guns and other supplies, then about passive resistance and industrial sabotage in Eastern Europe, on September 3 came to the conclusion that "aggressive despots must be slowed down and stopped from within or we shall have to check them from without in the head-on collision of atomic war."

What does this mean except ultimate war? Has Eisenhower repudiated Kersten and Dulles? He has not.

Republicans Oppose Defense Perimeter

Though the foreign policy of the present Administration is subject to criticism at many points, it has none the less produced for the United States both allies and a "defense perimeter," certainly in Europe. That defense perimeter has been built by the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the organization and support of the United Nations, and assistance to underdeveloped areas. Much more could have been done, must be done, particularly in the way of Point Four aid. But at least among the Democratic leadership there is a growing realization that the best weapon against communism is the knowledge of what constitutes its appeal, that there is need for alliances with peoples and not just with military machines.

The majority of Republican members of Congress have opposed all these undertakings. Senator Taft opposed American participation in the United Nations, which still remains the one international instrument for achieving world peace. Senator Jenner offered an amendment to the Japanese peace treaty which stated that "in consenting to ratification of the treaty the Senate does not give political sanction or prestige to the principles of the U. N. Charter or the Declaration of Human Rights."

In October, 1951, 72 per cent of the Republicans in the House voted to put an arbitrary limitation on United States contributions to the U. N., which now costs the American taxpayer about 77 cents a year.

Senator Taft opposed the Marshall Plan. Senators Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted against American troops for NATO. All three Eisenhower stalwarts voted to cut the appropriations for the Mutual Security Act. All three opposed the assistance to underdeveloped areas which was part of the campaign of the United States to destroy the poverty which breeds communism. In 1950, 85 per cent of the Senate Republicans tried to stall Point Four by appointing a study commission; 80 per cent of the House Republicans voted to kill it by a motion to recommit. In the same year 76 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted against the bill.

The North Atlantic Treaty is not even mentioned in the Republican platform although the Republican candidate was its director. Taft voted against the treaty. In May, 1952, 73 per cent of Senate Republicans in the last Congress, over Eisenhower's protest, voted to cut a billion dollars from the appropriation for the revival of the defense industries of Western Europe.

Adlai's Credo—and Ike's

Governor Adlai Stevenson offers a policy of joining with other nations "in building military, economic, and political strength, which can gradually but surely lessen the relative power of the Soviet Union on world events." He urges strengthening the United Nations, increasing Point Four aid, renewing and extending reciprocal trade agreements. He has stated his credo on war and peace in these words: *"Not in the ashes of another world war but only in the atmosphere of a peaceful world can the reffirmation of the right of self-determination have any meaning. I will never fear to negotiate in good faith with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open the door to war."*

Contrast this with Eisenhower's proposed policy of paying foreign armies to fight wars for "freedom" and with the isolationist, jingoist record of the Republicans in Congress—the "team" Ike wants elected with him.

This is the Republican leadership on whom war or peace depends. Would you intrust your safety to them?

The Inconsistency of John Foster Dulles

BY FRANK GOTHAM

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, still as wide open to an offer to become Secretary of State as he was when he expected Dewey to be elected President in 1948, is a man of inconsistencies. He has professed an almost religious devotion to bipartisanship in foreign policy. He has attempted with some success to persuade both Republican and Democratic leaders that he is the essential link between the two parties in world affairs. Yet in the present political campaign he is using all his skill to find divisive foreign-policy issues.

While in private, almost clandestinely, he frequently tends toward moderation in his Russian policy, in his public utterances he often seems deliberately to be justifying Vishinsky's familiar epithet of "warmonger." It was he who put into Eisenhower's mouth the celebrated demand for ending the Truman-Acheson containment policy and launching a policy aimed at "liberation" of the lands and peoples within the Soviet orbit. This catchword was as misleading as it was reckless. It assumed that the Administration's policy halts at containment, though Acheson's thesis is simply that Russia's expansion must be stopped before its power can be rolled back. The Administration, as distinct from George Kennan several years ago, has never defined its policy as mere containment of Russia.

"Liberation" as currently used is an irresponsible slogan because it suggests war or futility. Both Eisenhower and Dulles were constrained hurriedly to repudiate the charge that they contemplated liberation by force of arms. As usual, the denial failed to repair the damage. The word was harnessed to catching the votes of Americans of Polish and other foreign origin whose homelands are now under Communist rule. Actually, Dulles's brain wave had three other effects: (1) it caused members of those same minority groups to wonder whether their countrymen were being incited to insurrection without assurance of Allied military support; (2) it led many thoughtful Americans to ponder whether the Republicans would lead them into adventures that could easily precipitate world war; (3) it deeply alarmed our British, French, and other allies, who believe a "liberation" policy would bring ruin to their own countries. If "liberation" does not mean war, many asked, how is it to be attained? One explanation was provided in a Dulles-written passage in the Republican platform:

> It will be made clear, on the highest authority of the President and the Congress, that United States policy, as one of its peaceful purposes, looks happily forward to the genuine independence of those captive peoples.
>
> We shall again make liberty into a beacon light of hope that will penetrate the dark places. That program will give the Voice of America a real function.

So it is not atomic bombs and armies that are to do the job after all. In the last war we heard that Hitler could capture Madrid and Lisbon by telephone. Now Dulles has modernized this concept: we are to "liberate" the nations under Soviet dominance by beaming the Voice of America to their people.

But actually Dulles went well beyond the platform statement in his effort to define what he and his candidate intended. He said that in addition to "moral encouragement," resistance forces in the satellite countries could be supplied by air with weapons and implements of sabotage.

When Dulles saw the mischief caused, he declared it was only after Mr. Truman had sharpened this issue that the "liberation" challenge evoked hostile reaction. Yet such pro-American papers as the Manchester *Guardian* and the Paris *Figaro* had responded immediately with deep uneasiness when Eisenhower put the new doctrine before the Legion convention in New York. It was some days after our allies reacted so unfavorably that President Truman commented on the proposal.

There were earlier instances of Dulles taking publicly the stiffest and most provocative anti-Soviet line. By contrast, in less conspicuous circumstances, he has favored methods of dealing with Russia that, if sponsored openly, could have put him near the top of Joe McCarthy's black list. For example: (1) In March, 1947, at the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, Secretary of State Marshall rejected Russia's demand for German reparations from current production; at the London meeting of the Foreign Ministers eight months later, Dulles urged Marshall to bargain with Vishinsky on the basis of just such German reparations payments. (2) At that same London conference Dulles also came forward, inside the American delegation, with a suggestion for international control of the Ruhr; and Russia, according to Dulles's plan, was to be one of the four powers administering the region. (3) On the eve of the 1948 elections Dulles—then regarded as about to become Secretary of State—had thought out a way of attempting to negotiate a general settlement with Russia. It was to be a give-and-take business. One of the concessions he was ready to

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FRANK GOTHAM is one of the most experienced of American foreign correspondents. This is the second of two articles on John Foster Dulles. The first appeared last week.

grant was that the United States should write off all Korea; he thought Korea strategically indefensible anyway. This contrast between Dulles-in-private and Dulles-in-public is a recurrent phenomenon. Freed of political motivation, his inclination is to be temperate toward Russia—not an appeaser of course, but a negotiator. As soon as he seeks office, his demagogy is boundless.

His opportunism was apparent before Eisenhower's nomination. Early last spring Dulles equivocated about his allegiance. Would he back Taft or Eisenhower? He had not decided. He felt some distrust of Eisenhower as President. This rested partly on his own experience under George Marshall, whom he found too rigid, too prone to glance toward the Pentagon when making a policy decision. Dulles feared that Eisenhower, another professional soldier, would be at least as mindful of the Pentagon in shaping the pattern of civilian diplomacy. For a short period Dulles seemed to lean toward Taft. In May he made several speeches attacking the Administration's foreign policy. Though stopping short of following Taft in detail, his views pleased Taft, who remarked, "I certainly would have no difficulty in agreeing with the general philosophy expressed in Dulles's speeches since he left the government."

So Dulles accomplished his 180° swing. From Taft he had the approval of the isolationist-economy wing of the G. O. P. He also received the indorsement of Eisenhower, who said, "I will go along with Mr. Dulles's presentation of his case." Thus Dulles trained himself for the acrobatic assignment of writing a foreign-policy plank acceptable to both Ike and Bob. At stake was his own chance of becoming Secretary of State.

Before the Republican convention opened, however, Dulles came to the conclusion that Eisenhower would defeat Taft for the nomination. He correctly reasoned that some crucial states, especially New York, California, and Minnesota, after voting for their favorite sons in the first ballot, would switch to Eisenhower. In May he went to Paris and won from Eisenhower an assurance that, if elected, he would put greater emphasis on Far Eastern policy than the Truman Administration had done. This was enough to justify him in supporting Eisenhower. The growing probability that Ike would be the Republicans' choice made the decision easier.

Dulles had resigned from the Truman-Acheson team, he announced, to be free to become one of its most active critics. Does his quick turn-around disqualify him from again filling a responsible post in a Democratic government? Dulles does not think so. He has played his cards cautiously. His attacks on the Administration he so recently served have been vehement, but he has abstained from personal denunciation of any member of the Truman team. He has shunned use of the confidential information that came to his State Department desk, though some of it might have been effective ammunition against his former associates. He has revived his contention that a future Democratic regime which denied him an influential post would be thwarting the bipartisanship in foreign affairs of which he regards himself as the living Buddha. In all this Dulles may have miscalculated badly. He seems unaware that Democratic leaders bitterly resent his betrayal of the Administration in which he so recently participated. If Adlai Stevenson should win, Dulles could probably devote more time to his country home in Ontario.

KOREA offers an excellent illustration of what one may term Dulles's schizophrenia, since duplicity is an ugly word. The Republican foreign-policy plank, of which he was the principal author, condemns the Truman Administration's withdrawal of American troops from South Korea in these words:

> In South Korea they [the present Administration] withdrew our occupation troops in the face of the aggressive, poised-for-action Communist military strength on its northern border. . . . With foresight the Korean war would never have happened.

Here Dulles appears to have gambled on the American people's short memory. It was General Eisenhower, chief of staff of the army in 1947, who sponsored the Joint Chiefs' advice that the United States had little strategic interest in keeping troops in Korea and that in the current man-power shortage it could well employ those soldiers elsewhere.

Again, when the United States, in December, 1948, moved in the U. N. General Assembly that all foreign occupation troops be withdrawn from Korea, it was Dulles who pressed the resolution. In a letter to Senator Paul Douglas, Dulles pleaded later that he was acting on President Truman's instructions. This suggests that he was acting against his own best judgment. It leaves us to guess why he spoke out only after four years.

In condemning the Administration's Korean policy, Dulles's neglect to mention certain facts can hardly have been due to ignorance. Five months before the North Koreans attacked in 1950, a bill to give economic aid to Korea was defeated in the House by one vote, 192 to 191. Eighty-seven per cent of the House Republicans voted against the bill. The Communist radio in North Korea seized upon this as a sign that the United States would not stand by Korea. Dulles has said nothing of this performance by his fellow-Republicans. Less than a week before the Communist aggression, Dulles stood before the Korean National Assembly in Seoul and as a representative of the United States gave assurance of its concern for Korea. "You are not alone," he told the Assembly. The Korean affair is only one of the more obvious instances of Dulles's strange reading of history as Election Day nears.

His foreign-policy plank declares, "Those in control of the party in power have in reality no foreign policy." On the one hand, he tries to dissociate himself from the policies he actively helped to form. On the other, he repeatedly claims credit for shaping those policies.

After Dulles's performance in the 1949 New York senatorial contest President Truman was disinclined to offer him another post in the government. It was because Acheson wanted to enlist Dulles in the cause of bipartisanship that Mr. Truman finally invited him into the State Department. His friends in the department were surprised when they read the Republican platform to find that Dulles had made the Administration guilty of "abandoning" Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Dulles knows that the United States has never recognized Soviet annexation of the Baltic lands, and he could not have put this accusation into the platform without a blush.

German Social Democrats

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Bonn

THE Social Democrats are frankly worried. How often I heard it said at the Dortmund congress: "Those Adenauer fellows have dug in deep, and it will be hard to dislodge them. They want their little Germany and little Europe; the unification of Germany would be a terrible embarrassment to them. If Germany were reunited, it would inevitably have a Protestant and Socialist majority, and we should have to share what we have with the impoverished eastern zone. Adenauer could no longer boast of the 'roaring success' of his Federal Republic."

While they too are proud of West German success, the Social Democrats are seriously concerned about the growing domination of *Grosskapital*. On the surface the country is not undemocratic, but the pressure of big business is felt in every field, and not least by the press and other propaganda agencies. Dr. Fritz Heine spoke eloquently at the congress of the millions being poured into the communications media by the big industrialists with an eye on next summer's elections.

Revolutionary action, or even strike action, except in extreme cases, is alien to the German character. The Social Democratic Party is always careful to point out that it has no control over the vast, all-embracing trade-union federation with its six million members. On the whole the party is against any kind of direct action, as Ollenhauer, Schumacher's successor as leader, made very clear. There is, in fact, fairly good teamwork between capital and labor throughout German industry, the employers handling their "paternalism" with skill and tact and the workers in general bearing them no grudge. I asked a leading Social Democrat what he thought of the famous *Mitbestimmungsrecht* (codetermination) granted labor in the heavy industries. He thought that its worth depended entirely on the qualities of the workers' spokesmen, who too often either regarded their directorial functions as a cushy job or were awestruck before the gentlemen of the employer class who sat across the table. For the workers to obtain the best possible terms their representatives, he said, should be men with no inferiority complex of this kind—they ought really to have university degrees.

Social Democrats, I discovered, have little patience with the "sloppy internationalism" of Strasbourg. One prominent party member spoke derisively of the "Schuman Klub," calling it a "weapon of French imperialism, designed to keep Germany down."

One curious thing I noted about the Social Democrats was their attitude toward the eight or nine million refugees from the east, who only a few years ago seemed such an insoluble problem. Now that West Germany has something of an artificially stimulated boom economy, based largely on intensive reconstruction and on the development of Allied airfields and other military installations, they no longer express any serious objections to the refugees' presence—it might, in fact, be embarrassing if the refugees all went home. For if there are still about a million unemployed in West Germany, the bulk of the immigrants from the east have been absorbed into industry and agriculture, have indeed become an asset rather than a liability.

There is no doubt that in the next election the Social Democrats are hoping to gain perhaps decisive support from the refugees, most of whom are now adherents of the Alliance of the Outlawed and Disinherited, a loosely knit party with understandably chauvinist and *revanchard* tendencies. By pressing for "German Unity First" and for full and rational employment of the refugees the Social Democrats have been more or less successfully diverting them from neo-fascism, which, contrary to the widespread belief abroad, is not yet a major threat.

The West German Social Democratic Party, unlike the British Labor Party, claims to be monolithic in its demand for "German Unity First" and its opposition to Little Europe. Yet when you ask leading party members what exactly they mean and what they intend to do if no agreement on German unity is reached with Russia—they would attribute the failure at least as much to France as to Russia—they admit that they will work with the West if accepted as equal partners: and to the devil with the "emergency situations" provided for the Allies' benefit in the Contractual Agreements. In the last analysis this simply shows that, for all their internationalism, the German Social Democrats are opposed to any surrender of sovereignty and to any outside controls, most of all those of supra-national authorities.

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, went to Germany to report on the Social Democratic congress at Dortmund.*

Racism in the Nation's Capital

BY PHINEAS INDRITZ

Washington

ONE of the great drags on our country's efforts in the cold war between democracy and totalitarianism is the racism which pervades the national capital. Every incident of racial discrimination is avidly seized upon for propaganda by our enemies; neither we nor our friends can make adequate explanation.

Washington is a "border" town between Virginia and Maryland. According to the 1950 census, its population of 802,178 is 64.55 per cent white and 35.44 per cent non-white. Its preponderantly white suburbs bring the metropolitan-region population to 1,464,089, which is 76.64 per cent white and 23.35 per cent non-white. Five years ago the President's Committee on Civil Rights condemned racial discrimination in the city as "a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy." A year later (December 10, 1948), the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital issued a detailed report which summed up the city's racist patterns as a "blot on our nation."

These exposures received widespread publicity and catalyzed the whole civil-rights front. The year 1949 saw considerable inroads on the status quo of racism: School buildings segregated during the day were made available for after-hours use by integrated groups. Racial designations were removed from the recreation planning maps of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission; its chairman who had defended those designations was not reappointed when his term expired, and a Negro architect was named a member of the commission. The District of Columbia Recreation Board hastily promised to move toward the elimination of segregation in its public recreation facilities. The official festivities of the President's inauguration were on a wholly integrated basis.

In 1949 also the doors of several places of public accommodation which had previously excluded colored people were quietly opened to them. The establishment of the non-segregated clubhouse of the American Veterans Committee further facilitated integrated civic and social events for many groups. The Department of the Interior held fast to its non-segregation policy when that policy was protested in its application to swimming pools. The white parochial schools, after several years of efforts by Catholic interracial groups, began to admit colored students. Racial bars were abandoned in the restaurants of the Washington National Airport and of the National Zoological Park. And the Department of Justice for the first time vigorously and directly challenged the myth of "separate but equal" in historic briefs before the Supreme Court in three major cases.

Additional gains have since been made. All the major universities and colleges in the District except George Washington University now admit Negroes to professional and graduate courses and to many of the undergraduate courses. Negro enrolment in the formerly white parochial schools has substantially increased, and a number of hotels, restaurants, and places of public assembly have ceased to exclude colored people. Racial discrimination in federal employment has become considerably less overt. In public recreation and sports substantial interracial contact now takes place in an atmosphere of mutual good-will. Although its existing public-housing facilities remain segregated, the National Capital Housing Authority recently announced that its new housing projects would be non-segregated; and significant shifts in racial residential patterns are beginning to develop since the restrictive housing covenants were declared unenforceable. The whole situation, with respect both to focusing the public eye on the evil at home and to promoting more relaxed inter-racial contacts, has considerably improved.

But in many areas progress has been slow or almost entirely absent. In the public schools segregation remains the prime arbiter of education. Medical facilities for sick Negroes are generally deplorable. Only Freedmen's Hospital, which historically has largely served colored people, admits Negroes without segregation; several hospitals do not admit Negroes at all; other hospitals which admit Negro patients in segregated facilities do not permit Negro doctors to attend them. Hopes for local political suffrage, of white as well as colored people, through the enactment of a home-rule bill again foundered in the District Committee of the House largely because the possibility of Negroes voting in the District was too repulsive to those whose presence in Congress depends in part on disfranchisement of Negroes back home.

The pattern of housing for most Negroes is still that of slums and the ghetto. And despite the relatively minor gains in federal employment, the over-all picture of employment of Negroes remains one of rank discrimination and woeful lack of opportunity. Thus no Negro gets a job operating street cars or buses, or as a switchboard

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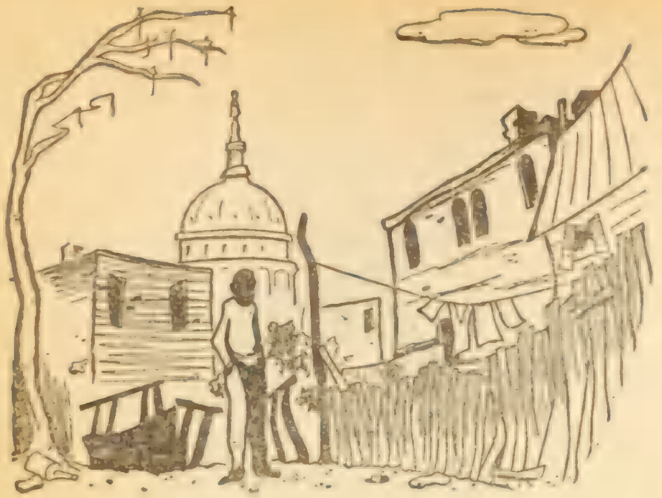

Alvin Katz

operator for the telephone company, or as a sales clerk in most department stores, or, for that matter, in most of the non-Negro companies or stores except as a messenger, elevator operator, kitchen help, unskilled labor, or similar low-paid worker. Even in the District government, employment opportunities for Negroes are mired in segregation and discrimination.

A vigorous double-pronged attack is now under way on one of the most shameful aspects of racial discrimination in Washington—that is, the exclusion of Negroes from public eating places. In the summer of 1950 a suit known as the Thompson Restaurant case was instituted to obtain judicial support for two long unused civil-rights statutes enacted some eighty years ago by the now extinct Legislative Assembly of the District of Columbia but somehow omitted from the District Codes of 1901, 1929, and 1940. Under these statutes the keeper or proprietor of certain places of public accommodation who refuses to serve "any respectable well-behaved person" without regard to race is subject to a $100 fine and forfeiture of license for one year.

In May, 1951, the Municipal Court of Appeals by a two-to-one vote upheld the 1873 law, applicable to restaurants, but declared invalid, "at least so far as restaurants are concerned," the 1872 law, which applied to restaurants, hotels, barbershops, and bath-houses. Cross-appeals took the case to the United States Court of Appeals. The widespread public interest in the case was reflected not only in the several *amicus curiae* briefs but also by the virtually unprecedented action of the court in setting the case for argument, on its own initiative, before the full bench of nine judges. The decision has not yet been handed down.

The Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the District of Columbia Anti-Discrimination Laws, which sponsored the tests at the Thompson restaurant, has not relied solely on the creeping process of litigation. It has made and published surveys of discrimination in local eating places and by the skilful use of publicity, persuasion, picketing, and boycott has induced many of them, particularly those frequented by low- and middle-income persons, to abandon their discriminatory practices. A few weeks ago the last large dime store in the downtown area finally abandoned segregation at its lunch counter.

This combination of legal and community action has heightened public awareness of the old civil-rights acts and has strengthened the determination of the colored people to insist on their rights under the law. If the acts are eventually upheld, it seems safe to say that despite probable efforts at evasion in some establishments and the resulting problems of proof and conviction, racial exclusionary practices in the District's public eating places will largely disappear.

THE stronghold of Washington's segregation is the public-school system. Although the Congressional statutes under which it operates clearly contemplate a dual set of schools, some for white children and some for colored children, it is by no means certain that the Board of Education could not integrate some schools, or combine the white teachers' college and the colored teachers' college (as the president of the white teachers' college has already urged), or that the board is required to forbid interracial athletics or interracial extra-curricular activities such as chess, music, debating, or other intercultural contacts. Nevertheless, the Board of Education has made segregation so rigid that a white child can go through seventeen years of public education without ever seeing a colored child in classrooms or in inter-mural or extra-curricular activities.

Moreover, the separate schools are not equal. No matter how desperately the Board of Education shifts the racial use of school buildings to try to keep abreast of population changes, it can only mildly alleviate the almost scandalous inequalities inevitable under a dual system. And because these shifts create almost as many inequities, for both white and colored children, as they attempt to correct, every proposed change is debated in an atmosphere of controversy, resistance, and emotional tension.

Since de-segregation of schools by Congressional action appears remote while the filibuster is available in the Senate, those looking beyond such temporary palliatives as shifting racial use of buildings, additional funds for more colored teachers, and the like are placing their hope on court action. Two cases are now pending before the United States Court of Appeals to require admission of colored pupils to a white junior high school.

Court action less ultimate in its goal is nibbling at some of the obvious racial discrimination in public education. On July 3, 1952, a District Court judge held unconstitutional the Washington practice, followed since at least 1905, of exporting colored deaf children to schools in Maryland and Pennsylvania while educating white deaf children in the District at the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, an outstanding school. Acceding to this decree, the District government has contracted with the Columbia Institution to educate colored deaf children, but has inserted a provision requiring the Institution, which does not segregate non-District students, to segregate the District colored children.

That non-segregation in Washington can work is demonstrated by the picture in public recreation. The Interior Department's Office of National Capital Parks administers the park system with no racial restrictions of any sort in its six swimming pools, tourist-camp lodgings, tennis courts, golf courses, picnic areas, or other facilities. Its policy is simply that as a government agency it is obligated to administer its public facilities for the benefit of all law-abiding persons who choose to use them. Except for one minor incident in 1949, that policy has been uniformly successful.

However, public recreation is only partially democratic. The Recreation Board, an agency of the District government, sponsors a racial anomaly: facilities in park areas administered under permit from the Interior Department are non-segregated; other areas are designated for white use only (among them are the District government's two outdoor swimming pools), or for colored use only, or "open" areas—which in practice means a new form of segregation, since white and colored teams from such "open" areas may not play with teams from areas designated for either white or colored use. The Recreation Board's racial policy, unlike segregation in education, does not rest on any alleged statutory compulsion but only on the board's say so; like all forms of segregation it has exacerbated racial tensions and lowered the quality of service to all. Its contrast with the Department of Interior's policy is startling.

Washington in 1952 is still a Jim Crow town. Its discriminatory practices are indeed a "blot on our nation." Yet two of the most significant facts concerning race relations in the District are the ever more rapid progress in breaking down racial barriers and the community's acceptance of this progress. Although many and substantial barriers still exist, racial discrimination and the attitudes which underlie it have been receding or put on the defensive to a degree unforeseen fifteen years ago. And as the walls crumble, both white and colored people, Southern-bred as well as Northern-bred, are with considerable mutual understanding clearing their minds of the myths of racism and the cobwebs of segregation. It is such reorientation of community *mores* within the tradition of peaceful, democratic change that buoys the hope for removal of the race line from our nation's capital.

California: Crossed up on Cross-filing

BY ERNEST O. AMES

San Francisco

IN 1913 the California legislature quietly slipped a few words into the state's direct-primary act—an amendment giving a person the right to become the candidate "of more than one political party for the same office." The Progressive Party, which controlled the legislature, had a selfish motive in authorizing this anomaly, which became known as "cross-filing." Motive and party soon ceased to exist, but the political confusion and irresponsibility generated by the device have continued. The result has been to make a farce of the state's direct-primary elections and of the two-party system.

Cross-filing is attacked by Democrats and Republicans, by the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., by the press, the League of Women Voters, and the National Municipal League. It has been defended by a large percentage of California's elected office-holders, including Governor Earl Warren, by special-interest groups, lobbyists, and some chambers of commerce. This fall, after thirty-nine years, the public will get a chance to vote for its rejection or retention when an initiative to repeal cross-filing appears on the ballot.

To understand why the cross-filing amendment was ever adopted we must go back to the great economic upsurge that the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 produced in California. Powerful private interests arose which were determined to mold the changing West into the shape they desired. Of these the one which could best exploit the situation was that which had brought it about—the railroad. For some forty years the "Southern Pacific machine" dominated the Republican Party and had substantial influence in the Democratic Party. Southern Pacific candidates on both tickets were not unusual. The railroad's ability to elect office-holders who would do its bidding was enhanced by the lack of a direct-primary system. Machine candidates, selected at party nominating conventions, were beholden to the railroad and acted accordingly.

After repeated attempts, a reform movement finally came to fruition with the passage of a direct-primary act

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ERNEST O. AMES is a San Francisco journalist.

in 1909; a year later it swept Hiram Johnson into the governorship at the head of the crusading Progressive Party. The Johnson administration broke the Southern Pacific's strangle-hold on California politics, but the Progressive Party, even in its heyday, rested on shaky foundations. Its adherents were dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats, mainly the former. The Progressives not only had to hold them in line but continue to draw supporters from the two main parties. Shrewd Progressive leaders figured that a sure way to elect their candidates would be to have them run on more than one ticket. So the words to make this practice legal were inserted in the primary law.

In 1917 the electorate passed another amendment to the act which stipulated that a candidate who failed to win the nomination of his own party at the primaries could not be nominated by another party. This "amendment to the amendment," though well intentioned, served only to increase the possibility of political confusion. In 1918 James Rolph, Jr., long the mayor of San Francisco, became the first candidate for governor to cross-file on both major parties' tickets. Rolph, a Republican, won the Democratic nomination but lost in his own party's primaries to William D. Stephens. Under the 1917 amendment the Democrats were thus left without a candidate for governor. Stephens went on to a "no contest" victory at the general election.

The legislature tried to take remedial action but failed to get at the source of the trouble. Instead, it provided that in the event of future disqualifications the central committee of the party left without a candidate could appoint one. Cross-filing was retained without change.

BILLS to end cross-filing have repeatedly been introduced in the legislature, only to die in committee. The legislators do not want to repeal cross-filing, since it works to the advantage of incumbents seeking reelection. The record shows that an overwhelming percentage of state senators and assemblymen win renomination on both the Republican and Democratic tickets at the primaries and thus save themselves the trouble and expense of conducting a campaign. This means, first, that the people are denied the opportunity of hearing the issues clarified in the campaign arguments; and, second, that the relatively small number of voters who take part in the primaries choose the state's officials.

In view of the stake which members of the legislature have in retaining cross-filing, it is difficult to see how the situation could be changed by any action short of a direct vote of the people, such as will occur this year. Unfortunately the legislature has confused the issue by placing a second initiative pertaining to cross-filing on the November ballot. This makes a merely minor concession to the critics of the system by proposing that a candidate's party affiliation shall be indicated on the ballot.

The law establishing the direct-primary system in California was of course designed to give voters the power to select candidates for public office—so that they would not be left with a choice between a "machine Republican" and a "machine Democrat." The question now is whether cross-filing is a refinement or an emasculation of the direct primary. The weight of evidence indicates it is the latter. In approximately 90 per cent of the primary contests incumbents are seeking reelection. Most of the time they have little or no opposition from members of their own party. In self-defense, the opposing party's leaders try to put up only one man for each office: when two or more candidates vie for the nomination the cross-filing incumbent has a much better chance of winning.

The argument most often heard in favor of cross-filing is that it promotes non-partisan government and that non-partisan government is good government. This claim is easily refuted. Whatever merit non-partisan government may have in theory, it is an ideal that is never realized. As long as there is government, there will be public issues; public issues create pro and con public opinion; elected officials must conform to public opinion—that is, be either pro or con, and hence partisan. To see that cross-filing does not produce non-partisan government one need only look at the record of Governor Warren. Warren has always been a Republican. He has participated, often prominently, in both state and national activities of the Republican Party. In 1948 he was its Vice-Presidential candidate. This year he sought the Republican Presidential nomination. How, then, for all his cross-filing, can he appear before his constituents as non-partisan?

The argument that cross-filing eliminates party bosses is only superficially valid. The fact is that the party bosses have been replaced by bosses of an even worse breed—the "third house" of lobbyists and special interests.

The traditional American conception of a political party is an organization of electors who believe in certain principles of government and work for the execution of those principles through the election of the party's candidates. With candidates running on the tickets of both parties it is obviously difficult to maintain virile party organizations or to build up the political responsibility of office-holders. No wonder that in this situation California's pressure groups have been able to control the state's legislative processes.

California has neither responsible parties nor responsible candidates. Instead, it has the huge, lushly financed "third house" of lobbyists who are responsible only to their clients and who outnumber the one hundred members of the legislature at least four to one. With the breakdown of effective party organization, candidates for office are the prey of the special interests which provide their financial backing and which after the election not infrequently turn up as lobbyists in the capitol. In these circumstances legislators find it hard to put the public interest first, especially if they want to be reelected. Public opinion cannot reach into the "third house" as long as cross-filing remains on the books. The names of the members of that powerful body never appear on any ballot.

Colonialism in the U. N.

BY CHADWICK HALL

United Nations

A FULL-DRESS debate on colonialism is brewing at the United Nations. Last June a proposal to call a special session of the Assembly to consider the Tunisian question was defeated in the Security Council, but the Arab-Asian bloc is still trying to round up enough votes to put Tunisia on the agenda of the current session of the Assembly. And if a debate on colonial policy comes off, Tunisia will not be the only topic. The smaller and non-white nations in the U. N. feel strongly that the Trusteeship Council, which arbitrates complaints submitted by non-self-governing territories, is heavily biased in favor of the colonial powers. As an example of this bias they point to a decision handed down in July dealing with the protest of the Wa-Meru tribe in Tanganyika against expropriation of its lands by the British administrators of the territory. Instead of ordering Britain to return the land, the council merely urged that "compensation" be paid, a solution which the tribe had previously rejected.

For thirty years Tanganyika, largest of the eleven non-self-governing territories, has been under international supervision. Taken from the Germans in World War I, it was turned over to Great Britain by the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Britain's authority was reaffirmed by the U. N. When Tanganyika was still a German colony the whites in the territory had seized the most productive land and driven the natives into the disease-infested lowlands. Between the wars few Englishmen migrated to the territory out of fear that it might be returned to Germany, and in 1923 the British permitted one of the tribes, the Wa-Meru, which was facing starvation, to buy back its land. But in 1949, when English colonizers began to arrive in large numbers, the 350 native families that had gone back to the highlands were ordered to get out. They refused, and in November, 1951, were ejected by an armed band of native police aided by whites from nearby Kenya. According to the testimony of Kirile Japhet, one of the tribe's spokesmen before the Trusteeship Council, 3,000 natives were driven from their homes and 64 died as a result, 11,000 cows, sheep, and goats perished, 854 storehouses were gutted, and an entire village was burned to the ground. After trying in vain to get the Colonial office to listen to their protests, the tribe appealed to the U. N. Trusteeship Council.

The British spokesman, Sir Alan Burns, said that the land occupied by the Wa-Meru was good only for "scientific" cattle raising and that the natives were incapable of utilizing it; the eviction, he said, was part of a long-range "resettlement" program undertaken to raise the living standards of the natives. In the course of his speech, however, he revealed another reason for the eviction. The British authorities, it appeared, had acted on the basis of a land-commission report which had recommended that the territory inhabited by the Wa-Meru be incorporated in a homogeneous block of cattle ranches.

By homogeneous, the commission clearly meant all-white, though the British representative insisted that nothing in the scheme was racist "in principle." Africans as well as Europeans could apply for a farm on the Wa-Meru tract if they were "suitably qualified." Sir Alan added, however, that "we must be honest about these things and appreciate that at the present stage of development it is improbable that an African will be in a position to take up large-scale ranching in this area." He failed to explain how natives too ill equipped to raise cattle in the fertile uplands would be able to make a living in the barren low country, or why the British administrators were interested in promoting large-scale ranching by whites rather than the welfare of the natives.

Though the British authorities in Tanganyika had clearly violated Chapter XI of the U. N. Charter, the Trusteeship Council rejected the Wa-Meru plea that their land be returned to them and adopted a resolution introduced by the New Zealand member which urged the British government to "grant compensation on a generous scale to help overcome the resentment which has arisen." Russia voted against the resolution, China and the Dominican Republic voted for it with reservations, El Salvador abstained. It was carried by the votes of the United States and the other five nations on the council.

When the council files its report, the Tanganyika case will probably be aired in the Assembly. The United States will then find itself in a ticklish position. So far it has indicated its support of colonialism only in the agencies which get little publicity, but if a debate on colonial policy and the trusteeship system as a whole shapes up, its position will get a thorough going-over. It will then either have to desert the colonial powers with which it is allied or risk losing the friends that Marshall aid and Point Four have won for it in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

CHADWICK HALL is a member of The Nation's *staff.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Poets as Heroes

LIGHT ON A DARK HORSE. By Roy Campbell. Henry Regnery Company. $4.

USHANT. By Conrad Aiken. Duell, Sloan and Pearce-Little, Brown. $4.50.

A POET should always think twice before writing his autobiography. In the first place, he is a man for whom fantasy is as truth-bearing as fact. In the second, by his very calling he is the beholder and celebrator of others. Kierkegaard made the point beautifully: "As God created man and woman, so too he fashioned the hero and the poet or orator. The poet cannot do what that other does, he can only admire, love, and rejoice in the hero." While the hero charges the dark tower, kisses the sleeping beauty, and dies without ever catching a glimpse of himself in the act, the poet watches, "for the hero is as it were his better nature," and then sings them both into eternity.

But when he writes his autobiography, a poet is assuming both roles, a risky venture even when it is attempted by someone as shrewdly mirror-wise as Jean Cocteau. Properly, a poet can be a hero only for another poet, as Rimbaud was for Verlaine. When he undertakes to be his own, he must either be very innocent—that is, hardly a poet at all—or, like Yeats, able in some canny corner of himself to work with masks, and to use one of these—the "sixty-year-old smiling public man"—and not his entire self, as his hero.

Roy Campbell is innocent. It is not only the number of dashing things he does but the confident candor with which he beholds himself doing them that makes his book so ingratiating. I cannot imagine anyone—not even the liberal, who is bound to shudder at his medieval politics (anti-Republican during the Spanish civil war)—reading "Light on a Dark Horse" and not wishing for half an hour that he had been the author. Heaven only knows what ever made him bother to write poetry. Certainly he has never lacked less round-about "ways of happening," from big-game hunting and professional bullfighting to water-jousting and boxing. But with the same manly, unonanistic ease with which he has done these things, he has also been a poet. Listen to this: "I had forgotten about poetry when, owing to reading Mistral, I got another sort of spurt-on as a writer. Whatever poems of mine I remembered, I wrote down; and others we found in old magazines. But I lost more than half of what I'd written. When we got the rest together, we sent them to T. S. Eliot, and this was my book, 'Adamastor.'" (Poets have often wished to be thought so slap-dash, unniggling, and inadvertent about their work, but very few ever really have been.)

Beside Campbell's roistering Fortinbras, Conrad Aiken is a self-impaled Hamlet indeed, and to this extent his book is interesting, being much more like the one we should expect a self-conscious poet to write. But it is a failure. To get an image of himself in perspective, Aiken has borrowed Henry Adams's strategy of narrating autobiographical material in the third person. "Ushant" (pronounced You Shan't—"the ambiguous book with the punning title," says the author) is about a sea voyage during which a man named D. reflects on his life and loves, and the inexpressibility of it all.

But it is an artist's prime discretion to decide in the privacy of his workroom how much of his vision he can handle; to make images of whatever this amounts to; and to keep mum about the rest. Aiken will not do this. Obsessed by what he calls "these multiples of iridescent complexity," by the "subliminal of subliminals of consciousness," by the "palimpsest" character of reality, he wants to be all over the lot, to say everything, and he ends up by being nowhere except in an abstraction and saying nothing except words. Instead of a particular bird in the hand, we keep getting protests about how many there are in the bush.

Hence his style, which in monstrous mimicry of Henry James can speak of "co-conspirators in their grand, Daedalian, secret and profound, and absolutely unremitting warfare on the unconscious" (Randall Jarrell once very accurately described Aiken's style as "ectoplasmic"). Hence his bookish, over-laminated symbolism, which makes his sea not only "more than wine-dark" and "less than gong-tormented," but has his hero, D., crossing it in search of "Ariel's island," which in turn is a "substitute for the lost mother," etc. Hence his failure with D. himself, who crystallizes into nothing more than an amorphous, ruminating mouthpiece.

Worst of all, I feel that this indulgence is not compulsive, as it was in Thomas Wolfe, but deliberate. It is Aiken's final weakness to believe that in refusing to be *merely* a disciplined, selective artist, like Homer or Yeats, he has come closer to netting the "whole drama of the human soul, from the beginningless beginning to the endless end" which his vision beholds. He hasn't at all. He has simply failed to make a good book.

ROBERT PHELPS

The Iron Years

MIDCENTURY JOURNEY. By William L. Shirer. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50

IT WAS hard to imagine a better book than "Berlin Diary," but Mr. Shirer has surpassed himself with this study of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in the iron years from 1925 to mid-century. The "Diary" was a superb study of the Nazi mind, and although it naturally took up the incredible follies of such men as Chamberlain and Daladier, it was mainly confined to Germany itself. "Midcentury Journey," however, describes the actual operations of appeasement, and although neither Mr. Shirer nor anybody else can explain the midsummer madness which permitted the occupation of the Rhineland, the annexation of Austria, the partition of Czechoslovakia, his book is a worthy companion to Winston Churchill's account in "The Gathering Storm."

It is salutary, though painful, to read again this mournful record, and to remember that a group of German generals were on the point of deposing Hitler when word came that Chamberlain was flying over with his umbrella. I was a spectator in Downing Street the night Chamberlain made his little speech announcing that he had brought "peace with honor" back with him from Munich, and Mr. Shirer's description made me feel again the horror and unbelief which possessed me in those wretched days.

The question is whether the civilized world is again digging its own grave. In treating the four European countries in which he worked as a journalist before the war Mr. Shirer has first given an admirable brief history of each in the nineteen-thirties and then reported the results of his investigations in the years since V-E Day. He has wisely avoided the temptation of I told you so, but the juxtaposition of what happened in the thirties with what has happened since 1945 carries its own moral. Mr. Shirer is still an excellent reporter, and he has added an impressive supply of statistics and other background material.

Although the France of Daladier was as foolish as the England of Chamberlain, I felt that Mr. Shirer was perhaps a trifle too harsh on the way the French are now behaving. There is much to view with alarm in the France of today, but I do not think Mr. Shirer took into sufficient account the efforts of decent Frenchmen to avoid the mistakes that culminated in the cry, "Why die for Danzig?"

Mr. Shirer gives a cheerful account of life in Austria, where the indomitable Viennese cheerfulness survives wars and Hitlers, but he is afraid that economic weakness will bring England down at precisely the moment when "fair shares" is beginning to produce a decent life for English workmen. Germany, of course, is the country on which he is an authority, and the very moderation of his language increases the effect of his misgivings over the German policy now being followed by Mr. Acheson and the Pentagon with such grim determination. It seems so obvious now that after the First World War the British policy of rebuilding Germany as a counter-weight to France was plain suicide. It is to be hoped that our policy of rebuilding West Germany as an ally against Russia will not have equally dire results.

Mr. Shirer ends his book with a brief account of the changes twenty-five years have brought in the United States. For the most part they are changes that inspire hope for the future despite the threat of the Soviet Union. The rise of McCarthyism, of course, is a different thing, but a country that has achieved what the United States has achieved surely will rid itself of this scourge in time. Mr. Shirer appears to think so, and I agree.

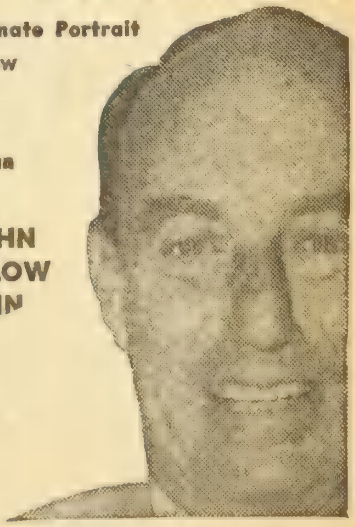
THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Apollonian

THE WAY TO GLORY. By J. D. Scott. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IF THE life of reason embraces us long before we can even begin to embrace it—and opposing psychological schools agree that special susceptibility to it begins very early—it is not difficult to understand the novel's special fascination for the intellectual. In story-telling he can hope for delights of which he has long felt cheated. Over-scrupulous, over-prone to weigh and ponder, he has been compelled by a disciplined nature to be reasonable; he has been denied the visceral joys of spontaneity, feeling, and madness. In the language of Philip Rahv he is a "paleface" rather than a "redskin," which means that in the bookstores, before he puts pen to paper, he has already taken a beating. Publishers can safely snub, and demagogic reviewers sneer without fear. He is too reflective to leaven masses, and usually gravitates toward criticizing and teaching. Yet, as the evidence is very clear, it would be a grave error to discount him entirely as a novelist. The heroic examples of Stendhal, James, Proust, Joyce, Gide, and Forster remind us that he *can* slowly find and hold an audience, that in fact the increasing complexity of the modern world seems to bestow a more lasting reward upon his analytical skills than upon the readier infectiousness of his more emotional rivals. This is so much the case that our few serious readers, who know of course that we shall have no new Tolstoys or Balzacs or Dostoevskys until we have wholly recognized our world, mistrust the readily infectious novel on sight and look first for a scrupulous mind.

This modest novel by Mr. Scott is the product of a scrupulous mind. Like the American novel with which in tone it invites comparison—"The Middle of the Journey" by Lionel Trilling—it continues the tradition of James and Forster. It is well-wrought, it is graceful, it has delicate surprises. It avoids false drama. Its hero is a sensitive, thoughtful young man thrust into a characteristically modern situation which is finally resolved almost as if it were a philosophical dialogue. Less timely and less ambitious than Trilling's book, "The Way to Glory" is the story of a well-



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married British business man who goes to Paris for his firm in the present post-war period, rescues a girl during a street riot, and has an affair with her. She turns out to be part Negro and to have a brother who is in difficulties with the law. At this point the plot might well have taken a Graham Greene turn or a J. Arthur Rank turn, but it doesn't, and in my opinion it is better because it doesn't. It faces up to the problems of adultery and color and the path of duty that is the way to glory with a sensibility and a credibility that are almost never Rank's and all too rarely Greene's.

Sensibility and credibility: the foremost stumbling-blocks of drama—the pleasures they offer are tame. Nowhere is "the treason of the intellectuals" more evident than in their contempt for novels by their own kind. And this is only natural: denied Dionysian exuberance by their Apollonian inhibitions, they seek it feverishly elsewhere, especially in fiction. No one worships more ardently at the cult of violence than pale cerebretonics who never pulled a trigger. We all know of the aid their mental bloodthirstiness has sometimes given dictators. Such readers would be justified in complaining that Mr. Scott's novel sacrifices many exciting possibilities to a ribbon-like style, that it is narrowed by an intellectual's typical blind spots, that it is deficient in dash and blood and vigor. But these are constitutional defects of the novel of ideas, and certain masters, from Racine to Gide, have also suffered from them. There is a quiet music in Mr. Scott's book, and those who don't demand cymbals and brasses will be able to hear it.

GERALD SYKES

The Useful and the Good

LEISURE, THE BASIS OF CULTURE. By Josef Pieper. Translated by Alexander Dru. With an Introduction by T. S. Eliot. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

THE two essays contained in this small volume are the first works of the German philosopher Josef Pieper to be published in English. Professor Pieper is a Catholic, and his largest purpose is to show that divine worship is the foundation of culture and that genuine philosophy is inseparable from theology.

The book leaves the reader both stimulated and unsatisfied, for while the author is often an excellent critic when pointing out the cultural failures of modern society in the West, he is less happy in his ideas about the dependence of culture and philosophy upon religion and theology—at least to a reader who does not share his religious convictions.

In the first essay, which gives the book its title, Pieper discusses the relation between leisure and work, saying, quite rightly, that the doctrine of work—of *practical* industry both physical and intellectual—has assumed an importance out of proportion to its place in life. Western culture is endangered by this emphasis upon the immediately *useful* to the detriment of the *good*—the good being those values dealt with by disciplines having no proper use in economic gain or in propaganda. Pieper clarifies this distinction between the useful and the good by contrasting "wage" and "honorarium," "servile arts" and "liberal arts." He points to the Soviet Union as the worst example of the modern tendency to judge everything by its immediate utilitarian value.

But the seeds of this tyranny of the useful, he argues, are found in all Western countries, and the emphasis upon work, or the practical, is found not only in physical production but also in intellectual matters. To discuss the emphasis on the practical in matters of the mind, the author takes two terms from the scholastic theory of knowledge, maintaining that *ratio*—the power of logical thought—has been stressed in modern philosophy to the detriment of *intellectus*, which is "that simple vision to which truth offers itself like a landscape to the eyes." To think by *ratio* is work, and hard work at that, but it is the unique quality of *intellectus* that it is effortless; thus in all true knowledge there is a combination of effort and ease, of work and vision.

Leisure is impossible when the doctrine of work becomes dominant over passive receptiveness and the *wonder* that things exist, the wonder which is the source of all philosophy. And leisure is not simply spare time for pleasure; it is the opposite of *acedia* in the old sense of fretfulness, of disharmony in the soul. The author quotes Baudelaire to illustrate this. "One must work, if not from taste then at least from despair. For, to reduce everything to a single truth: work is less boring than pleasure." (But Baudelaire was more complicated than this, for he also said that one of the most terrible things he could imagine was to be a *useful* person. He meant this precisely in the sense discussed in this book.)

Leisure, then, is an attitude of mind and a condition of the soul. It is a form of silence in which the soul's capacity to "answer" to the reality of the world is left undiminished. And this leisure, insists Pieper, has its origin in "celebration," which is the point at which the qualities of leisure—effortlessness, calm, and relaxation—fuse and become one. "But if celebration is the cause of leisure, then leisure can only be made possible . . . upon the same basis as the celebration of a feast: and that formation is *divine worship*."

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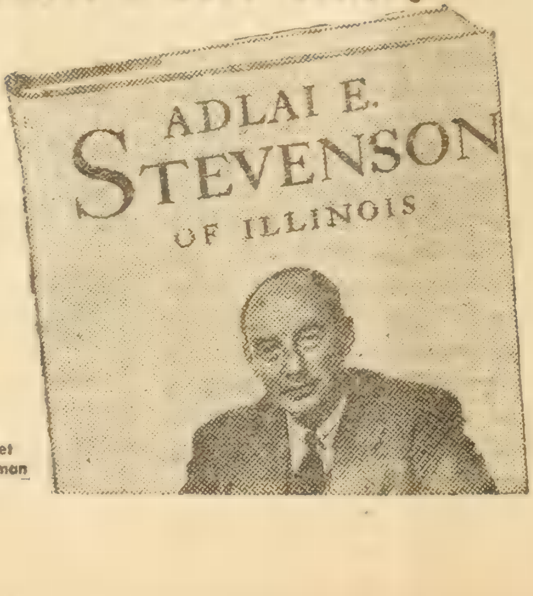

However, there are some questions to be asked here. Why should divine worship be the only kind of celebration? Even if one agrees with the author, and one is not obliged to, that secular celebrations such as national holidays do not "celebrate" in the true sense, why is not any sensitive person able to celebrate, and to wonder at, the glories and mysteries of the universe quite apart from any communal homage or sacrifice, be it religious or secular? The relationship drawn between leisure and divine worship is unconvincing from still another point of view, for the author's definition of leisure is a blanket which warms too many feet. In all of Western literature there has been no more "leisurely" person, in the sense in which the word is treated here, than Montaigne, whom Professor Pieper would probably find an embarrassing if impressive bedfellow.

But what of the necessary connection between philosophy and theology? Pieper writes that "one cannot, in fact, philosophize without taking up a theological position." This seems to imply that for him "theology" and "metaphysics" are interchangeable terms—a curious but not very illuminating idea. It is true, of course, that such a philosophy as naturalism has and needs metaphysical support, but it is simply confusing the issue to call it theological for that reason. It is rather like trying to smooth out the visible differences between two paintings by filling the room with smoke. Perhaps the author is here implicitly criticizing logical positivism, which Eliot does explicitly in the introduction. Now, it is perfectly true that many positivists define meaningful problems out of existence with an impudence worthy of Groucho Marx, but this movement has been more valuable than Eliot, at least, is willing to admit.

Despite these objections the book remains a very good one, and on the whole a very well-translated one, judging only by the tone of the language. The style is simple and graceful, and it was written by a man who is often perceptive and always civilized, and who has the true philosophic spirit, for he could write that "philosophy never claimed to be a superior form of knowledge, but on the contrary, a form of humility."

CARL F. HOVDE

Books in Brief

THE SKIN. By Curzio Malaparte. Translated from the Italian by David Moore. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50. Curzio Malaparte, who joins every fight on the wrong side first, has combined veristic sketches of post-war Naples with a properly revolting self-portrait in his last work to be published in English. "The Skin" is a sniveling revelation of how it feels to be Malaparte, which the author has blown up to read, "how it feels to be a national of a 'liberated' country." His lurid over-

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Speeches of Adlai Stevenson

With a foreword by **JOHN STEINBECK,** *and a concise biography by DEBS MYERS (a former editor of* "YANK"*) and RALPH MARTIN (a former editor of* "STARS AND STRIPES"*)*

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NEXT WEEK IN "*The* NATION"

FALL BOOK ISSUE

APPARITION OF SPLENDOR
A Poem
By Marianne Moore

REVIEWS

THE SHORES OF LIGHT
By Edmund Wilson
Reviewed by
Morton Dauwen Zabel

RUMOR AND REFLECTION
By Bernard Berenson
Reviewed by
S. Lane Faison, Jr.

GEORGE WASHINGTON
By Douglas Southall Freeman
Reviewed by George Genzmer

BEHIND THE HIGH HIMALAYAS
By William O. Douglas
Reviewed by Susheela Dayal

MANY MANSIONS
By Isabel Bolton
Reviewed by Ernest Jones

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN
By Marie Seton
Reviewed by Gerald Weales

STRANGE EMPIRE
By Joseph Kinsey Howard
Reviewed by J. B. Brebner

Verse Chronicle
By Rolfe Humphries

Charles Chaplin's "Limelight"
By Manny Farber

Music by B. H. Haggin

tones *pour épater le bourgeois intellectuel* do small service to his countrymen or to Europeans in general, who, he tries to convince us, "do nothing today but laugh at and weep over one another, an ugly sign." Meanwhile, "The Skin" has everything: "inside dope" on General Donovan, recognizable vignettes of the better-known queans of Franco-Italian-American gay society, the supposed lowdown on the "conquest" of Rome by the American Fifth Army. One could go on and on, and Malaparte does. Only fleetingly the reader regrets that for a generation this superb journalist has lent his gift of observation and his capacity to recreate the things observed to the cheap trade of shocking the gullible. What Malaparte's ragbag of sorry, and often bogus, revelations gives no hint of is the element in the Italian people which has permitted them to rise after so many conquests, vigorous, with faith undimmed in the continuity and meaning of their own history.

BLOODY WILLIAMSON. By Paul M. Angle. Knopf. $4. Why has Williamson County, Illinois, a strongly "American" region, had for more than eighty years a tradition of violence that has repeatedly erupted into murder and mob killings? To answer this question Paul Angle has studied the "bloody vendetta" of the 1870's, the labor wars, the Herrin massacre, the Klan wars, and the gang war between Charlie Birger and the Shelton brothers. He failed to find a satisfactory answer, but in looking for it he has produced an extremely readable and illuminating history of America at its most lawless.

MEETINGHOUSE HILL: 1630-1783. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. Macmillan. $4. An excellent study of religion in colonial New England at a time when "the meetinghouse stood for a way of life both civil and religious . . . shaped to the divine intent." In those days the founding of a church was a matter not lightly undertaken. The inhabitants of Dedham, for example, a village of thirty families, spent two years in self-examination and in "scanning" the "spiritual condition" of every adult member of the community to determine which had achieved the "level of grace" considered acceptable for church membership. That accomplished, the meetinghouse would be raised and "wetted down" with perhaps "20 gallons of Rhumb and 20 pounds of Sugar to go with the Rhumb," and very likely some young acrobat would climb to the ridgepole with a two-gallon jug to drink to the safe completion of the job. But in spite of the care taken to insure a state of grace among parishioners, the history of the early churches was all too often a history of prolonged and bitter wrangling, and one of the virtues of this book is the ability of the author, by painting a well-rounded picture, to humanize and vitalize the granite figure of the Puritan zealot.

ARROW IN THE BLUE. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $5. "I was born," says Koestler in this first volume of his autobiography, "at the moment when the sun was setting on the Age of Reason." The only child of a eupeptic Hungarian-Jewish promoter, he was born in Budapest, educated in Vienna, spent a hungry year in Palestine and worked for Ullstein as foreign correspondent and editor in Jerusalem, Paris, and Berlin. The book ends with his conversion to communism in 1931 at the age of twenty-six. A historian of violence who works at his best on the edge of the abyss, Koestler, in this comparatively placid chronicle, comes close to dulness except in the chapters on communism, a subject that always heats his mind to a kind of luminosity.

EDMUND PENDLETON: 1721-1803. By David John Mays. Harvard. 2 vols. $15. A well-written, well-organized, and lavishly documented biography of a Virginia statesman (1721-1803) eminent as a jurist, financial administrator, and political leader before and during the Revolution. Especially notable is its detailed picture of the political scene in Virginia from 1760 to 1783.

HENRIETTA SZOLD. By Rose Zeitlin. Dial Press. $3.50. Henrietta Szold was one of those remarkable women whose inner flame and devotion to a cause give them strength and courage to perform superhuman tasks. Her activities included the creation of Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization; the first hospital system of the Middle East; a whole complex of child-welfare institutions, nurses training schools, and social service programs; the Youth Aliyah and the Child and Youth Welfare Foundation. The story of her life is concisely and effectively told in this authorized biography.

YOUR MARRIAGE AND THE LAW. By Harriet F. Pilpel and Theodora Zavin. Rinehart. $3.95. All the legal aspects of marriage and divorce from breach-of-promise suits to the still unsettled problems of artificial insemination (does the wife thereby commit adultery, and is her husband the legal father of the child?) are covered in this lucid and engagingly written book.

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH POETRY. By Joseph Chiari. Philosophical Library. $3.75. M. Chiari's study is introduced with a foreword by T. S. Eliot, who approves, if not the selection, at least the method thereof, eclectic rather than catholic. The poets considered are Valéry, Supervielle, Claudel, Emmanuel, Eluard, Perse (rather skimpily), and Michaux. A chapter on surrealism, some conclusions, and a selected bibliography are included. M. Chiari's most interesting chapter is that on Supervielle, his least complimentary that on Claudel. The French poets are liberally quoted, in their own language; the style of the author, himself a poet whose prose is, however, written in English, is uninspired and dry, with considerable of a lecture-room aroma.

•

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

BEATRICE LILLIE'S "Evening" at the Booth Theater is full of delights, but the high point is the sketch called A Star's First Night, for it brings into play, more than any other number, the art of B. Lillie. As the curtain rises, we see a star in her dressing-room glowing with the pleasure of a triumphant performance. The Star's Friend (Miss Lillie), who is giving a party for the actress and has come to claim her, enters the room—and with her a rush of philistine air that is almost palpable. It is so overpowering that within ten seconds the star, her triumph, the theater, art itself have withered before our eyes to nothing more significant than the means to a hostess's ends; and within the brief compass of a sketch Miss Lillie gives us a portrait of a patroness of the arts which is not merely hilarious but completely devastating. The final "business" is typical. On her way out she gathers up, as if she were quite unconscious of what she is doing, the star's bouquet—it will come in handy at home—and this small action is the perfect period to everything that has gone before.

The sketch called References, in which the maid pretends to be the mistress and is interviewed by another mistress in search of a maid, also gives Miss Lillie scope. It is the broadest kind of farce and calls, among other things, for an awkwardness of posture and of movement that only perfect control could bring off. There is one other sketch, Father and Son, which is very slight and a little dated. For the rest, Miss Lillie sings a number of songs of which it need only be said that even if you have heard her sing them before you will enjoy hearing and seeing her sing them again. Reginald Gardiner does a series of imitations and does them so well that he quickly overcomes and leaves far behind him the initial hazard of such undertakings—the tendency of the spectator to expect the worst. He is also a dextrous and suave master of ceremonies. "Eadie and Rack at the Pianos" accompany the proceedings satisfactorily, though I thought their "overtures" long drawn out.

If anyone could say in what Beatrice Lillie's art consists, there would be more than one B. Lillie. One can only set down a few observations. She has all the essential and formal requisites of her calling—skill, experience, sophistication, a sense of timing; yet she uses them in such a way as to create the effect of spontaneous, artless, improvised fooling meant only for friends and relations. She gives herself completely to the part she is playing—there is no slightest hint of the self-assertiveness that ruins so many performances. For all her seeming abandon she exercises such restraint that every movement counts, and a gesture in her economy is worth more than many another's whole bag of tricks.

"The Sacred Flame" (President Theater) is a problem play in which a mother kills her hopelessly crippled son in order that his wife may find happiness with another son. A nurse in love with the invalid threatens to expose the killing but is in the end dissuaded by the eloquence of the mother's defense of her act. The play is less cut and dried than it sounds, but only because W. Somerset Maugham is a skilful writer and a competent maker of plays and because the piece is very well acted.

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Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

FROM now until early January the Fauves are on view, and in full force, at the Museum of Modern Art. All thirteen are present: Matisse, Derain, Vlaminck, Marquet, Dufy, Van Dongen, Braque, Friesz, Manguin, Camoin, Puy, Valtat, and—peripherally—Rouault. The selection of examples is nothing less than magnificent, and the arrangement, against walls of varying reticent grays, allows the bold color and design full projection.

It is hard to believe that it was the same masters, in the same period of their work, who were covered in a dull and badly hung exhibition at the Musée de l'Art Moderne in Paris during the summer of 1951. It is equally hard *not* to believe that the present show will make a powerful impression on the large and growing public which is sympathetic to the expressionist emphasis in today's non-objective art. To speak truthfully, the American public has had only sporadic opportunity to see fauvist art, or, better, the work which the painters listed above exhibited between 1905 and 1907. After that year they no longer exhibited as a group and fundamental changes began to appear. We have seen fauve Matisses in relation to his other work, but not in relation to the movement itself, the name of which, like that of most of the other modern movements, is singularly inappropriate. Eighty-five paintings, thirty water colors, and forty-five drawings tell the story of a movement, and tell it with terrific concentration. Most of them date 1905, 1906, or 1907; but there are a few earlier works already in fauvist vein, and there is an introductory roomful of works by the immediate precursors, including Van Gogh, Gauguin, Redon, Signac, and Cross (a lesser known, but very influential disciple of Seurat). This room also includes a late Cézanne nude which suggests some of Matisse's powerful distortions, and a Claude Monet, Fishing Boats, which even in 1884 anticipates something of Van Gogh's and Vlaminck's diagonal velocity.

Visitors should be prepared to find themselves challenged, if not disconcerted, on several counts. Was fauve painting primarily violent or decorative? Was it the first taste of a new century or a last dazzling variation on the art-nouveau forms of the late nineteenth? If you had been a critic in the years 1905-07, how would you have supposed the subsequent work of these painters would evolve? Which were the most creative individuals among the group? Did the movement itself inspire them to paint better than they knew how? Shall we accept or reject Thomas Mann's contention that an artist's total work is inseparable, and that it is therefore proper to judge these early works retroactively in the light of what we now know?

For what they are worth, here are some reactions to these questions. The violence of fauve painting is seldom introverted or psychological, as it is in the German art which it influenced. Its violence is civilized, and except for the half-Flemish Vlaminck, who comes closest to Van Gogh, very French. In fact, if fauvism means violence, the term is better applied to the wild-beast-and-maniac painters of the 1820's and 1830's, like Géricault and Delacroix. Essentially it is no wilder than Edouard Manet's Dead Toreador of the 1860's, and Manet's early flat style is perhaps its ultimate progenitor. It is tempting to think of fauvism as primarily decorative, but in the present exhibition this theory will not work. After the movement came to an end, Matisse increasingly adopted art-nouveau forms. Although these are the very heart of Bonheur de Vivre (1905-16), they are less the rule than the exception in Matisse's early work. Arceuil, of 1899, is a formidable little landscape; and even Braque recalls Cézanne less directly than it does.

Looking into the future in 1907, who would have supposed that Derain or Marquet would end up so tender or so tame? Or that Vlaminck's fine frenzy would be directed toward merely spooky effects? Or that Dufy would turn facile decorator? Or that Cézanne's grandeur would reemerge in Braque more than in any of the others? Here is one of the most remarkable examples the history of art affords of the power of the group to inspire the individual artist. I do not altogether reject Mann's idea, even though it can, of course, lead to blind and irrelevant criticism. There is at all times, presumably, something weak about an artist who, it turns out, does not have staying power. Van Dongen is perhaps the most salient example: of them all Van Dongen's later works are the most "dated," but at least two of his paintings in this exhibition do not suffer from stiff competition. On the other hand, it is clear that Friesz was no

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more of Braque's stature in 1906 than he was in later decades, and that there is little likelihood of a revival of interest in Puy and Valtat.

After the sustained high quality of this large exhibition it is instructive to visit the smaller selections of Braque at the Paul Rosenberg Gallery and of Fernand Leger—no Fauve—at the Sidney Janis. Of twenty-two Braques painted between 1924 and 1952, only two large still lifes (numbers 4 and 12) seemed to me to project anything approaching Braque's full power. But the Legers, on the contrary, were almost invariably eloquent of his clean and classic kind of force. How important is selection to an artist's reputation?

In 1905 most of the Fauves were in their twenties, and Matisse, the oldest, was just over thirty-five. Bultman, who has recently concluded a show at the Kootz Gallery, is more fauvist than they but not so articulate, and no younger. The dangers of prophecy are clear enough after a visit to the Museum of Modern Art. Nevertheless, I suspect that Bultman's bold scale, his glowing color, his richly contrasting blacks, and his rhythmic pauses will gain in clarity as he—and I—go on.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the recently issued HMV LP records offers the Mermaid Theater performance of Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas." And with the lustrous beauty of Flagstad's voice, the flawless phrasing and affecting expressiveness of her singing (in perfectly enunciated English), with Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's exquisite singing (in her quaintly imperfect English), with the excellent work of the other soloists, the chorus, the orchestra, and the conductor, Geraint Jones, and with the beautiful recorded sound—with all these the record is one of the events of the year. That is the first thing to say about it; but there is more to say: the circumstances which led to the performance are interesting in connection with the controversy about Flagstad that caused the picketing of her concerts when she returned here after the war.

The accompanying booklet informs us that in 1947 the British actor and director Bernard Miles and his family became friends with Flagstad, who spent a Christmas with them in the house that had been a boys' school. They told her of their plan to turn the former assembly hall of the school into a little Elizabethan theater; and she asked to be invited to sing in it. With the financial help of many distinguished artists the Mermaid Theater was built; and in September 1951 Flagstad sang without fee (as did the other members of the cast) in twenty performances of "Dido and Aeneas." It was an example of the generosity to which Flagstad can be impelled by strong personal friendships and loyalties; and it is these that have on occasion led her into less admirable behavior. Friendship for her accompanist Edwin McArthur, years ago, impelled her to an attempt to get him into the Metropolitan as a conductor—an attempt which reached the extreme of a maneuver to force Erich Leinsdorf out; and in the intensity of her generous feeling for McArthur she was blind to the ungenerous and shocking nature of her behavior toward Leinsdorf. And it was a similar intensity of personal loyalty to her husband that made her blind to what others found questionable in her determination to join him in German-occupied Norway and her willingness to pass through German territory to get there. This, and only this, was what the Norwegians held against her; it was something they were entitled not to forgive her for, but which didn't justify Americans in trying to prevent her from singing for other Americans who wanted to hear her; and eventually even the Norwegians forgave her: I have kept a newspaper clipping with a report of the ovation she received when she sang in Norway a year ago for the first time since the war.

Even after the facts to the contrary had been established the pickets continued to call Flagstad a pro-Nazi collaborationist; and on the other hand there are people today who proclaim the snow-white innocence of Furtwängler. Another clipping I have held on to is a paragraph in Kingsley Martin's column in the *New Statesman and Nation* on the occasion of Furtwängler's reappearance in London: "H. N. Brailsford sends me a note of the facts proved before the DeNazification Tribunal which acquitted him. Never a party member . . . in 1933, when few realized what Nazi rule would mean, he accepted the vice-presidency of the Chamber of Music. The title of Staatsrat was then conferred on him. After some experience of the regime, Furtwängler in 1934 wrote a formal letter of protest and resigned his title, his Vice-presidency, his official post as Director of the State Opera, and his conductorship of the Berlin Philharmonic. . . . Fearing its ruin, the orchestra besought Furtwängler to return. So he met Goebbels and consented to come back on conditions; he should rank as a private musician only, should never be called on to conduct at official functions, would not 'Heil Hitler' at his concerts, etc."

This was written after the publication of Berta Geissmar's "Two Worlds of Music" ("Dictator and Jackboot" in England), in which Furtwängler's devoted secretary writes bitterly of Goebbels's ingratitude for the success as political-cultural propaganda of a tour by the Berlin Philharmonic in Italy in April 1934 that she arranged on condition that Furtwängler be received in audience by Mussolini who gave him an Italian decoration. She writes also about Furtwängler's first appearance after his submission (for it was that), in April 1935, which was at an official function, the *Winterhilfe* concert attended by Hitler and the entire government, and at which occurred the famous cordial handshake of Hitler and Furtwängler that Dr. Geissmar rightly calls a "symbolic gesture." And I might add that only a couple of months ago a friend told me of having turned on the radio for a

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Furtwängler performance of Beethoven's Ninth from Paris in 1937, and having turned it off when Furtwängler, after playing "Deutschland über alles," began to play the Horst Wessel Song. By 1937 everyone knew what Nazi rule meant; but even in 1933 it was evident that it meant the silencing of Schnabel, Bruno Walter, Klemperer, and other Jewish musicians; and this was as evident to Furtwängler as to Fritz Busch, who made a gesture of protest and solidarity with his fellow-artists by leaving Germany. Principle would have caused Furtwängler to leave too; opportunism caused him to stay, to associate himself with the regime that persecuted his fellow-artists, to lend himself to its purposes. His offense, in the words of the *Times* correspondent who covered his trial, was that of "so overlooking moral values and fixed principles that he was . . . willing to make maximum use of a regime which he alleged was obnoxious to him."

But I don't think this would justify picketing his concerts if he came here; nor did it justify the picketing of Menuhin's concerts in Israel because he had played with Furtwängler: what to think of these musicians' behavior, and whether to listen or not to listen to them, are things which everyone should be allowed to decide for himself. For me the decision would be easy since I dislike Furtwängler's musical performances, including three I have heard recently—of Beethoven's Seventh on one HMV LP, and Mozart's G minor and the Brahms-Haydn Variations on another. The recorded sound of the Vienna Philharmonic, dubbed from 78s, is not very good in the Mozart, better in the Brahms, and best in the Beethoven.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT PHELPS contributes to various magazines, including the *New Republic* and the *Progressive.*

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain," is the United Nations correspondent of the New York *Times.*

GERALD SYKES, critic and novelist, recently published "The Center of the Stage."

CARL HOVDE is a free-lance writer.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Non-Voter's Plea

Dear Sirs: I am seventeen years old and cannot vote in November. In spite of this I feel that the outcome of the election will have a lasting effect on my future. For this reason I did a lot of studying this summer on the issues and the candidates. I soon realized that the greatest threat to a free America (and to me) was the point of view represented by people like McCarthy, Jenner, Cain, and Kem. When I read what they had said, I was scared; I was scared because I was afraid that they would destroy the kind of America we learn about in school.

I wanted to do something about them. And so last week I mailed a money order for $10 to the Madison, Wisconsin, headquarters of McCarthy's Democratic opponent, Thomas Fairchild.

It is my hope that every single person reading this—whether he is old enough to vote or not—will also mail a contribution, large or small, to help secure the future of a free America.

PETER C. ROBERTSON
Williamstown, Mass.

Luther Evans Misquoted

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of September 20 I am quoted in H. H. Wilson's article, Why They Voted for McCarthy, as saying that if an author of a specific book "were preaching communism, it would be O. K. to remove the book" from a library.

I regret to have to inform you that I never have said anything of the sort. I realize that Mr. Wilson got his information from the New York *Times* of October 21, 1951, but that does not make it correct. My numerous speeches and writings on the subject of freedom of libraries from censorship defend quite a different doctrine.

LUTHER H. EVANS,
Washington Librarian of Congress

The Nixon Soap Opera

Dear Sirs: Norman Redlich's A Handbook for Demagogues [*The Nation* October 4] reflects, I believe, the sentiments of most sober-thinking Americans. Except to those blinded by partisanship, Nixon's "vindication" was more the emotional appeal of an opportunistic, unscrupulous political climber to the maudlin and gullible for sympathy than a convincing presentation of the facts. . . .

A person's amorality is not always measured by a standard yardstick. What may be considered a minor moral infraction in a lower-echelon official cannot be regarded as so minor in a Senator running for the Vice-Presidency.

To judge the Nixon episode one need only ask whether Eisenhower, engaged in a "crusade" for political morality, would have accepted Nixon as his running-mate had he known anything about the Senator's fund. The answer is an emphatic no.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

The Mormon Priesthood: For Whites Only?

Dear Sirs: My co-religionist, Roy W. Doxey, in your issue of August 16, takes me to task for "grossly misrepresenting" the Mormon doctrine in reference to the Negro as presented by me in *The Nation,* May 24, 1952. Specifically, Mr. Doxey attempts to refute my statement that the "blessings of the Mormon church cannot be extended to anyone with Negro blood" by listing six "blessings" which Negroes may receive from the church.

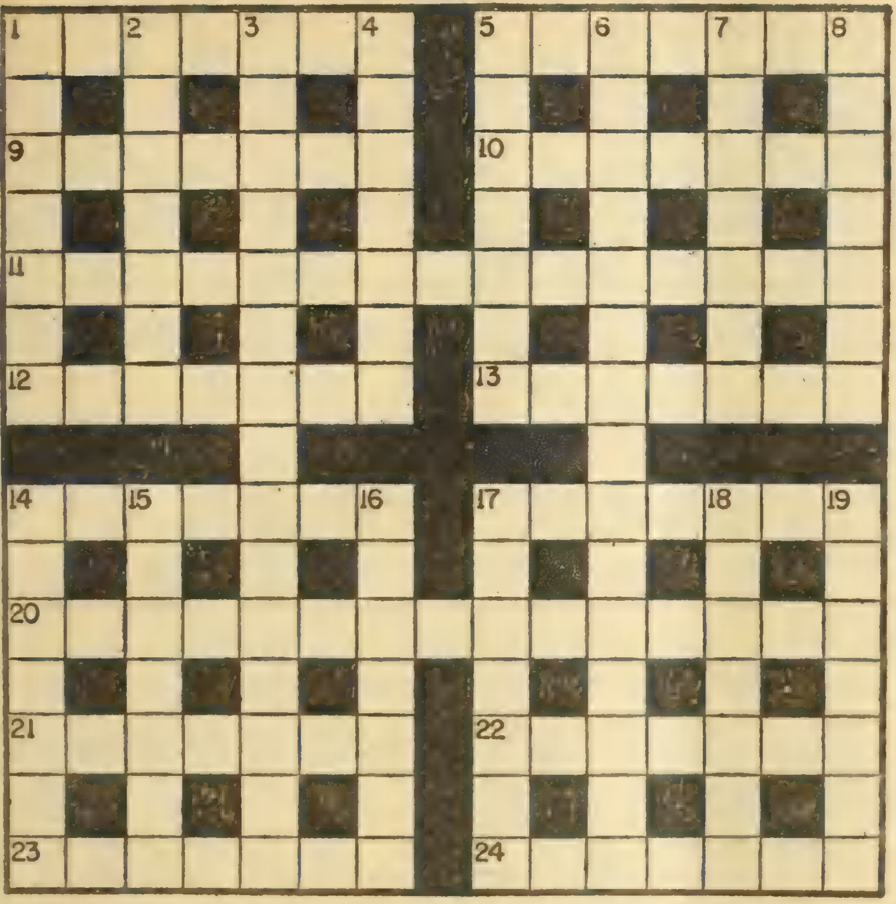
Theoretically, Mr. Doxey is right, but practically speaking his statement is misleading. He knows quite well that the church has not only not tried to make these blessings available to the Negro but has deliberately avoided doing so. Any missionary knows that he is not supposed to tell the Negro of these blessings or attempt to convert him. Negroes have been turned away from Mormon chapels in Salt Lake City. It is interesting to speculate on what would happen if a Negro should apply for "membership by baptism" in the church! They just are not welcome.

The crucial matter, of course, is that the Negro cannot "hold the priesthood." Even if the "blessings" enumerated by Doxey were made available, one could hardly expect a self-respecting Negro to seek fellowship with a group which regards his blood as "tainted" and the color of his skin "a curse of God." He could never be more than a second-class citizen in the church.

St. Paul, Minn. LOWERY NELSON

Crossword Puzzle No. 486

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Rise, in a way, expected to produce the remainder. (7)
5 Found at last to be a matter of course. (7)
9 In fine fettle, the chiseler! (7)
10 One of these might be a branch of the Cervidae family. (7)
11 The expense o' grotesque things? (3, 4, 2, 6)
12 They might be wayward rascals, but still good sailors. (7)
13 A strong and well-constituted man does his experiences, said Nietzsche. (7)
14 I'm ready for examination at this time! (7)
17 Discovers something new in apertures, perhaps. (7)
20 The bearing of a person takes skill with a bearer. (8, 7)
21 Associated with peak and pine by Macbeth's witches. (7)
22 A title or a sign—though once called the equivalent of a miss. (7)
23 Sounds like hardships for those whose occupation seems fitting. (7)
24 Plungers might not be so good in the long run! (7)

DOWN

1 An account of the musical performance, perhaps. (7)
2 The sun and moon might cause temporary loss of sight. (7)
3 It might show forethought to do it, if afraid of a partial loss. (9, 6)
4 Registers. (7)
5 Indulged in raillery. (7)
6 If you're easily put out, one of these shouldn't be too high for you. (7, 8)
7 They used to use these, but not to draw from the well. (7)
8 Makes a stand, yet the thing sort of sits on end. (7)
14 Wind, when traveling slowly. (7)
15 Mild cursing? Women might not like it! (7)
16 The *Kon-Tiki* boys? (They might be on the beam.) (7)
17 Cut into. (7)
18 Something that's charged up over some disgusting combination. (7)
19 Runs in bands, perhaps. (7)

* * *

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The Shape of Things

Stevenson Narrows the Gap

If Eisenhower wins the election it will be because Americans regard him as a hero and a man capable of rising above narrow party interests, because his name is familiar to everyone while Stevenson is still a comparative unknown, and because a lot of people simply want a change in Washington. The General is busy blasting the first reason into demagogic dust. On his campaign journeys he has been cleaving so close to the Republican Party line that he shifts as it shifts from one state to the next. Meanwhile Stevenson is busy making his name familiar and attaching to it associations of courage and consistency. How far both men succeed in these activities will determine the people's final conclusion about putting a different party in power.

The one thing that can be said at this moment is that a profound change is under way. Stevenson is forging ahead; he is getting better support from party and independent organizations, and especially from labor. He has made notable progress in California, Nevada, and Utah. In California the independent vote is shifting rapidly from Eisenhower to Stevenson, who now has the active support of the influential McClatchy newspapers. Speaking from the steps of the state capitol in Sacramento, Stevenson drew an audience of 25,000—twice the number that had turned out to hear the General. More money is coming into the Stevenson campaign, although the financial problem is still acute. Truman's barnstorming trip, at least in its Western phase, has been a huge popular success. Senator Morse's switch to Stevenson has dramatized the disappointment over Eisenhower's campaign that is permeating liberal Republican ranks. This feeling was summed up with eloquent sorrow in a recent column by Walter Lippmann, who, as of this writing, is still nominally a supporter of Ike:

> It would be helpful, I think, if the General would now consider the anguish of his friends. Then he would take the risk of making at least one small public demonstration of how, as the leader of his party, he would resist pressure rather than yield to it. This would buck up his friends, would fortify them and sustain them against the growing suspicion in the country that that man Stevenson may not only be speaking in the accents of greatness but that he may perhaps embody some of the qualities of a great American leader.

Given time, Eisenhower would certainly talk himself out of the Presidency and Stevenson would talk himself into it; but is there time for this process to gain enough momentum? This is the question, and it is one that should spur Stevenson's supporters to greater efforts between now and November 4

Policies Altered to Fit

"Instead of taking a national position on the great national issues," Walter Lippmann complained in the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 16, General Eisenhower "has adjusted his position, state by state . . . to the demands of the local political machines."

This propensity for being all things to all men is well illustrated by the General's attitude on public-power and valley developments. At Boise, early in his campaign, surrounded by Republican politicians hand in glove with the Idaho Power Company, he spoke scornfully about federal power projects. More recently, in Seattle, where local Republicans oppose plans for a Columbia River Authority, he denounced such authorities as "dictatorial super-government" and called instead for cooperation in power development between federal agencies and local utilities. In this connection he might have mentioned the very close cooperation between the Bonneville Power Administration and the Public Utility Districts which have taken over much of the power industry in the state of Washington. But no doubt he had been advised this situation was one that made the private utilities see red.

In Memphis, on October 15, the Republican candidate changed his tune and had nothing but kind words for the locally popular Tennessee Valley Authority, which he declared "has served rural areas well and . . . helped conserve natural resources, control floods, and promote national defense." But while he described the T. V. A. as "a great experiment" and promised if elected not to impair its effectiveness, he said it should not be regarded as a "rigid pattern for such development in other regions." We find his logic a little hard to follow. If an experiment is an admitted success, does it make sense to disregard its lessons when tackling parallel problems in other areas?

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The Battle of Columbia

The capacity to delegate powers is said to be the mark of a great executive, but it can be carried too far. The faculty of Columbia University has apparently been able to bear with equanimity the fact that General Eisenhower has let somebody else run the institution during most of his tenure as president. The fact that ever since Chicago he has let Somebody Else run his campaign for the Presidency of the United States is one of the main counts on which some three hundred members of the faculty and staff of the university have now declared their support of Adlai Stevenson in a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times*. Meanwhile Dean Carl W. Ackerman, in a telegram printed in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, has confirmed the rumor that officers of the university had been urged not to express their preferences in the Presidential race so that Columbia might not be thrust into the campaign—and paid his respects to this request. "Silence on political issues," he said, "is not academic freedom. Therefore I am announcing my support of Governor Stevenson." And he went on to say that Eisenhower himself had thrust the university into politics by using its name and property for campaign purposes. Only thirty members of the faculty have so far declared for Eisenhower, and though Columbia is not Maine, Republicans can take little comfort from this landslide for Stevenson in the "constituency" where Eisenhower has had his first experience as a civilian executive.

A Republican Recession?

More often than not in Presidential election years the stock market stages a pre-poll rally: this year we seem to be heading toward a pre-poll slump. For some months stock trading has been dull and slow, and although the Dow-Jones averages show only a moderate downward trend, many popular issues have fallen far below the high levels they reached earlier this year.

It is probably safe to assume that a large majority of investors are Republicans, but it does not follow that the present market bearishness portends a Democratic victory. On the contrary, stock prices seem to be dropping on the prospects that Eisenhower will win. Recently one of the best-known investment services pointed out that if the party's campaign and program could be taken at face value, the advent of a Republican Administration would mean the release of deflationary forces. Investors were warned therefore to keep in mind the possibility of a recession which, even if it proved short and healthy, would cause a serious setback in profits and a sharp slump in stock prices.

Since, generally speaking, investors have seldom "had it so good" as in the past twelve years, the approach of November 4 is causing an outbreak of schizophrenia among the well-heeled. At least one stalwart but unhappy Republican has been overheard thinking aloud in a brokerage office: "I'm beginning to wonder whether it isn't better to have high taxes and a high income than lower taxes and no income."

Running Mates and Their Records

Senator Sparkman's record on civil rights has provided Republican orators and newspapers with some of their best ammunition against the Democratic ticket. In an editorial last week the New York *Herald Tribune* listed Sparkman's votes against civil-rights measures since 1937. There were twenty-three of them and they were all negative.

The record is deplorable; certainly this journal would be the last to soft-pedal it. But when the *Herald Tribune* uses it to prove Governor Stevenson a hypocrite, we consider that no less deplorable. The Governor has not, as the *Herald Tribune* says, merely "professed" to be crusading for civil rights. He has gone into the South and defended the party pledge on civil rights before hostile audiences, and for his courage forfeited the support of prominent Southern Democrats. If this is hypocrisy, we wish General Eisenhower had more of the same brand.

As for Sparkman, his sins are those he was born and bred to. Perhaps he can expiate them if he has a chance to serve as Vice-President under Stevenson. But he has virtues as well, and they shine with a brilliant luster when you compare him with his opposite number on the Republican ticket. Let's take a few sample votes in the Eighty-second Congress:

Aid to India: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Limit spending for Point 4: Sparkman, no; Nixon, yes.

Control meat prices: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

More public housing: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Reorganize Internal Revenue Bureau: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Aid to medical schools: Sparkman, yes; Nixon no.

Amend the McCarran Immigration Act: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Override the President's veto of McCarran act: Sparkman, no; Nixon, yes.

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Franco-American Aid Controversy

M. Pinay was lucky: the incident created by our refusal to grant the $650,000,000 in aid upon which he had counted to balance his budget for 1953 turned out to be his political salvation. He had been uneasy about the reconvening of the National Assembly, knowing that during the recess members had grown extremely impatient with the "soft" policy toward Washington and Bonn attributed to Foreign Minister Schuman. Rumors of a Cabinet crisis were multiplying.

In that difficult hour American diplomacy came to the Premier's rescue. Along with a formal letter from Washington advising the French government that it could not expect the full sum of $650,000,000, Ambassador James C. Dunn handed to M. Gaillard, Under Secretary of State, a communication never intended for French official eyes. In effect it stated that the French government would have to increase its aramament budget if it wanted more United States aid. M. Pinay's crisp rejection of this note momentarily deflected the storm brewing in the Assembly and made him almost a national hero.

A few days later, however, Edouard Herriot's sensational criticism of the European Army Treaty confronted the Premier with new difficulties. By announcing that he opposes changes in the treaty as proposed by Herriot and his friends, M. Pinay is heading toward a serious crisis. Behind it lies not only the fear of Germany but the strain on the French people caused by the effort to carry out a program of rearmament beyond their strength. Readers will find elsewhere in this issue an analysis by a leading French official of the real factors underlying the tension in the Franco-American "misalliance."

American-Trained Guerrillas?

As if feeling against Germany's rearmament were not strong enough already, especially in France, the revelation by Minister President August Zinn of Hesse that German guerrillas have been organized by the United States high command has provided the opposition with fresh arguments. Herr Zinn told a stunned legislature that American officers, at a secret camp in the Odenwald, had trained members of the neo-Nazi German Youth Association for action in the event of a Russian invasion. Although the group was dissolved a month or two ago, German police rounded up some of its leaders and seized lists of persons destined for liquidation when the Russians arrived. Among them were a few Communists and a much larger number of Socialists, including Erich Ollenhauer, who succeeded Schumacher as party leader; Max Brauer, mayor of Hamburg; Heinrich Zinnkonn, Interior Minister of Hesse. So far no statement has come out of Washington, but an official explanation is urgently called for. And it had better be a good one.

A Year of Tory Rule

JUST a year ago enough British voters decided they "wanted a change" to give the Tory party a slender majority in the Commons and send Mr. Churchill back to Downing Street. Today, opinion polls indicate, a new election would have a very different result. Large numbers of those who switched to the Tories last year have already decided that they have "had enough." For although the changes achieved by the Churchill regime have been less horrific than Labor supporters feared, they have alienated many independents without doing much to cheer the Tory regulars.

Food supplies in Britain now are less plentiful and more expensive than they were a year ago. The total number of unemployed is not much greater, but part-time is far more prevalent. That "bonfire of controls" forecast by Tory orators has proved a smoldering fire, giving no warmth to the champions of "economic freedom." The income-tax burden has been slightly reduced and some social-security payments have been increased, but for many workers such relief is quite insufficient compensation for the rise in the cost of living brought about by drastic reduction of the food subsidies.

The Tories can hardly be blamed for continued austerity in Britain; in fact, it does them credit, for lessened austerity in Britain's present straightened circumstances could not mean a larger total of consumers' goods but merely a less equal distribution. The Tories were at fault, however, for promising at the last election more than they could possibly perform. Now they are losing the voters they won by false pretenses.

A year ago it was plain enough that whichever party was returned to power in Britain its paramount task would be to cope with the balance-of-payments crisis that was threatening the country with bankruptcy—a task which necessarily precluded any relaxation of austerity. The Tories are now claiming credit, not unjustifiably, for bringing this situation under control. Since last March the drain on the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves has been stopped. Moreover, in the first half of this year Britain has achieved a small over-all surplus of £24,000,000, excluding American aid, in its international trading accounts, which compares with a deficit of £394,000,000 in the second half of 1951.

These results have been made possible by a sharp reduction of dollar imports by both Britain and other countries in the sterling area. In addition, Britain has not only expanded exports to a moderate extent but enjoyed an improvement in its terms of trade. That is to say, import prices have declined while export prices have risen, so that a given volume of exports pays for a larger amount of imports than it did a year ago.

Although the immediate crisis has been eased, Britain's external financial problem is by no means solved. Limitation of imports may be a necessary expedient, but it is a most unsatisfactory one, particularly for a country whose standard of living depends on its capacity to import. The only tolerable solution for the problem is a vast expansion of exports, something which is very hard to achieve in a world market that has been severely restricted by the cold war. Moreover, in this reduced market Britain is meeting increasingly stiff competition from Germany and Japan, countries whose need to export is no less than its own.

Consequently it is of great importance for Britain to hold down its internal price level. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, claims that as a result of Tory policies the internal situation is "a good deal less inflationary than a year ago," while "unwise deflation" has been avoided. In a recent speech to London bankers he noted four signs of reduced strain. There had been, he said, a 4 per cent decline in personal spending this year, an improvement in labor mobility, a slackening in the rate of increase of wages and prices compared with 1951, and a substantial fall in the volume of private credit.

However, as the London financial press has been emphasizing, the anti-inflationary effects of the decline in private credit have been offset this year by government borrowing from the banks which add indirectly to the total supply of money. Despite much talk of economy by the Tories, government expenditure has risen sharply in the first six months of the current fiscal year, while revenue has fallen slightly. As a result, the deficit on September 30 was nearly double that of a year before.

Mr. Butler claims that this imbalance will shortly be corrected. Defense expenditures, he says, are being more evenly spread this year than last, and revenue from new taxes will soon begin to appear in the national accounts. But while the deficit will doubtless be trimmed in the next six months, it is not likely that the surplus for which Mr. Butler budgeted last spring will be achieved.

The Tory party conference a few days ago passed by a large majority a resolution declaring that "public expenditure has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." In the course of the debate Richard Law, M. P., said: "Continued rise in public expenditure is causing bewilderment among people who supported the party at the last election." Replying, Mr. Butler pointed out that "big economies could only be achieved by big changes in policy."

Quite so! the conservative British press is saying; but when are we going to get the changes in policy? There is the rub. In Britain there are only two possibilities of really large economies—wholesale slashing of the social services or drastic reduction of the defense program. That is a choice the Tory government—and the leaders of the Labor opposition as well—still refuse to face.

The General Assembly Opens

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE seventh General Assembly of the United Nations opened on October 14 in its glamorous new hall and in an atmosphere of healthy realism. The retiring president, Luis Padilla Nervo, rendered a service to the organization by making it impossible, by the force of his example, for the speakers who followed him to adopt the empty and conventional tone usual at this sort of inaugural ceremony. Before turning over the gavel to his successor, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, he summed up the work of the previous Assembly in a strong, courageous speech. One of his comments set the stage for the coming Assembly debates: "In the field of political accomplishment the credit side of this year is not very heartening. . . . All the great questions pending before us have either become alarmingly more acute, or they have fallen, hopeless of immediate solution, into inextricable labyrinths."

In Paris last winter I was able to watch at close range the effort made by Dr. Padilla Nervo to extricate the Sixth Assembly from the labyrinth into which it had been driven by the refusal of certain powers to permit the least shadow of agreement between the great opposing blocs. It was a torture for him, presiding over the secret sessions of the committee trying to reconcile the views of East and West, to realize that with a little more good will something practical might have resulted from the Sixth Assembly.

The most significant aspect of the Mexican delegate's opening speech last week was that it killed the legend that the present situation of the United Nations, like the international situation in general, is exclusively the fault of Mr. Vishinsky and his associates.

Mr. Pearson, in turn, spoke of the obstacles which keep the U. N. from fulfilling its essential mission of assuring peace. "To avoid the ultimate tragedy of war, we must remove the black shadow of tension and anxiety by finding, through international action, a solution to present problems which will permit peoples and governments to live together, if not on the basis of friendship, at least on that of mutual toleration and understanding." Certain nuances in the attitude adopted by the Soviet delegation toward the new president suggested an inclination to avoid conflict with Mr. Pearson. This could be part of the Soviet design to improve relations with the British Commonwealth, a design to which the presence in the delegation of Mr. Gromyko, new Soviet ambassador to the Court of St. James's, is surely related.

For the rest, it is interesting to observe, through their private comments, how closely the shrewdest delegates have been following recent developments in Moscow. One delegate, not from a country in the Eastern bloc, went so far as to say that what happened in the Kremlin might prove more important than what happens in this Assembly. Stalin's speech on October 15 laying down a policy which combines collaboration with democratic parties in popular fronts with overtures toward the Western nations has been the subject of intense speculation. It is believed the Kremlin has decided that no direct approach to the United States will change American policy and is therefore going to do its best to encourage differences between the United States and its European partners.

The effect has already been felt in London and Paris. In both capitals there has been a revival of rumors that Moscow will offer the Western European countries non-aggression pacts and all sorts of trade agreements if they will drop their alliance with the United States. The leaders in the Kremlin are too realistic not to recognize the difficulties in such an operation, but they evidently intend to try it out on the delegations in the present Assembly. This alone doubtless justified sending to New York the best Russian diplomatic team it was possible to put together. On a minor question concerning the composition of the Steering Committee, Mr. Gromyko obtained twenty-five votes against twenty-seven. Actually, through the president's inadvertence, two abstentions—those of Pakistan and Honduras—were counted as affirmative votes. The result suggests that if it was difficult in the last Assembly for the American delegation to maintain a sure majority, it may be still harder in this one.

But obviously a delegation such as that which Mr. Vishinsky heads has not been sent to fight battles over details. It is on the greatest issue before the Assembly—Korea—that Western reactions will be seriously tested. After three days of consultations with the countries that would be expected to provide military and political support were a more aggressive Korean policy decided on, Secretary Acheson revised his original text and delivered a very moderate speech. While leaving the way open to all possible proposals, Mr. Acheson failed to make any himself; so the war issue remained exactly where it was before he spoke. Clearly his main object was to prevent, at the very start of the Assembly, any break in the Atlantic majority.

But if Mr. Acheson felt obliged to talk generalities, Mr. Vishinsky on the contrary vehemently demanded serious consideration of the proposal made on October 8 by the Communist negotiators in Korea. He did not entirely rule out other possibilities either, but he made it clear that if the American generals at Panmunjom could at any moment suspend discussion of the Communist terms, American diplomats at the U. N. would find it much harder to do so. One thing seems sure: until a solution appears on the horizon, Korea will continue to dominate the Seventh Assembly.

Does Eisenhower Mean War?

BY D. F. FLEMING

THERE is a strong probability that the coming election will be decided by the emotions of the American people—by their dislike or hatred of Truman, by the appeal of Eisenhower and Nixon. Yet the issue which should decide it is this: "Which candidate is most likely to save us from a third world war?

Does Eisenhower mean war? Of course he does not in the personal sense. He says, "Peace is my passion," and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Yet the question remains whether he would not be more likely than Stevenson to lead us into that catastrophe.

No honest student of world politics can blink the fact that we are likely to move on into another world war whichever ticket is elected. The victors of the last war fell out over Eastern Europe in 1945-46. In 1947 the Truman Administration proclaimed the containment of both Russia and communism and began to encircle the Soviets with military force, including a giant ring of air bases, a policy which has won the overwhelming support of our public-opinion makers —press, magazines, radio, and television. When this policy was put to the test in Korea we rushed to amass overwhelming force.

For the first time in our history we are at the very center of world politics. We are the strongest nation in the world and the leader of one side in a power struggle. Our responsibility for another global war will not be marginal. It is likely to be primary. The other side may force the issue, but we certainly have the power to do so and thousands of our leaders and citizens have the disposition. Winning every war and every game is our tradition. We hate and fear communism. And we have embarked on a gigantic arms race which will end as all the others have, in a stupendous tragedy, unless Washington puts a firm hand on the brakes.

In determining whose hand that is to be we need to ask ourselves several questions about the opposing candidates and give the matter the coldest, hardest thought of which we are capable.

1. *Will our next President lead a crusade to liberate the Communist world?* We have been moving toward such a crusade with increasing momentum since 1945. Powerful racial and religious forces are involved, and also our resentment at losing Eastern Europe and China.

The liberation idea flared up in the open in Eisenhower's speech to the American Legion on August 25. The Republican nominee solemnly called the roll of all the countries in Europe and Asia which have succumbed to communism and asserted that their people, "terrorized, beaten down," were working hard to help the Kremlin achieve "the economic containment and gradual strangulation of America."

If this is so, is it not our duty to make a "preventive" war on Russia, if only to stop its economic growth?

But there is also our liberation duty. Said Eisenhower: "We can never rest—and we must so inform all the world, including the Kremlin—that until the enslaved nations of the world have in the fulness of freedom the right to choose their own path, that then, and then only, can we say that there is a possible way of living peacefully and permanently with communism in the world." This was as plain an avowal as could be made of a determination to destroy communism in all the many nations enumerated. The advance copy of the speech even contained this unmistakable threat of war: "Our government, once and for all, with cold finality, must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognize the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia . . . never shall we rest content until the tidal mud of aggressive communism has receded within its own borders."

In his Philadelphia speech on September 5 Eisenhower retreated. He spoke repeatedly of using only peaceful means to bring hope to "the world's enslaved peoples." And he added the terrible truth that in this day of frightful weapons "victory is impossible in a global war. The beginning of such a war would be a loss from which the world could not recover in a millennium."

It is not enough, however, to know that. The acts and words which would destroy our civilization must be avoided. As the London *Economist* said on August 30:

> Unhappily "liberation" applied to Eastern Europe —and Asia—means either the risk of war or it means nothing. There is no way in the foreseeable future by which Poland and Czechoslovakia can be released from Soviet bondage except by force of arms. In Asia the situation is even more discouraging, since the bulk of the Chinese would probably actively resist "liberation." Even to incite Eastern Europeans to seek for liberation entails the risk of world war, for if they were to rise against their Russian masters—as the Poles did in 1864 —America and its allies would have the choice of intervening to support the rebels or of suffering the shame that came Palmerston's way. "Liberation" entails no risk of war only when it means nothing.

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Yet in his Cincinnati speech, on September 23, Eisenhower was again talking of "opening opportunities in Eastern Europe" while asserting that this is "the farthest thing from an act of war." After these warnings no Eisenhower voter can complain if he finds himself led into a liberation crusade which would begin by destroying Western Europe and end by barbarizing half the earth.

Would Stevenson be any better insurance against the atomic destruction of some of our great cities and a trillion-dollar debt with consequent galloping inflation? Stevenson starts with a plank in the Democratic platform looking forward to the day when all the nations under Soviet domination, in Europe and Asia, will "again take their rightful place in the community of free nations." He has behind him, also, liberation pledges by Truman which were substantially as strong as Eisenhower's. Yet he told the Polish people of Hamtramck, Michigan, on September 2 that "the cruel grip of Soviet tyranny upon your friends and relatives" could not be broken by awakening false hopes that would only lead them to the execution squads, or by starting a war that would "liberate only broken, silent, and empty lands." And he continued: "Not in the ashes of another world war, only in the atmosphere of a peaceful world, can the reaffirmation of the right of self-determination have any meaning, or can the enslaved nations be free and independent again." These words reveal courage and the insight of a statesman. They are in accord with the proposal made by British Field Marshal Slim on August 22—that the West try to split off the satellites by trade and diplomacy. Such a policy makes sense. If the terrific heat of our "liberation" threat were turned off, we might get somewhere in achieving defections from Moscow.

2. *Will the next President negotiate with the Communist powers?* This is an absolutely vital question, because the present stalemate cannot go on forever without slipping over into world war. The Korean war, in which we rightly defended the United Nations law against aggression, has to be settled, and all the great issues behind it have to be dealt with, including the future of Formosa and China's seat in the U. N. The division of Germany and Austria has to be ended by negotiation or accepted as permanent. The only other alternative is a world war, into which we could slide just as easily as we stole across the Thirty-eighth Parallel two years ago, on our way to liberate North Korea. The stage is set in Germany for a vaster Korea.

Stevenson has shown a clear understanding of these frightening realities. At San Francisco he said: "[Coexistence] will involve negotiation and adjustment—compromise but never appeasement—and I will never shrink from these if they advance the world toward secure peace." Then he added the comment: "A wise man does not try to hurry history." Compare this with Eisenhower's statement two weeks later, in connection with the "plain peril" of Stalinism in which we live, that we need "a government which is in a hurry to face its problems, however tough they may be."

I have searched Eisenhower's speeches carefully for some hint of willingness to negotiate and have found none. On the contrary, he has declared that "the more they talk of 'adjustment' and of 'compromise,' the more they encourage the Soviet Union to keep up aggressive pressure on them; and that very aggressive pressure in turn softens their will to oppose the Soviet."

In stark contrast to this avowal that the very thought of negotiation is self-defeating, Stevenson had said earlier, on September 1, "I tell you now that I will never fear to negotiate with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open the door to war." That sentence bears thinking about again and again.

3. *Will the next President's chief advisers work for peace or war?* It is generally assumed that Averell Harriman would be Stevenson's Secretary of State. Harriman is closely tied in with the Acheson policy of no negotiation with Russia until we have preponderant armed strength. On the other hand, when he spoke at Buffalo in August he showed that he understood the necessity of avoiding another world war. Besides, no one would expect him to dominate Stevenson.

John Foster Dulles, it is universally expected, would be Eisenhower's Secretary of State. It was he who announced on August 26, after an eighty-minute conference with Eisenhower, that the Presidential nominee would map a new foreign policy. "General Eisenhower," he said, "agreed with me again," and he proceeded to propose a policy of splitting the satellite states away from Russia. He insisted that we should never tolerate a divided Korea, Germany, or Austria and urged a Presidential declaration that we could never accept as a finality Russian rule over any of these states.

Later Dulles explained that we could aid the resistance movements in the satellite countries by dropping machine-guns and other supplies from the air—though actually this would invite the shooting down of the American planes engaged on such missions. On August 27, in a speech at Buffalo, he proposed to start the disintegration of the "empire of Soviet communism" by fostering passive resistance, slow-downs, non-cooperation, and industrial sabotage.

In a formal statement on September 3 Dulles said: "The aggressive despots must be slowed down and stopped from within, or we shall have to check them from without in the head-on collision of atomic war." This is a flat assertion that the only alternative to atomic war is a desperate campaign of internal subversion in eighteen Communist countries covering half of Europe and Asia.

The issue here is sharp and clear: Shall we go on from containment to roll-back? Dulles has been preaching roll-back for many months. As early as February 24, 1952, the New York *Times* reported a British belief that Dulles "contemplates positive efforts to split China from Russia and ultimately to overthrow the Mao regime." On February 13 Dulles declared that "the United States must let all the Far East know it would not stand idly by while any part of the world remained under the rule of a Communist or foreign dictator." This is a simple declaration of implacable war. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it, it would tell the Communist leaders everywhere that "we are going to keep up the cold war forever—or until it erupts into a hot war."

Dulles has given us a complete preview of what he would do as Secretary of State. His roll-back policy may satisfy all our belligerent instincts, but before we embark on it we should understand that, win or lose, it means the end of our world. In voting for a "change" on November 4 we should be clear that it includes a change from containment to roll-back.

4. *Will our new leader accept war in preference to depression?* This is one of the gravest hazards we face. Eisenhower has recognized the fact, saying repeatedly that we live in a "war economy." We do, and if the giant war orders are sharply reduced, we shall face the danger of world depression. The economy of Western Europe, already overburdened with armaments, is faltering visibly, open to grave trouble should there be even a mild recession in our dominant economy.

The Research Institute of America has recently warned American business men to prepare during the next two years for a "recession wider, deeper, and longer lasting" than any since the thirties. If the crisis comes, it will be met either by the development of a garrison state or by a return to the concepts and practices of the welfare state. Then we would really be impaled on the horns of the dilemma our hysteria had created. Would General Eisenhower, advised by the coterie of old military friends that would surely surround him, take the road to militarism or give us a bigger and better New Deal? Would his Taft-controlled Congress ever vote to distribute the abundance of our productive machine to the people instead of channeling it into the bottomless pit of war?

5. *Will our chosen leader drift into a final military showdown?* This question compels us to compare the temperament, experience, and training of the candidates. Eisenhower has always thought in military terms. He is one of the most democratic generals we have ever had, but we can judge him as a civilian leader only by his record since he became a candidate.

We find that at every turn he has surrendered to expediency. After Taft's long hold-out, Eisenhower accepted his terms so completely that even Walter Lippmann, one of the General's earliest supporters, observed ruefully: "If this is the way that General Eisenhower is going to toss off decisions in civil life, then his supporters have a lot to worry about." Before getting behind McCarthy and Jenner, the traducers of his great chief, General Marshall, Eisenhower really had a struggle. He was angry and distressed, but he took them both to his bosom. As Thomas L. Stokes remarked, "he surrendered in advance to a bunch of bawling top sergeants." Again in the Nixon affair Eisenhower was angry when he learned that his running-mate had compromised his anti-corruption drive by quietly taking $18,000 from a millionaires' club. He telegraphed Nixon to come to see him "at once," saying, "my personal decision will be based on a personal conclusion." But in the end he let Nixon submit the issue to his fans in an emotional television appeal and ratified this "decision" by embracing "my boy" Dick.

Eisenhower's conduct on these three crucial occasions does not indicate that in the crises of the cold war which lie ahead he would weigh all the consequences and do what he believed right. It indicates rather that he would yield to the loudest clamor or the strongest pressures. Moreover, Eisenhower has staked his final place in history on opposing Russia in Europe. He has come home to get into his own hands the full power to do so.

Is it possible to escape the conclusion that Eisenhower has steadily diminished in stature from the day he took off his five stars? And is it not equally plain that Stevenson has grown from the day of his nomination? Eisenhower waited until he was in the North to speak strongly about civil rights. Stevenson said his piece courageously in Richmond, Virginia. Stevenson told the American Legion that he would resist its pressures, and he has defied the oil lobby. Everywhere he has told pressure groups, face to face, that he would protect the interests of the whole people. His entire campaign has been a solid guaranty that if the question of plunging into another world war is placed on his desk he will study it from every possible angle and resist every popular cry for rash action.

This nation desperately needs strong, affirmative, and moral leadership. Are we to have it, or only drifting improvisations?

In assessing the probabilities of a global liberation war we should keep in mind one perilous factor—Nixon's presence at Eisenhower's side. Here is a young man whose sole qualification to be President of the United States is the fact that he is a relentless red-hunter. Therefore we may be about to put him where only one life stands between him and the chance to be the greatest gangbuster of all time—the man who smashed world communism. When our gigantic war machine is ready, will it be Nixon who commands it? If this adventurous young man should be in the White House when a grave crisis in the cold war comes, what would he do? Would anyone be able to sleep in his bed pending the outcome? The statistical chance that Nixon would become President is not small.

European opinion, with its deep understanding of what an American liberation crusade would mean, has swung steadily away from Eisenhower and toward Stevenson. Dispatches in the New York *Times* of August 29, September 4, and 26 told the story. "Dulles Adds to Europe's Fears"; "Europeans were amazed and alarmed" by Eisenhower's Legion speech; they were "puzzled by General Eisenhower's reference to China as a captive of Moscow, which few believe it is."

The people of Western Europe know that one more war, a war to "liberate" the Communist lands, would mean millions of deaths and ruin for the survivors forever afterward. Can the exuberant Americans be made to understand, in time, that essentially the same fate would await them?

California's Crisis in Freedom

BY EASON MONROE

Los Angeles

McCARTHYISM is on the ballot in California. Among the twenty-four propositions to be voted on this November are two, offered as amendments to the state constitution, which call upon the citizens to say whether or not they favor witch-hunting, repression of public employees, "loyalty oaths," and the other specifics in the McCarthy doctrine.

Proposition 5, entitled "Subversive Persons and Groups," runs as follows:

> Notwithstanding any other provisions of this constitution, no person or organization which advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or the state by force or violence or other unlawful means or who advocates the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities shall: (a) hold any office or employment under this state, including but not limited to the University of California, or with any county, city, etc. . . . or (b) receive any exemption from any tax imposed by this state or any county, city, etc.

In its final sentence—the sting in the tail—it adds: "The legislature shall enact such laws as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this section." What the 1953 California legislature might bring forth under this mandate is something for a pessimist to think about.

Proposition 6 seeks to establish the constitutionality of the Levering act, passed by the legislature in September, 1950, during a five-day hysterical civil-defense session. The Levering act first declares all California public employees to be "civil-defense workers subject to such civil-defense activities as may be assigned to them by their superiors or by law." Then it imposes upon all "civil-defense workers" a new test oath as a condition for compensation.

It so happens that the California constitution as originally approved 102 years ago sets forth a simple, positive oath for all "holders of public office or public trust" and then specifically declares that "no other oath, declaration, or test shall be required." Largely on this firm constitutional ground California's Third District Appellate Court stood unanimously against the oath required of the staff by the regents of the University of California and ordered the reinstatement of the eighteen who refused to sign it.

The state Supreme Court recently ruled that the Regents' Oath was unconstitutional but upheld the constitutionality of the Levering act. The timing of the decisions —October 17—suggests that the court thought to precipitate a "no" vote on Propositions 5 and 6. But if the Regents' Oath is unconstitutional, then the Levering act would also be invalid—a point argued with great force by Justice Jesse W. Carter in a dissenting opinion.

The oath that the California constitution now requires of all "holders of public office and public trust" reads:

> I swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ———, according to the best of my ability.

The Levering act requires the following oath:

> I swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.
>
> And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that now advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state

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EASON MONROE is the state chairman of the Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act and a non-signer of the Levering oath.

> of California by force or violence or other unlawful means; that within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath (or affirmation) I have not been a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of California by force or violence or other unlawful means except as follows (if no affiliations, write in the words "No Exceptions"): and that during such time as I hold the office of ——— I will not advocate nor become a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of California by force or violence or other unlawful means.

Proposition 6 not only seeks to substitute this for the original oath but has the effrontery to conclude with the time-honored words of the 1850 guaranty against such tests: "No other oath, declaration, or test shall be required as a qualification for any public office or employment."

Both propositions specifically mention the faculty of the University of California as subject to their provisions.

The impetus for these propositions comes from the cold war and the hysterical anti-communism which is undermining individual dignity, job security, social wisdom, and political sanity. Their authors are the conservative legislators Harold Levering of Santa Monica and John Babbage of Riverside. But of course they are backed by State Senator Jack Tenney, who had a corner on witch-hunting in California long before McCarthy made it a national racket. After failing to obtain a nomination for Congress, Tenney consented to become the Vice-Presidential candidate of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party.

One by one, during the last few weeks, leading organizations in California have come out against the proposed amendments. The State Central Committee of the Democratic Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League of Women Voters, the California Federation of Labor, the California Federation of Teachers, the state C I. O. are on record against one or both. Numerous professional, church, and civic organizations have voiced objections. The influential San Francisco *Chronicle* has printed editorials against Proposition 5. But no vigorous campaign has been waged to defeat either measure. The press in general is wary or uninterested. The Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act, formed in November, 1950, has been hampered by lack of funds.

Informed citizens understand that if the propositions pass, further repressions will follow. But many are not informed and are apparently unconcerned. Blinded by TV political whoop-de-doo, deafened by the blare of radio speeches, left indifferent or confused by the press, the California voter will casually mark his ballot "yes" or "no" on two proposals which may have more effect on his future welfare than any other measure on the slate.

M. Pinay's Program

BY POLITICUS

[Recent dispatches from France have emphasized the government's concern with external problems—North Africa, the Saar, American aid. Prime Minister Pinay has won new popularity by denouncing U. N. "intervention" in Tunisia and rejecting a U. S. note indicating the conditions on which further aid would be forthcoming as "inadmissible" interference in internal French affairs. But Pinay's major worry is still the economic and financial condition of France, and during the current session of the National Assembly he will stand or fall on his success in staving off further inflation. In the following article an eminent French economist explains the background of the problem and discusses the limitations of the Pinay program adopted last spring.]

Paris

SINCE the end of the war all French governments have had to face a trying economic and financial situation. Their efforts to get the economy on an even keel again have been hampered by a completely new social set-up and by structural problems that are still unsolved.

Three tasks had to be carried on simultaneously—reconstruction, modernization of industry, and rearmament. In addition, France has for years been waging an exhausting war in Indo-China. An increase in the resources devoted to any one of these objectives obviously reduces the means available for achieving the others. And any increase in the total volume of investment limits the amount of goods available for consumption—that is to say, impedes improvement of the standard of living. At the same time expanding production has required heavy imports of machinery and raw materials, to finance which France, with its official gold and dollar reserves practically exhausted, has had to depend on the great world lender, America.

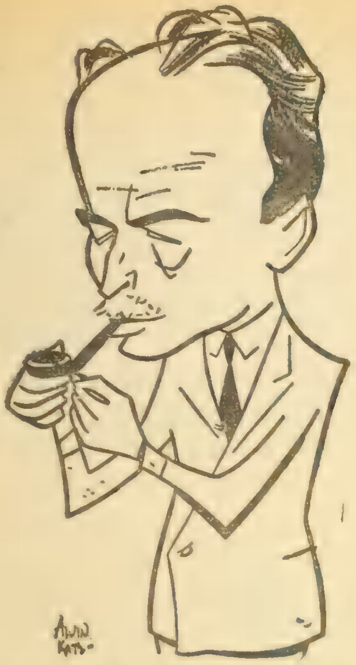
The new social context within which post-war French governments have had to operate has several different facets. First, there is the nationalization program of 1945-46 which affected a number of key industries, including coal mining, public utilities, banking, and insurance. Second, there is the institution of a broad system of social security. Unlike the English system, which has been financed mainly through the budget, social security in France is paid for by a levy on pay rolls, amounting to from 40 to 45 per cent of the total. As a cost of production this charge is fully reflected in prices, with the result that social security has not meant a shift of real incomes from the rich to the poor but rather a redistribution among several low-income groups. Young workers, unmarried and in good health, for instance, pay through increased prices for family allowances and old-age pensions.

A third aspect of the new social set-up is the split in the labor world which has divided the pro-Communist unions of the C. G. T. from the so-called "free unions" and the organizations of Catholic workers. This rupture has seriously weakened labor both industrially and politically. At no time in its history has the influential French Socialist Party been so lacking in dynamism and in fresh ideas.

AMONG the structural flaws in the French economy first place must be given to the fiscal system. Inefficient and obsolete, it relies mostly on sales taxes and other indirect imposts, and weighs heavily on industrial producers and wage-earners while sparing farmers, shopkeepers, and professionals. Its "international corollary" has been a constant flight of capital abroad, estimated by the Economic Committee for Europe at $400,000,000 to $600,000,000 annually, which of course has increased French dependence on foreign loans.

Another structural defect is a costly and inequitable distribution system which unduly increases prices of consumer goods. This, in turn, is related to the variegated pattern of French industry, which includes thoroughly modern units, comparable to those in America, side by side with antiquated and badly equipped plants. The normal evolution of the capitalist system should have implied the gradual disappearance of these obsolete concerns, but most of them have managed to survive either by means of formal price agreements or through a kind of social and economic inertia. Another factor has been inflation, which has kept demand high enough to enable marginal producers to set prices covering their costs. The bonanza profits thus made possible for modernized plants help to explain why many French industrialists who pay lip-service to "stability" are at heart inflationists.

Since 1945 fifteen different Cabinets have held office in France: none has been able to overcome these economic difficulties. Under each Prime Minister, the Minister for Defense has constantly requested more money for armaments and Indo-China; the Minister of Reconstruction, more money for housing; M. Jean Monnet, Commissaire au Plan, more money for plant equipment. Willingly or unwillingly successive Ministers of Finance have footed the bill through inflation or higher indirect taxes or both. Thus the trend of prices was quite steadily upward even before the Korean war gave them a new fillip.



Premier Pinay

One single voice in the wilderness has condemned this rake's progress. With great courage, with intellectual and moral authority—but lonesome and without a political following—M. Pierre Mendès-France has again and again reminded the French Assembly that the country could not indefinitely bear the triple burden of investment, reconstruction, and rearmament, including the Indo-China war. France has to choose. To M. Mendès-France the choice seems fairly clear—less spending on arms and Indo-China.

AGAINST this backdrop M. Pinay stepped on to the stage in March, 1952. In his early sixties, Pinay is an old-fashioned parliamentarian who as deputy and senator has for years represented the Département de la Loire, a coal-mining and industrial district in central France. He has the engaging charm, the art of quiet accommodation, the simple and modest brand of humanity so typical of the traditional French politician. Long Mayor of Saint-Chamond, an important steel center, Pinay has kept aloof from the local steel lords. As owner of a family tannery, he feels more at home with the small business men through whom he keeps his finger on the pulse of public opinion while listening patiently to their many troubles.

M. Pinay has little taste for big business, industrial combines, or cartels in general. This does not indicate left-wing opinions but rather a right-wing distrust of all "big powers," including the government bureaucracy with which the trusts too often maintain friendly relations and from which they recruit their best employees. It follows that the Prime Minister has also slight sympathy with the nationalized industries and not too much patience with trade unions. He believes in personal contacts, in human give-and-take. His social ideal, probably, is "the good boss" whose paternal virtues would make unions unnecessary.

These characteristics explain why M. Pinay is anti-inflationist and anti-devaluationist. For him, "Défendre la France!" means to fight for honest producers, honest farmers and workers—for those who do not gamble. True, some big moneyed interests also support that policy. For while many French industrialists favor inflation, others, particularly those who buy raw materials abroad and sell finished products in France, fear that devaluation would increase their costs without compensatory increases of profit. Besides, they realize that devaluation might lead to commercial "liberalism," to the lowering of tariffs and quotas, as was the case from 1949 to the middle of 1951. They shiver at the very idea, for what such producers want is a closed market in France and the French overseas territories so that they may quietly exploit consumers without any foreign competition.

WHEN the Cabinet of M. Pinay was organized on March 8 it faced three major problems:

1. The burden of military, reconstruction, and investment expenditure made balancing the budget extremely difficult. The elections of June, 1951, had been a real success for the right-wing bloc of the so-called "Independents and Peasants," who were stubbornly opposed to tax increases. Yet the political instability that had prevailed since those elections appeared to rule out borrowing as an alternative to new taxes.

2. The inflationary trend, beginning in the Western world with the outbreak of the Korean war, had continued relentlessly in France, which was harder hit by inflation than any other country. Living costs had mounted 40 per cent in less than two years, while wages had been boosted 50 per cent. M. René Pleven, Prime Minister during the second half of 1951, had taken the responsibility of increasing the price of wheat by 40 per cent and simultaneously raising wages 15 per cent, and this at a time when world prices were beginning to decline. Moreover, a coalition of the R. P. F., Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Communists was advocating a sliding-scale system, tying wages to the cost-of-living index —a highly dangerous proposal.

3. French prices were so much higher than those in other countries that exports had fallen to a new low. France was in default to the European Payments Union, and in a desperate effort to right its balance of payments had abolished those measures to relax import restrictions which had been passed under joint pressure from the United States and the Office of European Economic Cooperation. The risk of enforced devaluation was indicated by a black-market dollar rate of 450 compared to the official quotation of 350.

M. Pinay had to choose, and choose quickly, between two conflicting policies. Either he had to raise taxes, prices, and wages to new highs and accept devaluation as an accomplished fact, or he could try to achieve stability by building up "confidence." Adoption of the second course was made possible politically by the support of a fairly important section of the R. P. F., which preferred stability now to dubious victory under General de Gaulle in the future.

The first fight was over the budget. The previous Cabinet, headed by M. Edgar Faure, had asked for a total of 3,700 billion francs (about $11 billion), including 1,270 billion for defense, 400 billion for reconstruction, and 392 billion for investment. Although new taxes were proposed, a budgetary deficit of 330 billion seemed unavoidable.

Pinay decided to maintain military expenditure but to cut reconstruction and investment by 58 billion francs and to postpone appropriations for these purposes of another 95 billion until this amount could be covered out of the proceeds of a new loan. All proposals for new taxes were thrust aside, and the government announced that it would make every effort to lower the cost of living. On this assurance, the Socialists, although voting consistently against the government, abstained from violent attacks and the non-Communist unions adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

Before launching its new loan, the government granted full amnesty to tax evaders, hoping that hoarders would thereby be encouraged to lend some of their huge holdings of gold and currency to the Treasury. Issued at 3½ per cent with a gold-guaranty clause, the loan was neither a complete success nor an abject failure. On the whole, though, the French peasants, the great hoarders, remained lukewarm, and the total of new money subscribed—195 billion francs, including 15 billion in gold—was 95 billion below expectations.

THE keystone of M. Pinay's program was price policy, and here his plans were aided by the easier state of world commodity markets. His idea was to "negotiate" price cuts with business groups instead of imposing them by "authoritarian means." Success depended on two prerequisites—the consent of the business and farm leaders and the voluntary discipline of the rank and file once such consent was given.

Meanwhile all new price increases were forbidden. Prices of coal and coke, both nationalized items, were actually cut, permitting a reduction in steel prices. This in turn was extended to agricultural implements and fertilizers to reconcile the wheat-growers, who had been asking for a 10 to 15 per cent increase, to the price freeze. At the same time a seasonal spring drop in dairy goods and wine helped to convince housewives that the government was in earnest.

In the case of textiles and footwear the government was less successful. The fall in world prices of wool, cotton, and leather had cut costs to French producers and made price reductions possible. But wholesalers and retailers, loaded with inventories purchased at higher prices, refused flatly to sell at the lower replacement costs. In the service trades, too, the "mutual consent" policy proved a failure, and no reductions were noted in the charges of laundries, cleaners, hairdressers, and the like. Enthusiastic as the small business men were over the "no new tax" policy, and still more over the fiscal amnesty, they did not sincerely believe in the possibility of stabilization. Thus these men, Pinay's friends, betrayed him.

Despite such failures a measure of success was achieved. Between March and July the cost of living fell about 4½ per cent, with food prices declining 3½ per cent and manufactured goods accounting for the balance. Even this modest drop was an improvement, since it staved off a new round of inflation and made possible the passage in July of the sliding-scale law. Yet clearly the menace of inflation remains. In August the cost-of-living index rose to 144.8, two points above the July low, and the September figure, about to be published, is expected to be still higher. If this rise continues until the index touches 149, the sliding-scale law requires a wage increase which may well set off a new bout of inflation.

Meanwhile the foreign-trade position of France continues to deteriorate. One reason is the abnormal spread between French and foreign prices—20 and 30 per cent in the case of automobiles, industrial machinery, and other mechanical goods, 10 and 20 per cent in the case of textiles. Devaluation would be a ruinous way of closing this gap, since France imports so much more than it sells abroad. But the present method of alleviating the situation, the grant of extensive subsidies to exporters, is costly and a far cry from that good old liberalism advocated by M. Pinay's supporters.

Thus this month, as the Assembly reconvenes, the major economic problems of France remain unsolved. M. Pinay still has to grapple with an unbalanced budget, with inflationary tendencies, with foreign-trade deficits. Can old-fashioned liberal economics provide the answers he is seeking? Or will France suffer another period of political confusion and economic chaos before it finds a government willing and able to mobilize the great potential economic strength of the country by bold and progressive policies?

John Dewey: 1859-1952

BY A. H. JOHNSON

IT IS too early to estimate exactly the impact of John Dewey on the world in which he lived. Yet even now it is clear that his influence has been a decisive factor in the lives of millions of men, women, and children, not only in the United States but all over the globe. His philosophy of education is widely known and thoroughly implemented. His creative ideas in the realms of logic, ethics, politics, aesthetics, and religion constitute the intellectual environment of many of the leaders of our time. These ideas, widespread and dynamic in the North American community, have helped to shape the life of the twentieth century, giving it some of its most distinctive characteristics.

The philosophy of John Dewey reflects the man and the environment in which he lived. John Dewey was born in Vermont. Early in life, immersed in the healthy democracy of a mid-nineteenth-century New England community, he learned the importance of each individual in the achievement of the common good. He came to respect the wisdom and abilities of the so-called "common" man. The expanding world of modern science soon caught and held his attention. The twin foundations of Dewey's thought and life are his devotion to the ideals of New England democracy and his acceptance of the techniques and attitudes of modern science. As a young professor of philosophy in the Middle West, Dewey found himself shifting from his early Hegelian philosophy to the "instrumentalism" with which his name is so closely associated. This trend was intensified when he moved on to Columbia University. He journeyed frequently and far afield, all over North America, to Europe, Asia, and Africa. Everywhere, he found an opportunity to convey by word and deed his convictions concerning the good life and the techniques by which it could be achieved.

Those who had the privilege of associating with John Dewey were struck by the tremendous stability of his personality, his honesty, quiet dignity, penetrating subdued humor, tenacity of purpose, respect for other men, profound opposition to all that interferes with the enrichment of human life. He was refreshingly free from the tricks of the intellectual huckster. He was too devoted to the pursuit of truth to stoop to short cuts or easy pseudo-solutions. The superficial "sophisticated" observer found his appearance and even his modes of expression somewhat "quaint," but the more penetrating quickly forgot his apparent lack of color, his hesitancy and involutions, and recognized that they were confront-

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ing a rare phenomenon—a great man thinking and acting with tremendous vigor and efficiency.

John Dewey spent his many years in furthering great causes—sweeping educational reforms, the founding of a "third" political party, the establishment of a greater degree of social justice. He sat on innumerable committees. He supported national and international agencies devoted to the common good. He met fully his responsibilities as a member of the faculty of Columbia University. His family life was an inspiration to all. In addition, he found time to be friend, indeed "good Samaritan," to countless men and women in all walks of life.

CERTAIN features of Dewey's philosophy have been discussed apart from their context and thus distorted. His emphasis on practical consequences, on the usefulness of ideas—the instrumentalist theory of knowledge—is one of the chief characteristics of his general philosophical position. But the practical consequences to be considered are not only those in the area of basic animal needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter: Dewey was very careful to deny that the pragmatic, or instrumentalist, approach was merely the reflection of American commercialism. For him aesthetic, moral, social, political, educational, and religious consequences were of fundamental importance. Indeed, a concern for human values was the determining factor in all his thought and action.

Dewey was devoted to the methods and, what is more important, the attitudes of science. But he was well aware that excessive concentration on the data of certain sciences gives a completely inadequate picture of the world of nature, that the person who refuses to go beyond the data of mathematics and physical science suffers from a ridiculous myopia. The one world of Dewey's naturalism offers many kinds of data, and no one can afford to overlook major segments of his world. In addition to mathematical and physical data, there are aesthetic, moral, religious, and many other types.

True, Dewey asserted that data can be known only by an observer who adopts the attitudes and uses the techniques of science. But these methods and attitudes do not assure exclusive "reality" to any specific type of data. Furthermore it must be noted that Dewey often stressed the importance of creative imagination in the search for knowledge. His emphasis on the value of poetic forms and the danger of tying ideas too closely to usefulness indicated a certain flexibility in his approach to the scientific method. In any case it should be obvious that for him scientific method was not restricted to the procedures of the physical-science laboratory. After all, he did not spend his life in a laboratory.

John Dewey is justly famous for his yeoman service in freeing men from "the dead hand of the past." Preoccupation with the achievements of the past, with its paralyzing effect on initiative, was one of his chief targets. Yet he was not a blind iconoclast. He respected knowledge of the past provided it could be applied to the solving of present problems. In the spirit of William James he advocated a fruitful fusion of old and new.

In the field of education John Dewey is regarded as the former high priest of the "learn-by-doing" cult. It is frequently forgotten that he was not a devotee of flexing muscles for the sake of flexing muscles. He stressed the importance of bodily activity, doing and making, manual dexterity, but only as a means of fostering individual initiative and self-reliance, of satisfying natural needs and desires, and of developing habits of social cooperation.

He saw that the foundations of a democratic way of life must be provided by the school system. Children should not only learn facts and skills but become accustomed to take part in projects for the common good and to appreciate the values with which democracy is concerned. Dewey's educational program has been called "chaotic" by its critics, and it is true that he deplored the imposition of meaningless discipline by some external force, but he recognized the necessity of sympathetic and intelligent assistance by a properly trained and motivated teacher. Such aid made it possible for the child to achieve self-discipline. The child, like the scientist, learns that in reaching goals, in satisfying needs, there are certain things which one simply cannot do, because they are contrary to the nature of things.

For all his respect for the so-called "common" man, Dewey was not naive or softly sentimental. Nor was majority opinion enthroned by him. He noted, sadly, that in many men a sense of values is sadly lacking, that literacy does not automatically bring liberty.

Dewey's characteristic belief that ends must be linked with means was evidenced in his social and political activities. If he denounced political evils, he proceeded to support reform movements. Advocating freedom of speech and the right to a fair hearing by persons accused of crimes, he supported the pleas of Sacco and Vanzetti, Leon Trotsky, and many others even though he did not agree with their point of view. He was prepared to "picket" if a cause was sufficiently important and picketing seemed the best way to "get action."

Because Dewey denied the validity of supernaturalism, he has been accused of being irreligious. The word religion has many meanings. Some of his friends have seen in John Dewey the reforming zeal of the Hebrew prophets. Certainly he had qualities which measured up to the standards of the New Testament. The language of the Bible is sometimes noted in his writing. During his long life John Dewey did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly in communion with what he regarded as most real and most important.

BOOKS and the ARTS

APPARITION OF SPLENDOR

Partaking of the miraculous
since never known literally,
Dürer's rhinoceros
might have startled us equally
if black-and-white-spined elaborately.

Like another porcupine, or fern,
the mouth in an arching egret,
was too black to discern
till exposed as a silhouette;
but the double-embattled thistle of jet—

disadvantageous supposedly—
has never shot a quill. Was it
some joyous fantasy
plain eider-eared exhibit
of spines rooted in the sooty moss,

or "train supported by porcupines—
a fairy's eleven yards long?" . . .
as when the lightning shines
on thistlefine spears, among
prongs in lanes above lanes of a shorter prong—

"with the forest for nurse"—also dark
at the base—where needle-debris
springs to hide each footmark;
the setting for a symmetry
you must not touch unless you are a fairy.

Maine should be pleased that its animal
is not a waverer, but rather
than fight, lets the primed quill fall.
Shallow oppressor, intruder,
insister, you have found a resister.

MARIANNE MOORE

In My Father's House

MANY MANSIONS. By Isabel Bolton. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

IN A time when even the best novels are likely to concentrate on political wisdom or turn out to be sociological surveys disguised as fiction, "Many Mansions" is cheering evidence of how free from timely concerns the poor, battered, and misused novel may be. For a little over two hundred pages, Miss Bolton's heroine—she is eighty-four—sits in her hotel room on lower Madison Avenue merely brooding over a manuscript, the story of her life, the contents of which are never entirely revealed. Out of her brooding and her often rapturous marginal notations, which never decline into revery, Miss Bolton has constructed her novel. Much in it calls for comment, for there is a God's plenty of subjects. Especially, two matters. Miss Bolton is one of the few novelists today who have any proper historical sense, an awareness, to use T. S. Eliot's definition, of the pastness of the past and also of its presence. It pervades her book. And bent on discerning some meaning in the life of her Margaret Sylvester, she has written, in her quiet fashion, a philosophical novel.

To clarify: the book conveys beautifully what it must inevitably have felt like to be a particular child and young girl in Brookline, Massachusetts, in the seventies and eighties; and what Margaret Sylvester's life as an aging woman in pre-depression Greenwich Village must have been. These episodes, and many others, though they come into full life, are less important as fragments of a skilfully recaptured past which constitute the plot than as part of the design Miss Bolton has woven out of them in time. Shuttling back and forth in that element, but always for a purpose, and never indulging in mere flashbacks, she has made the past and the present separate and different yet coexistent and often, in essence, the same. The past is always present in this fiction.

Waking—it is the last day of her life—on February 1, 1950, Miss Sylvester, perusing the *Times* notes that the President has ordered the construction of the hydrogen bomb. The news only heightens her awareness of the catastrophe toward which the world is hastening. Yet Miss Bolton, avoiding the temptations of topical fiction, relates this distress to Margaret Sylvester's sensibility, to the contrast, so important to her, between public woe and private grief. Compelled by her conscience when she was young to take up arms against the world's intolerable wrong, she had engaged in useful humanitarian activity. It had also helped to deaden the personal anguish she bore about with her, sprung of an unhappy love affair and frustrated motherhood. Action, however, has not been enough. As an old woman, made frantic almost beyond bearing by events since 1938, she has been compelled to allay the sorrow she feels for her own past and the world's present by setting her life down in a novel: "Was it because she had wanted to call in her conscience—her soul, her memory, as you might call in a priest at the last moment to offer absolution . . .?"

To Miss Bolton this is only part of the answer. At least two other reasons make it inevitable that her heroine should write. "Cut off from all the central founts of love," she seeks to impose a final and personal form on her vision of life.

Although "Many Mansions" is about

Margaret Sylvester's most secret experience—she reminds herself that, essentially, all novels are exercises in autobiography—it becomes an assertion of the importance of the artifact in a chaotic time. Seeking design and meaning in life, "Many Mansions" abounds in affirmations. In this sense it is philosophical, though no systems, of course, are propounded. But eighty-four outwardly meaningless years—how easy to have turned them into the reminiscences of a sweet old lady—become a microcosm of all our lives. Margaret Sylvester has found existence bearable and, ultimately, capable of being transformed into art, because she has a "capacity for reverence, wonder." Even as an old woman she is swept away by her knowledge that she is "a part of that great dance of life." These affirmations have been made elsewhere and on many occasions; most novelists, afraid of being trite, avoid them. Not Miss Bolton, with her passion to say what is on her mind. She has caught them up, these fragments of conventional wisdom, in the sensibility of one ancient woman and realized them so completely in terms of that woman's experience that they become the very center of the novel. Other large subjects are developed: the horrors of nineteenth-century, upper-middle-class family morality, the anguish of the world, and so on. The miracle in this writing is that, where another novelist would have made a pot-pourri of such a medley, Miss Bolton, wonderfully, makes it all part of her design. Her short book, her vision which affirms, is never blurred by an excess of matter.

ERNEST JONES

Book of Wisdom

RUMOR AND REFLECTION. By Bernard Berenson. Simon and Schuster. $6.

THIS is Berenson's war-time diary, kept during the German domination of Italy and in the year following the armistice. The locale is Florence—first Berenson's villa near Settignano, then his secret retreat in the Vallombrosa hills. But the scene is Europe, and the scope is human civilization. Events, as they filter through to Berenson, are faithfully recorded. Thereupon they stimulate thought and reminiscence. Berenson's mind being what it is, and his memory extending back almost to the Franco-Prussian War, this book of wisdom takes its place among the important memoirs of our day.

To review so discursive a work is not easy, and Berenson himself has compounded the difficulty. "I am in a way as irritated by praise," he writes, "even of the most tactful kind, especially when verbal and to my face. But even in print, in reviews of my books and still more when the praise is of myself, as distinct from my books."

I must risk his irritation by saying straight out that the word civilized should be reserved for an occasion like this. Certainly Berenson is one of the few really civilized living persons. It would be tempting to suggest that he is too civilized, were such a statement not a contradiction in terms. The terrible truth is that the times are not sympathetic to such cultivation. Berenson has the courage to challenge our shortcomings, but in so doing he retreats into the past. Here he is invulnerable, but also a little anachronistic.

As an example, consider his attack on the machine.

> It is a state of mind which for thousands of years has been aiming at an age like the present, during which the machine will go from triumph to triumph, and end by realizing its millennial endeavor to reduce the individual to a robot.

What is the conclusion: shall we try to master the machine, or pretend that we can destroy it?

The context of this statement (page 39) should not be overlooked. It carries Berenson along into an elaborate piece of irony. The Nazis, most efficiently totalitarian of all regimes, arrive on the scene "to free the rest of Europe, perhaps the rest of the world, from the machine!" They will deny its blessings to all but themselves, and the world will sink into Mediterranean ways of life: "agriculture, horticulture, to glass-blowing, to the cottage and other charming industries that educate and amuse mind and eye, and humanize the worker."

The irony rings, but is it not self-destructive?

A happier introduction to Berenson's mind occurs in the first entry, written on New Year's Day, 1941:

> No resolutions at my age, unless to be as little of a nuisance as possible to others first, and then to myself, for the rest of my days.

And again in this image of Mrs. Jack Gardner, whom he calls Boston's pre-cinema star:

> While Jack was alive, *he* did all the paying out not only abroad but at home. Isabella spent only on clothes, pearls, diamonds, and, later, on almost as expensive old masters. When her husband died, and bills of the baker and butcher and electrician were brought to her, she got into a panic from which she never quite recovered. She who in Europe had traveled like royalty, with compartments reserved for her in railways and luxurious suites in hotels, now went second-class, and frequenting the same hotels as before, would take the cheapest rooms and order the least expensive dishes. Remaining wealthy but having had no training in the workaday use of money, she lived like a Latin *rentière* in constant fear of losing it.

What a supplement to the portrait of Isabella Gardner by John Singer Sargent!

Here is a Tuscan dawn, as it impinged on Berenson's sensibility:

> The moon had a dimmed luster as of old gold and was bedded in its own rays, making a halo like a great wheel, and touched with faint rainbow color. Under it, the hillside rising to Poggio Gherardo looked grayish green, and the olive trees did not come out singly or in clusters but as rolls of felt folded back on the ground.

When you can see and feel with such precision as that, it is less difficult to tell a Simone Martini from a Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna.

Here is precision of another kind:

> Perhaps nothing separates and unites nations so much as their different rhetorics. Ours (Anglo-Saxon) remains Biblical still, but the Italians, French, Spaniards, and Rumanians are common sufferers from the same rhetoric. The common rhetoric goes so far as to make them believe that, although they have so little else in common, they are of the same "Latin" race, whereas they are merely victims of the same Latin rhetoric.

There is little about art in this book—and nothing about Duveen. But it does include a plea for a wide distribution of works of art which deserves the widest possible hearing:

> Every noble and even attractive work of art that goes to a foreign land acts as a missionary, inspiring sympathy for the people who produced it, and eagerness to visit their land.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

"John Brown of the Half-Breeds"

STRANGE EMPIRE. By Joseph Kinsey Howard. William Morrow and Company. $6.

THIS unique book is an appropriate monument to its author's life, devoted to the North American high plains. Howard, who had secured an abiding fame with "Montana: High, Wide and Handsome," (1943), died at Choteau, August 25, 1951, aged forty-five, just as he finished this exciting account of two attempts to set up indigenous governments in the Far West. Its seeds were sown in his boyhood when he used to lend his "Mountie suit" to others so that he could lead the "enemy" minorities of half-breeds or Indians. Perfectly able to distinguish himself elsewhere, he gave his great energies and talents to the American West, fighting violently and stubbornly, as citizen and newspaperman, for social and economic justice, and against intrenched power and *vigilante* conformism in Montana. His symbolic hero gradually emerged in the person of the Canadian *métis,* Louis Riel, who twice rallied the peculiar society of the mid-continent to resist the inflowing tides from eastern North America and to demand recognition of the values and rights that it had created during past centuries.

Howard could hardly have chosen a more bedeviled person, in lifetime and after. Riel was peculiar and obsessed at times to the very borders of madness. His passionate distress over what he thought lethargy and obtuseness in his own Roman Catholic church made him set himself against and above it, in direct communion with God. In 1870, as dictator of his first provisional government at Winnipeg, he effected the "judicial murder" of an invading Eastern Anglo-Saxon who belonged to the professional Protestantism of the Loyal Orange Lodge. In 1885 he loosed half-breeds and Indian clans, bewildered by the disappearance of the buffalo and the coming of the railroad, against the whites. That year, although an American citizen, he was hanged for high treason to the British Crown.

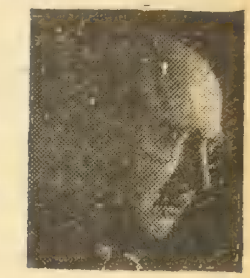
And since French Canada, on the one hand, chose to ignore his religious heresies in order to make him a martyr to its nationalistic cause of *survivance,* and English-speaking Canada, on the other, chose to ignore his persistent attempts at compromise between West and East in order to make him a murderous obstacle to orderly expansion, even the primary records of his career, not to speak of endless secondary accounts, were perverted, partial, concealed, and sometimes destroyed. Americans, except for a few Dakotans and Montanans who took part in Riel's drama or observed it and handed down its myth and reality, almost let him and his cause fade from memory. None the less, Howard set himself the almost impossible tasks of digging up the sources here and there in Canada and the United States, sifting out the true from the false, and setting forth Riel's career in understandable form.

The measure of his success is the thrilling and always credible tragedy that he makes the reader see grow from the buffalo plains as the buffalo's exterminators swept in from Ontario and Minnesota after the American Civil War and Canadian federation. He starts slowly with a patient, informed stage setting of the environment and the adaptations to it of its peoples, but the pace quickens with the Canadian and American designs on the Red River Valley ("Heart of a Continent") that ripened so rapidly after 1860. Even before the buffalo had been wiped out, "John Brown of the Half-Breeds" had set up a provisional government as armor for his people against stupidly careless Canadian expansion, fumbling American conspiracy, and Fenian fishing in troubled waters. By the time that that armor had been pierced by superior force—with almost no bloodshed—and Riel and some associates had been bribed and driven into exile in the United States, the Canadian government had been forced to treat Manitoba seriously and admit it to Canada as a province instead of as a dependent territory.

The *métis* who could not stomach the Eastern invasion moved northwest toward the Saskatchewan Valley and their brothers, the Indians, only to be overtaken within fifteen years by two disasters that those true Westerners inevitably and properly coupled—the coming of the railway and the disappearance of the buffalo. The immemorial basis of their lives was destroyed. Their obvious enemies were laying out the plains in

THE BRIGHT
MEDUSA

BY
HOWARD
MUMFORD
JONES

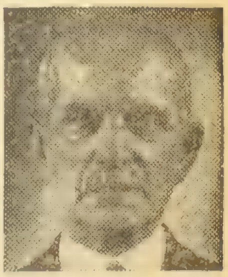


Wittily deploring "the dead weight of conformity that now lies upon us," a great critic and scholar presents a richly allusive analysis of the Poet, the Artist, and the Radical as characterized in American literature of the 1920's with special attention to works by F. Scott Fitzgerald and Willa Cather.

JUST OUT $2.50

modern nationalities

BY
FLORIAN
ZNANIECKI



Florian Znaniecki, president-elect of the American Sociological Society, presents in laymen's terms a sociological study of how nationalities evolve. He shows that political plans which do not take into consideration the power of cultural bonds (witness the divided states of Korea, Germany, China) are bound to fail.

JUST OUT $3.95

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CULTURAL SCIENCES, by Florian Znaniecki $6.00

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The UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana, Illinois

farms. The beleaguered summoned Riel from Montana. This time the very finality of disaster bred not merely a provisional government for bargaining but outright rebellion, heresy, and war; and now the engine of earth conquest carried in the Canadian troops that stamped these out and the Canadian justice that hanged Riel in Regina at the hands of a man so revengeful that he taunted his victim on the scaffold and spurned his eighty dollars' pay.

Howard has clothed the tragedy of the Indians and mixed-bloods—English, French, and Scottish—lovingly, knowingly, and beautifully. As an outsider with no ax to grind, he felt himself entitled to write at length, awarding praise and blame—and understanding—to all the actors, on the ground and in Ottawa, London, and Washington. In his book an artist's imagination is at work, not in the invention of facts, but in the interpretation of them. Occasionally he is carried by his own identification with his half-breed and Indian actors into expression that some might find extreme, but it does not blemish his utter honesty. The one serious criticism of his interpretation has already been made by Bernard DeVoto in his admirable introductory tribute to Howard as "a brilliant historian" of the West and the most brilliant interpreter of it in his own time. Howard's suggestion that Riel may have saved the Canadian West from incorporation in the United States simply will not stand up in the face of what we know about the differentiation between American and Canadian enterprise in the Far West, Canadians' sense of mission there, British backing, and the great Anglo-American-Canadian settlement that was incorporated in the Treaty of Washington of 1871. Fortunately the suggestion is sufficiently neutral not to mar the artistry of the work.

BEYOND THE HIGH HIMALAYAS

by Justice William O. Douglas, author of *Strange Lands and Friendly People.* "A grand book . . . Douglas bring to his story a deep understanding. He takes you high into the Himalayas of Central Asia but higher still in the regions of the mind."—*Chicago Tribune.*

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No review of the book would be adequate without acknowledgment to those who ushered it into print. Mrs. Helen King of Morrow and Company provided not only the necessary publisher's faith but an immense amount of research, checking, and consultation with scholars and with Howard's friends. Rosalea and Norman Fox sorted out Howard's notes so as to compile an unprecedentedly complete bibliography which serves in the place of footnotes. Bernard DeVoto edited Howard's revised manuscript very slightly in the light of his own great knowledge and of Mrs. King's suggestions, and specified the maps from Howard's noted intentions. He had spent three weeks of Howard's last month with him in Montana. All these, and some unnamed persons, deserve our gratitude.

J. B. BREBNER

The Lives of Eisenstein

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN. By Marie Seton. A. A. Wyn. $8.50.

MISS SETON'S book is an attempt to reconstruct at least three of the lives of Eisenstein—personal, public, and artistic. She interrelates the three in such a way that the public figure becomes a shield behind which Eisenstein hides and the artist becomes a conscious creation which protects him from certain aspects of his own personality. The construction is not quite so neat as this sentence suggests, but these three figures do thread their way through the book and the author does continually reiterate their relationship to one another.

There will be some questioning of the validity of Miss Seton's portrait of Eisenstein, particularly by those who have known or who have worked with him. Given the complexity of such a man, however, it is quite possible that another associate might present a portrait of Eisenstein quite different from Miss Seton's—and yet that neither would be false. This reviewer, having no personal portrait of the director to go by, is less intent on passing judgment on Miss Seton's creation than on discovering out of what it grew.

Miss Seton first met Eisenstein in 1932 when she visited Moscow as a correspondent for *Theatre Arts Weekly.* Her status in his life grew from that of messenger—from a mutual friend—to friend in her own right and finally to lover, although apparently never in a sexual sense. The author describes the beginning of the love affair, a holiday together in Yalta, in as nearly idyllic a passage as her ponderous style will allow. This close relationship lasted from August, 1934, until January, 1935, when Miss Seton left for England with plans for a reunion that were never to be realized; and during this period Eisenstein apparently talked freely to her not only of his work but of his childhood, his early years in film work, his sexual misgivings, his distrust of others. Much of the early part of the book has been drawn from these conversations; all of it is marked by the obvious respect and affection that the author felt for her subject.

Miss Seton represents the essential Eisenstein as a lonely and unhappy man who deeply desired human affection but was afraid to ask for it, and she finds the sources of this portrait in his childhood, in the ambivalence of his feeling for his mother and in his early self-identification with a grotesque circus clown. But the material was provided by Eisenstein, who had studied Freud carefully, and while it is important to have Eisenstein's picture of his childhood, the patness of the development from the deserted child to the lonely man suggests that Eisenstein edited his memories as stringently as he did his films.

His clownishness, his biting wit, his silences, his brusqueness become, for Miss Seton, public and social masks assumed to protect the man beneath. For her, then, all his behavior becomes forgivable if occasionally unwise. She suggests also that just as he felt that he must protect himself from others, so he had to protect himself from himself. Because of his apparent inability to have a normal relationship with any of the women in his life, Eisenstein began to fear the possibility of homosexuality, and Miss Seton explains the intensity of his preoccupation with his art and the feverishness of his intellectual activity as a conscious attempt at sublimation. But again, thanks to the peculiar nature of the relationship between the director and his biographer, this interpretation of Eisenstein's life and work is largely his own.

I do not mean to suggest that the book is no more than casual personal reminiscence. It is, in fact, an impressive collection of material relating to Eisenstein. Miss Seton has made use of as many of the existing documents and letters by and about him as she could get. She has communicated with many of the people who knew or worked with him at various stages in his career. She has used the films that he made and the articles that he wrote. But there must be a great amount of material in Russia—letters, notes, and so on—to which she did not have access, and the book is not, therefore, the definitive biography that its jacket heralds it to be.

Miss Seton attempts, too, to deal with Eisenstein as a film theorist and as a director. She is less successful here. She was so impressed by the activity of the man's mind, of the potential implicit in his multiple researches, that she loads the book with accounts of the odd paths down which Eisenstein strayed looking for knowledge. She mixes her discussion of his theories and of their relationship to his films with her attempts to separate the strands of his personality in such a way that the psychology confuses without enriching the presentation of his work. There are moments of clarification—witness an early brief discussion of typage and montage—but a clear and intelligent treatment of the development of Eisenstein from "Strike" to "Ivan the Terrible" is still needed.

Strangely enough, this volume is almost completely free of political implications. There were, of course, periods in which Eisenstein was in disfavor with the leaders of the film industry, particularly with Boris Shumyatsky, but Miss Seton suggests that these people disliked Eisenstein as much for personal as for aesthetic or political reasons. The problem of film aesthetics, which is in Russia a matter of political importance, is treated at length only once in the book, in the chapter dealing with the All-Union Creative Conference of Workers in Soviet Cinematology, in January, 1935, at which Eisenstein was attacked for too much theorizing and research and not enough production. In this section Miss Seton steps back and lets Eisenstein and his attackers speak for themselves. It is by far the most fascinating part of the book. There are a few assertions of Eisenstein's continued loyalty to the Soviet state, even when he is not in favor, but Miss Seton never directly comments either favorably or unfavorably on his position.

GERALD WEALES

Liberal Statesman

PRISONER OF GRACE. By Joyce Cary. Harper and Brothers. $3.

ANY new novel by the Anglo-Irish writer Joyce Cary is a promise of something vivid and off the beat but true to human nature. "Prisoner of Grace" has these qualities: yet it is something of a disappointment too. What it lacks is not vision but judgment and proportion.

The vision of the novel is in its insight into a marriage which having begun wrong—in advantage for each, but no love—ends thirty years later in a kind of mutual damnation. The scene is one that Cary has painted before, the England of the early twentieth century, between the Boer War and the first World War. The hero of the novel is Chester Nimmo, a hypothetical Liberal statesman, who rises in the story to a position in Lloyd George's War Cabinet. The novel's heroine, and eye, is the statesman's wife, Nina.

Here again is the setting Cary has used so well before; again he catches the excitement of a stimulating time when people thought that however much they might change things through reform the true ground under their feet would never shift; and again his story ends with the disillusionment of his characters at the cracking of their security in the war and its aftermath.

The period is the same as that of Cary's great trilogy: the time of Sara Munday and Mr. Wilcher and Gulley Jimson of "Herself Surprised," "To Be a Pilgrim," and "The Horse's Mouth." But neither Chester Nimmo, Nina, nor her cousin Jim Latter, in the new story, has the heroism or even the fanaticism necessary to carry the theme of the novel or to sustain the interest which the theme awakens. Chester and Nina and Jim seem too one-sided, or too weak, to do their proper jobs as characters of fiction. They achieve pathos and horror, but no more than that. And "Prisoner of Grace" is a novel with many wonderful things in it rather than the wonderful novel it might have been. On nearly every page there is evidence of Cary's ability to see with the painter's eye and to discern with the psychologist's eye. But it is as if his abilities had run away with him, as if, getting more and more subtle and clever, he had piled one good bit on top of another, or added one

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ALVIN JOHNSON

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more twist or turn than necessary, and in the end lost the single, simple effect he might have had.

The prolonged struggle of Chester and Nina for survival as individuals —the demagogic mind versus the critical mind—has, at last, a lower-keyed effect than it might have had. Chester never changes or develops sufficiently. He is too perfectly the fishy politician to begin with, and Nina is too much of a drifter to support the position of critical intelligence in the scheme.

The earlier novels were a sort of celebration of individualism in different forms: the indivisibility of the decent human person in Sara Munday, the cook of "Herself Surprised," the individualism of religion and reform in Mr. Wilcher of "To Be a Pilgrim," the battered and unbeatable artistic genius in Gulley Jimson of "The Horse's Mouth." The same theme is present in "Prisoner of Grace," but it is muffled and blurred.

What is memorable, however, is the vision of the public man whose public self corrodes and displaces his private self and whose management of his wife is like a political maneuver; and of the pathos of their mutual torture. Cary, whose novels, quite misleadingly, have been advertised with a hint of sensationalism, is, at bottom, a formidable moralist.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON

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The Hero and the Man

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume V: Victory with the Help of France. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.

VOLUME V of the most magisterial of Washington biographies advances the narrative to the formal conclusion of the war and to the Commander-in-Chief's return, on Christmas Eve of 1783, to his home by the Potomac—"a patriot of conscious integrity and unassailable conduct who had given himself completely to the revolutionary cause and desired for himself the satisfaction of having won the approval of those whose esteem he put above every other reward." It is replete with incident and episode: Monmouth Court House, Stony Point, and Powles Hook, the unspeakably dreadful winter of 1779-80 at Morristown (even worse than the preceding one at Valley Forge), Arnold's treason, and the mutinies of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops lead up to the brilliantly executed concentration of land and sea forces at Yorktown by which the decisive victory was attained, although a long, dreary, dangerous period of inactivity ensued before peace was declared. Underlying all these events is the great theme of how Americans and French learned to collaborate as allies and even as friends.

For the eventual success and harmony of that collaboration, which was not achieved overnight, Freeman gives equal credit to Washington and to the French, especially to the noble, wise, disinterested Rochambeau, a man "careful in his words and appreciative in his judgments." His estimate of the French officers as a class, dropped inconspicuously into an appendix, is significant:

> Staff officers' and generals' day-by-day accounts are distinguished for nothing so much as the good manners they display. There is no ridicule of the ragged Continentals, no sarcasm over the inferiority of equipment and discipline, no condescension when the entries deal with tactics and siegecraft. American students . . . will be impressed by the fact that nearly all the French officers King Louis XVI sent to America were gentlemen. If they quarreled, it was among themselves. One is bound to have respect for them and for their army.

This passage, like many another, evinces Freeman's conviction that history has its educational uses. That is not so fashionable a doctrine as it used to be, but it may have something to do with my observation that Freeman's works, despite their heavy demands on one's time and attention, make a remarkably strong appeal to young men.

The foregoing remarks are by no means adequate to the rich content of this volume, but space must be found for some notice of Freeman's conception of his task as a biographer. "George Washington" will amply repay analysis by anyone interested in biographical method. For one thing, in order to keep his subject within manageable bounds, Freeman has had to differentiate rather closely between history and biography. He includes within the sphere of biography not only the development of his subject's character but also his public acts. The acts occupy most of the available space, but they are consistently presented from Washington's own angle of experience and only in their immediate context of circumstance. At any given moment the story consists only of what Washington knew and was directly concerned with. It is a delight to observe the skill with which this principle is applied throughout the biography. Much of the formal distinction of the work, which is far superior to the usual biographical-historical gallimaufry, results from it.

Mr. Freeman has also tried to distinguish between objective fact and his own interpretation of character and to keep them, as it were, pure and unmixed. In consequence, long sequences of factual narrative, in which Washington is usually present though incompletely realized, lead up to a set "character" of him at some crucial stage of his history—his resignation from the British army, his assumption of the American command, his return to civil life in 1783. In Mr. Freeman's hands the device is not inartistic, but its effect is to hold Washington at a certain distance from the reader. Mr. Freeman does not believe that a closer approach is possible. "In this research, a decade of daily study of Washington has not uncovered an instance in which it has been possible to say what he was thinking at a given moment, unless he happened himself to record the thought." Other heroes abide our question; Washington, after all that is knowable about him has been collected and scrutinized, remains free.

GEORGE GENZMER

Touchstones and Techniques

THE NATURE OF MUSIC. By Hermann Scherchen. Translated by William Mann. Henry Regnery Company. $3.75.

THE THEMATIC PROCESS IN MUSIC. By Rudolph Reti. The Macmillan Company. $5.

STRUCTURAL HEARING. By Felix Salzer. Charles Boni. $12 50.

THE impact of music is so vivid that the temptation to analyze it with precision is only natural. It is also dangerous; the essentially subjective appeal of music rarely withstands the pressure of an objective or categorical approach. Scherchen tries to give precise psychological meanings to various elements and procedures in music, and builds much of his work on a thesis elaborated in Reti's book, that of thematic transformation. This procedure—of deriving many themes from one basic theme or motif—is well known since Berlioz, and has been consciously used by many moderns, notably of the Schoenberg school. Both Scherchen and Reti, however, seeking the key to the musical universe, come up with the statement that in *all* Western music all the thematic material in any one composition is derived from a single idea. This, they say, is the basic factor which creates unity in a given piece, and distinguishes it from all others.

It turns out that both authors are dealing not with themes as such but only with their pitch relationships, isolated from meter, rhythm, tempo, harmony, and phraseology. This at once arouses some skepticism; it is hard to believe that composers would place such great store by an isolated element. And Scherchen and Reti are far from convincing; only a slight extension of their method would lead to the conclusion that all thematic material *whatsoever* is related, derived as it is from the seven tones of the scale! And even more unfortunate is the violence done to the musical meaning of passages by the way they are broken down for analysis without the slightest regard for phrase.

Even were the argument more convincing, the question would remain whether thematic relation is the major unifying element in a piece of music. In principle I would say no—no single element is; but there is also the fact that definite thematic relationships often exist between entirely different compositions. Would anyone suggest that this creates unity between them?

Reti is at his best when dealing with such well-known types of relationship as composers produce when consciously elaborating a germinal idea. He also manages to show some less easily recognized relationships, but these, while very interesting, are relatively so few that it is absurd to make any generalization from them. And the inclusion of literary ideas in an analysis of Beethoven's Fifth, complete with the "Fate" motif and a "Hook" motif of Reti's own invention, is music appreciation nonsense.

Scherchen covers a wide range of topics, and makes use of the terminology of metaphysics. I found his pontifical, ecstatic remarks tedious and misleading, and was forced to give up when solemnly assured that the inversion of a theme produces the exact effect of standing on one's head.

Salzer presents a detailed course of study based on and expounding the theories of Heinrich Schenker, the noted Viennese theoretician. It is wisely limited to the kind of music upon which

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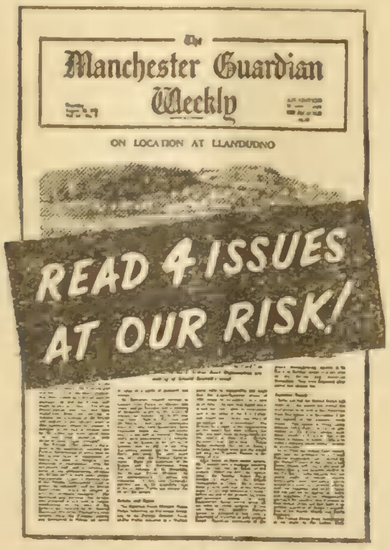

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Schenker's studies are based, and does not imply that all other harmony is invalid. Nor does it claim to explain how music is created or to have the key to its mysteries. It simply presents a technique of structural analysis which might deepen the musical understanding of both composer and performer. And this, I think, is about all a theoretician can do. Since Schenker's methods have gained a foothold in many American schools, this book, authenticated by the approval of several Schenker disciples, deserves careful consideration by music students and educators.

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Traditional harmonic theory has contented itself with labeling chords and classifying them according to their immediate affinities. Salzer's method goes a step farther and shows the relationship of individual chords to the entire piece. Some have structural significance, others are prolongations of the structural ones; some chords have harmonic import, others are merely the results of melodic movement—contrapuntal chords. This makes sense, though exception might be taken to the sharpness of demarcation; in an organic thing like an art form, functions are not so neatly divided. More surprising is Salzer's whole-hearted acceptance of traditional harmonic theory, when the very nature of his method indicates the need for its revision and broadening. He blithely discards its limitations when dealing with Hindemith, while retaining them intact to prove a point about Bach. His is a conventional and limited view of tonality, which he defines as a concept but treats throughout as a fact.

A danger lies in any attempt to use the Schenker theory as a basis for criticism. Students should be warned that theory can tell what happens but not whether what happens is good or bad. There are no yardsticks for evaluating music.

HAROLD BROWN

Canada—A Nation

CANADA: THE GOLDEN HINGE. By Leslie Roberts. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

THERE are still Americans who ask their Canadian friends: How much do you pay the Queen in taxes? or, Why don't you throw off the British yoke and join us? Some Britons, equally behind the times, still refer to Canadians as "colonials."

Leslie Roberts, a Canadian newspaperman, seeks to combat such ignorance by explaining how Canada became an independent nation and why it is rapidly assuming the status of a first-class power. His book is full of useful information and, written though it is in conscientiously breezy journalese, can be recommended to anyone planning to visit Canada as tourist or on business.

The title is derived from a rhetorical flight by Field Marshal Montgomery, who once described Canada as "a hinge between the Old World and the New; a hinge of purest gold." While adopting this metaphor Mr. Roberts is at pains to make it clear that this particular hinge is *not* to be considered an integral part of either of the two nations it links together. As he puts it:

> Canada is fastened on one side, economically and by a considerable likemindedness in many things, to the United States. On the other it is attached, by tradition and the ethnic roots of many of its people, to Britain, and by partnership to the Commonwealth. The hinge is not likely to come unscrewed on either side. But it could. It is still, in short, a separate entity.

With regard to the precious nature of the hinge, the author has no doubts. A good deal of his space is devoted to a descriptive inventory of the natural resources of his native land, and enthusiastic as he is, he can hardly be accused of exaggeration. Canada has vast forests which if harvested on a sustained-yield basis—a practice recently adopted by British Columbia—will last indefinitely. It has huge reserves of water power, while the rocky wastes of the Cambrian Shield and the tumbled mountains of British Columbia are proving the world's greatest storehouse of minerals—iron, copper, nickel, lead, zinc, petroleum, and, of course, uranium.

In the United States consumption of raw materials is outrunning native supply, compelling ever larger imports. That makes Canada a natural economic partner, but, Mr. Roberts insists, it must be partnership on equal terms. Hitherto, he feels, this country has too often given little consideration to Canadian views and needs, as, for example, in the case of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The point is well taken. However, Canadians have to realize that if the United States needs their materials, they need the American market. Their present investment boom is closely geared to the high level of industrial production in this country, which means that they would be hit hard and quickly by any serious setback.

To make the most of its natural resources, Canada needs more of another essential economic component—people. Although the population has risen 25 per cent since 1939, there are still only fourteen million people in a land greater in area than the United States including Alaska. Until this number grows sufficiently to provide a solid home market for industry, so that a larger proportion of the country's raw materials are consumed at home, Canada, for all its political independence, is likely to remain an economic colony.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Great Adventure

THE TARTAR STEPPE. By Dino Buzzati. Translated by Stuart C. Hood. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

THE men of the garrison of Fort Bastiani spend their lives guarding an unchallenged frontier. No one among them truly believes that any danger lurks on the mysterious, mist-covered Tartar Steppe which rolls below and beyond the fort; yet officers and men wait in daily expectation of some ultimate encounter which in one heroic moment will give meaning to an entire lifetime.

Meanwhile the days, months, and years slip away. Sustained by habit and routine, the men do not notice; for them the slack apathy of the present is bridged to their dimly remote and heroic future by an impeccable masquerade of military protocol. Monument to their oblivion is the fort itself, vast and mysterious in its crystalline blue void, where the sound of falling water can be mistaken for the human voice. Although prisoners of their vision, the soldiers are free of the common ties and tensions by which ordinary men are reminded of their mortality. The life of the city, vaguely remembered, holds no appeal; from their occasional sorties to a mountain village for a banquet and a bit of lovemaking they ask no more than a kind of bleak self-relief. "Miracle" is the password of the night watch; the sentry's reply is "Misery."

It is only in death that these men approach the shadow of their heroic vision. The aristocratic Angiolini achieves it by a gesture in which a fatal act of violent physical effort conceals a supreme inner indifference. Private Lazzari finds it when he reaches out spontaneously toward one living thing—a stray horse, as it happens—and so is stranded outside the fort without the day's password. He is shot down by the guard, perhaps as a double punishment.

Lieutenant Drogo has sensed the meaning of his surrender to apathy but can make no more than a feeble motion to break free. He comes to the fort as a young lieutenant, leaves as an elderly major, so debilitated by his long wait for the great adventure that when at last the enemy does come, he is no longer fit and is invalided back to the city. En route he realizes that to find new forms for the void of his existence is beyond him. Yet, mysteriously, some strength, some force returns, so that he can prepare himself without bitterness to wait alone in a strange inn for death to come in the night.

Mr. Buzzati's short novel—his second to appear here, and in an excellent translation—calls up inevitable associations: Proust, Kafka (especially "The Castle"), even "The Magic Mountain." However, this slighter book has its particular quality. Here the human dilemma is humanely conceived. Men are born into a world of immensities they may not even recognize but to which they are constantly responding with unformulated fear, hope, bafflement, much as in sleep one may sense the cold and fumble for a cover. Yet there is for each man one moment when he confronts directly his particular facet of that immensity and so redeems an otherwise paltry existence. For that one moment serves to illumine his humanity and, in Mr. Buzzati's world, mercifully to establish him in a state of earthly grace.

ADRIENNE FOULKE

Verse Chronicle

RIDGELY TORRENCE was poetry editor of the *New Republic* from 1920 to 1933. In 1941 the literary editor of that magazine asked me to review Torrence's recently published collection of poems. Remembering how helpful he had been to me during his incumbency, and knowing that others felt as I did about his courtesy, I thought the least I could do, when the review was written, was to send Mr. Torrence an advance copy. He wrote, or phoned, me, evidently in some distress, and asked me to come to see him; I found, on doing so, that he thought I had praised him much too highly, and he wished I would tone the review down.

Well, that was characteristic of him, and the republication of those poems,

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with some new ones added (Macmillan, $2), brings back the recollection, which, now that it cannot embarrass him, I should like to spread on the record. As for the poems, one can say it again: given the art, and the spirit, a poet needs only a few very simple symbols (which he may employ more than once) and a quite natural easy vocabulary to achieve pure lyric quality. The brutal, the coarse, may be less easily hurt than the gentle and good, but they have not this resilience, this ability to transcend. The light survives the scythe and the reaping.

For a while, in "The First Morning," by Peter Viereck (Scribner's, $3), one can respond with a good deal of pleasure to a new sense of composure that seems to be pervading the work of the author. The Stanzas in Love with Life and August have in them an August mellowness, for all the tricksy typographical performance attending the refrain; the title poem shines, and To Be Sung could be. But pretty soon, about halfway through the section of pastorals, the reader begins to feel so prodded, so jabbed, so goosed, so chivvied, so nagged, so hot-boxed and high-pressured, into excitement, that he begins to long for some nice good old dull Lake poet, for a Crabbe or a Barnes. Mr. Viereck, I suppose, means to expend satire rather on Eliot cults than on Eliot, but he might, even in "The Waste Land," have found a lesson: *Give, sympathize, control.* Which is anyway better than reaching, antagonizing, flying all over the place. (I warn those who will be prompted to write indignant letters to the editors that my only retort will be, they are entitled to their opinion.)

Water is a favorite subject and symbol of Kathleen Raine, author of "The Pythoness and Other Poems" (Farrar, Straus and Young, $2.50). Her work has the virtue of water, in rill-form or pool-form; no tidal waves, no great surges. The vice of water, too, at times; if not brackishness, insipidity. And now and again, it seems, the water is the tear in the eye that contemplates the self, a swimming of the vision which other times sees straight enough. There is a sensibility here, a delicacy, that falls just short of charm and grace. Let it be said, not necessarily of Miss Raine, that there is, after all, a certain pretentiousness in being "one of those rare artists who never attempt more than it is in their power to achieve." Come on, let's be human and commit a few big sprawling errors once in a while.

Yehoash was the pen name of Solomon Bloomgarden, born in Lithuania in 1870, resident in the United States from 1890 till his death in 1927. The major work of his life was the translation of the Hebrew testament into Yiddish. He also wrote original poems in that language, and these appear in a translation made by Dr. Isidore Goldstick, published in Canada by the Canadian Yehoash Committee (price $3). Dr. Goldstick's English makes the poems sound more literary than they probably did in the original, though the subjects are often literary enough. But some good drollery comes through, notably in the Fable about Fables, and The Abolition of Ritual Slaughter. The book also contains a biographical sketch by the poet's daughter, Evlin Yehoash Dworkin.

I have been asked by the editors of the *Northern Review*, published in Montreal, to call the attention of readers to another Canadian item, their issues combining Nos. 4 and 5, devoted almost entirely to the poetry of E. J. Pratt. The price is one Canadian dollar, a little more in American money. It would be most unneighborly of me to add that, in my opinion, Mr. Pratt is more grandiose than cosmic and that Canada has at least two poets much more worth making a fuss over. I mean A. M. Klein and A. J. M. Smith. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE THREAD OF LAUGHTER. By Louis Kronenberger. Knopf. $4.50. The drama critic of *Time* here offers "chapters on English stage comedy from Jonson to Maugham." A thoughtful and humane preliminary discourse on the nature of comedy is followed by analyses of several score important plays from a point of view which profitably combines that of the scholar with that of the practicing reviewer. Mr. Kronenberger's judgments are sometimes unconventional and sometimes not, but they are always persuasively stated and often wittily phrased. Though no attempt is made at complete or systematic history, the "thread" is strong enough to establish the essential unity of the comic method and to make it clear that Congreve and Shaw have actually more in common than perhaps Shaw would be willing to admit. The malicious, the satiric, and the directly didactic elements are differently proportioned by different writers, but all the elements are usually

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present. A sound and entertaining book based upon lectures originally given at Brandeis University and the Graduate School at Columbia.

THE RESTORATION COMEDY OF WIT. By Thomas H. Fujimura. Princeton. $4. Everybody knows that when the word "wit" is used in connection with seventeenth-century poetry its meaning is different from that most current today. The difference is less great between this current meaning and what was meant at the end of the century, when the Restoration comedy was called "witty." But for that very reason the difference is more often overlooked. This wide-ranging study traces many of the various meanings and illustrates as well as analyzes both just what the Restoration writer did mean by the word and just why what he most admired sometimes seems to us less effective than it did to him. A technical study of a very specialized subject, the book should nevertheless be useful to anyone interested in the precise definition of a term which has meant so many different things.

VICTORIAN SAMPLERS: WILLIAM AND MARY HOWITT. By Carl Ray Woodring. University of Kansas Press. $4. The lives of William and Mary Howitt were intimately bound up with the major issues which agitated nineteenth-century British philanthropists. They wrote, tirelessly, for the annuals and the quarterlies, making money out of them and out of pamphlets, tracts, books about nature, and pseudo-Wordsworthian poetry. Mary Howitt translated some of the tales of Hans Christian Andersen. William Howitt was one of the early champions of Whitman. Of their vast spate of prose and poetry all that is remembered today is Mary's poem "The Spider and the Fly." Born upper-middle-class Quakers, their spiritual curiosity led them away from strict adherence to the discipline of the Friends into flirtations with spiritualism and with Rome. Mary Howitt became a Roman Catholic in her old age. They knew almost everyone of any literary, scientific, or philanthropic importance in Victorian England, and also in Scandinavia, the United States, and Italy. This study fits them into their respectable niches in the history of nineteenth-century culture. Unhappily it suffers from a defect common to American undertakings of this kind: it is almost unreadable. The facts have been digested—although one would like more awareness on Dr. Woodring's part of what must have been an intense spiritual travail—but they are crowded one upon another with little sense of proportion. It is disappointing that so intelligently assembled a book should turn out to be a work of reference when it might have been an important and delightful biography.

PLAGIARISM AND ORIGINALITY. By Alexander Lindey. Harper. $5. This exhaustive study of plagiarism and copyright infringement will be useful to the author, artist, composer, editor, and publisher. It will also interest the general public as a sprightly compendium of literary thefts and borrowings, and of the fascinating court cases that have resulted.

CONTRIBUTORS

MARIANNE MOORE published her "Collected Poems" last year.

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ADRIENNE FOULKE has done translations of French and Italian books, among them Elsa Morante's "House of Liars," published last year.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"LIMELIGHT" gives us something different in Chaplin, who barehanded has produced, written, directed, starred in, and scored the entire picture. The film deals quite dourly with the joys and sorrows that go into seeking theatrical success and is an ideal subject for the world's first funny man, whose naivete is such that he must always have the center of the stage—whether as Chaplin the private citizen or Chaplin the great panto. It is not coincidental that the movie is a portrait of a famous tramp-clown at the end of his career, and that the waif whom he rescues from suicide and paralysis bears a striking physical resemblance to Oona O'Chaplin. What is new and good about the film is Chaplin's acting: he has given up the travesty of characterization and is doing a wonderful parlor game of charades—pantomiming, among other things, drunken walking, a tiny man trying to carry an unconscious girl up a

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The following is a partial list of titles of articles, many by well known scholars and experts in their respective fields, which already have appeared in *The Chicago Jewish Forum.*

The Racial Factor in American History . . . Problems of Modern Immigration . . . The Negro in the United States . . . The American Slavs . . . Occupational Patterns of American Jewry . . . The Navaho Tragedy . . . The Anti-Semitism of Richard Wagner . . . Southwestern Shame . . . The Jewish Intellectual in Paris . . . Racial Discrimination in Employment . . . and others.

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narrow flight of stairs, left-handed violin playing, the flight of two trained fleas, a rock, a Chinese tree, and crazy-ballet dancing. For once, Chaplin's powerful personal traits don't conflict with his screen role, since at best he is playing a sort of neutralized version of himself.

The movie opens on a bit of Sennett-type business with the kind of mat lighting found on dignified English Christmas cards: A tipsy has-been clown named Calvero teeters down a London street and has trouble hitting the keyhole with his apartment-house key (the drunk act continues through the first three reels though he never takes a drink). Once inside the coldly lit flat, the "age makes way for youth" tale becomes laughless as Chaplin attempts to inspire the beautiful, chalky, hysterical paralytic (Claire Bloom) to go on living. This portion of the film suffers most from overwriting, dividing it from subsequent action, and manages only to keep pace with current politicians in its use of unrelieved exhortation and big, empty words. Lines like "I must have truth, Truth, TRUTH—and, if possible, a little dignity" come out as though they had brackets around them, giving the mechanical, bridging effect of old silent film titles. All sentimental stops are pulled out; but the whole is toughened by a succession of vaudeville skits which turn up whenever the clown snoozes. In these you see Chaplin playing a new, devilish tramp with nasoid singing voice and a frisky, aggressive dancing style.

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The second half of "Limelight" moves into a London theater where the best ballet dancing recorded on celluloid (Melissa Hayden) alternates with some primitively grouped shimmy acts that go straight back to the veiled dancing in "Intolerance." Meanwhile the story hits climax after climax as the clown sinks into oblivion and the girl rises to the heights of Markova and Danilova.

Throughout, Chaplin's comedy-drama doesn't produce one belly laugh, but hardly a gesture in it lacks grace, point, or perfection. A master at getting the effect he wants into the camera's eye, he can conquer you with anything from a throttled, straining sound in his throat to a silly smile. While I've never been convinced of the humanity in the pathetic tramp, the krauty dictator, or the dapper murderer Chaplin enacted in earlier films, here pleasure and warmth spread a likable emotion over his pantomime, so that you accept things as hackneyed as the flower-eating, or as dim-witted as the burlesque gags. Even with the over-wise-human flavor, there is a mixture of glee, pomp, absurdity, and power adding a knife edge. Chaplin has a greedy, mean way of cracking a whip that seems the end in foolish cruelty; he can gasp and slip under the burden of lifting a girl so as to rib the entire business of doing a kind deed; and he charms you out of your seat with anatomical details: a wide, loose grin or the Mephistophelean eyebrows of his tramp mask.

For the sophisticates who want to find fault with the film, many errors lie in the vaguely primitive technique. You can start with the cutting (much too little in the first half) and end with the background music (a tenderizing of Tchaikowsky, Gershwin, and Jolson), finding the same naive technique operating in most of the departments. The process-screened backgrounds are stiff; the camera man takes no short cuts. But the chances are that you will be more delighted by "Limelight" than by any of the other Chaplin films. In the interim between his earliest two-reelers and the present movie the artist has traveled a complete circle, finally arriving back at his first and best medium, vaudeville.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE authors of "In Any Language" (Cort Theater) had a bright idea to begin with. A Hollywood star, Hannah King, who has so far wasted herself, or so she believes, on fabulously successful, expensive, and trashy American films, goes to Rome to lay her talents at the feet of a great Italian director for whom film-making is an art and not a business. She gets the job—as the prostitute in a film with some such title as "The Little Chestnut Vendor"—but in the end her illusions about Italian film-making and about herself as another Magnani have faded and she heads back for Hollywood. The situation has amusing possibilities and they are duly explored; but few are realized and then only by desperate and distracting effort on the part of everyone concerned. The play gets some fun out of the idea that a film is art only if it is made on a shoestring with non-actors; it ribs the current automatic awe for foreign films, good, bad, or indifferent, and the equally automatic condescension to Hollywood; and, cutting the other way, it points up the pretensions and naivete of the Hollywood star and makes sport of Hollywood methods. Many of the lines are good, but many are bad and some are vulgar besides. The play as a whole never gets off the ground. It begins to move only in the second scene of the second act and dies on its feet in the middle of the third.

Uta Hagen, as Hannah King, tries valiantly to inject life and reality into the part, but the characterization as written is so haphazard and diffuse and vague that it defeats all her efforts. And then too I think comedy is not her forte. She is accomplished but limited, and she is best in serious and straightforward parts. But I suppose that just as comedians always want to play Hamlet, "straight" actors always want to prove that they can be comedians too.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AS WITH the Glyndebourne Festival "Così Fan Tutte" a year ago, so with the Glyndebourne Festival "Idomeneo" this year: the HMV LP record gives us not the entire work but only a few wonderful excerpts, omitting others (e. g., Electra's last aria), and gives them to us torn out of context like the "bleeding chunks" torn out of Wagner, and with historical information and a confusing summary instead of the words that would enable the listener to know what the excerpts are about (why HMV should provide all the words of "Dido and Aeneas" and none of "Idomeneo" is something the ordinary non-record-company mind is incapable of figuring out). This is the more regrettable since the performance—by virtue of the beauty and style of the singing by Sena Jurinac, Dorothy MacNeil, Richard Lewis, and Alexander Young, the work of the chorus and orchestra, and the conducting of Fritz Busch—achieves an impressive stature, power, and authority that are lacking in the Haydn Society's recording of the entire work. The recorded sound is excellent.

Outstanding among opera recordings of the year is London's complete "Pelléas et Mélisande." The Golaud and Arkel, Heinz Rehfuss and André Vessières, lack the power and weight of voice they should have; but Pierre Mollet is a superb Pelléas and Suzanne Danco has a more beautiful voice than Irène Joachim of the RCA Victor version. Above all the recorded sound has not only the present-day London voluminous spaciousness and distinctness that the ten-year-old Victor version lacks, but a balance which allows the wonderful orchestral part—excellently performed by Ansermet with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande—to be heard clearly with the voices that blanket it in the Victor version. I must add, however, that the violins are reproduced with agreeable fullness of sonority, but not with the clear, warm radiance that one hears, for example, in the Victor recording of Toscanini's performance of the Brahms Fourth. The complete French text and English translation are provided.

Gluck's "Alceste" has been issued by Oceanic, with the title role sung impressively by Ethel Semser except when the music climbs to the high range in which her voice is unpleasantly tremulous and shrill. The Admète is an Italian, Enzo Seri, who sings beautifully but distorts some of the French vowels; the rest of the cast (with the exception of the soprano soloist in Act 2) and the Paris Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus are very good; and René Leibowitz's direction is excellent. So is the recorded sound, except for a hash around *Divinités du Styx* at the end of a side.

Mahler's Fourth Symphony, a charming and lovely work in which the operation of Mahler's mind is unfailingly interesting despite its long-windedness, is on a London record performed by Van Beinum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra and Margaret Ritchie, soprano. The brisk performances of the first two movements are less effective than Bruno Walter's relaxed treatment of them on the Columbia record; in addition the recorded sound of the Concertgebouw violins is excessively veiled and, if one turns up the treble, edged; and these defects are not, for me, outweighed by Miss Ritchie's lovelier singing in the last movement.

London also offers a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in which Kleiber conducts the Vienna Philharmonic, the Singverein of the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and a solo quartet comprising Hilde Gueden, Sieglinde Wagner, Anton Dermota, and Ludwig Weber. I prefer not to wait for the arrival of the Victor recording of Toscanini's performance, and to report the impressions made on me by the Kleiber performance heard and considered by itself. What has struck me as I have listened is not so much the lethargic pace of the first movement, and the occasional slowing down even in that pace (e. g., measures 28-31), as the lack of continuity of impetus from one note to the next and cohesive tension between one note and the next, and the consequent failure to make of the succession of notes a progression with cumulative excitement and power. In the third movement the florid violin passages, and in the finale the recitatives of the cellos and basses are played not only without cohesive continuity and tension but with almost no inflection; and a lack of intensity amounting almost to perfunctoriness makes the Andante maestoso *Seid umschlungen* of the finale not majestic, and the entire movement unimpressive. An additional surprise is the recorded sound, which is clear but without the voluminous spaciousness of the sound of London's "Swan Lake" and "Pelléas," and which in the last movement is occasionally defective in balance: the men of the chorus sound too far away from the women in the Andante maestoso, the excellent soloists too far away in their last Poco Adagio.

The two early Haydn symphonies on a Lyrichord record—Nos. 54 (1774) and 70 (1779)—I find only occasionally and mildly interesting. With them is what is alleged to be the lost companion piece to Mozart's "Paris" Symphony, namely the short and moderately engaging "Paris" Overture K.311a. The performances by Swarowsky with the Chamber Orchestra of the Vienna State Academy of Music are good; so is the recorded sound, with bass and treble reduced.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Ex-Communist "Liberal"

Dear Sirs: I have just read Why They Voted for McCarthy, by H. H. Wilson, in your September 24 issue. I feel that it cuts through the super-sophistication of liberals whose political philosophy is a response to an earlier disillusionment with communism rather than to the needs of our society. Congratulations on one of the finest articles to appear in *The Nation* in recent years.

Detroit NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Why Students Quit

Dear Sirs: At a recent American Civil Liberties Union meeting in New York, one of your contributors, H. H. Wilson, recited the following parody of I Am the Very Model of a Modern Major General from the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta "The Pirates of Penzance":

I

I am the very model of a member of the faculty,
Because I'm simply overcome with sentiments of loyalty.
I daily think of reasons why I'm glad to be American.
The thoughts I think are only thoughts approved by my community.
I pledge allegiance to the flag at every opportunity.
I haven't had a thing to do with Communist conspirators.
And neither have my relatives, descendants, or progenitors
I try to keep away from propositions controversial;
I've no opinions social, politic, or commercial.
And so you see that I must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

Chorus

And so you see that he must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

II

I'm qualified to educate in matters of heredity,
Unsullied by the taint of any doctrinaire rigidity.
I teach the Darwin theory with valuation critical.
Uninfluenced by dogmatists, religious or political.
I understand the economic forces that have made us great,
The system of free enterprise I do not underestimate.
I'm well equipped objectively to point out flaws in Marxist thought,
Because I've never read his work: and rest assured I'll not.
I freely follow truth in ways which I am sure will satisfy
The Board of Regents, William Hearst, and Hoover of the FBI.
And so you see that I must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

Chorus

And so you see that he must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

I think that this parody sums up pretty well the reasons why a number of students recently dropped out of the University of Southern California in protest against the dismissal of one of their instructors, Janet Stevenson [see *The Nation's* letters column of October 4].

New York EDWARD C. WHITMAN

The Group Basis of Politics

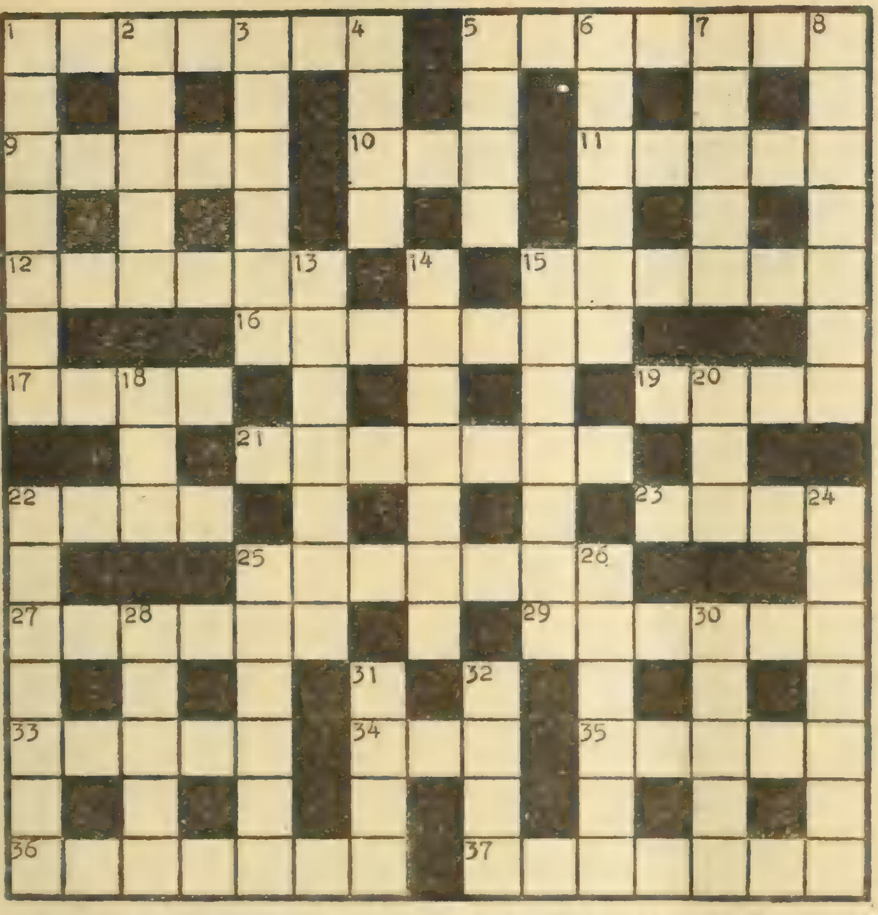
Dears Sirs: The last paragraph of Mr. Riddle's review of my book in the August 16 issue of *The Nation* needs correction in two respects. First, those who are familiar with the literature will find unacceptable his statement that "little has been added to the theory of the group basis of politics since Bentley in 1908." Although "little" is not a very precise measure, it would seem that more than little contributions to such theory have been made by Dewey, Lynd, McIver, Merton, Beard, Binkley, Bailey, Elliott, Fainsod, Fischer, Herring, Leiserson, Merriam, Schattschneider, and Truman. David Truman's "The Governmental Process" is an especially notable statement.

Second, although printing the title correctly would seem to be elementary procedure in a review, the title which appears at the head of the review is a shortened and therefore misleading version. The full title is "The Group Basis of Politics: A Study in Basing-Point Legislation," and it correctly labels the contents as a monograph and not a general work on political theory as the truncated title would seem to suggest.

Amherst, Mass. EARL LATHAM

Crossword Puzzle No. 487

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 15 across.
5 Aeronautical smiths? (7)
9 . . . while this smith was Lewis' doctor. (5)
10 and 32 down. Correlative relatives in Virginia. (7)
11 Take this to hide, and sometimes hide with books or balls. (5)
12 Fish responsible for a neat dish?
15 and 1 across. What the duck raiser hopes to produce? (Keeping them there was a post-war problem!) (4, 2, 3, 4)
16 Are cans what Richard went to chase? (7)
17 Rank of one who secures things?
19 and 21. Water prescribed by the veterinarian? (4, 7)
22 See 20 down.
23 Distort what is sometimes associated with a canine sound. (4)
25 Craftsman, or how craft might be secured. (7)
27 The loser in a disputed election; however, if tried in court, he might easily have won. (6)
29 Flower some might pronounce a laggard? (6)
33 See 4 down.
34 and 26 down. Fuss with food? You'd love to have it! (9)
35 Gave out? Quite the opposite in the wrong order. (5)
36 A comedian might be tried and true.
37 Cattle affliction caused by motion?

DOWN

1 Passage studied in the survey course? (7)
2 Tolstoi called it the force that welds men together. (5)
3 and 18. Its position is desperate! (2, 4, 3)
4, 33 across, 31, 30, and 5 down. Why Siva would prove of assistance in case of power failure? (4, 5, 4, 5, 4)
5 See 4 down.
6 How they travel slowly in Korea?
7 That part of Fifth Avenue which might come in handy in case of an air raid? (5)
8 Unusual formation of garnets. (7)
13 One can't say he doesn't have any oars! (7)
14 1½ is the average for automobiles or boxes. (7)
15 Bare. (7)
18 See 3 down.
20 and 22 across. Mobile fashion? (1, 2, 4)
22 Having a counterpart equipped with a light? (7)
24 Impressionable. (7)
25 A girl, perhaps for each boy. (6)
26 See 34 across.
28 Ruler of the waves? (5)
30 and 31. See 4 down.

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 486

ACROSS:—1 RESIDUE; 5 COBBLER; 9 CHIPPER; 10 ANTLERS; 11 THE BILL OF RIGHTS; 12 LASCARS; 13 DIGESTS; 14 MIDYEAR; 17 INVENTS; 20 AIRCRAFT CARRIER; 21 DWINDLE; 22 SIGNORA; 23 RIGGERS; 24 DASHERS.

DOWN:—1 RECITAL; 2 SHINERS; 3 DUPLICATE BRIDGE; 4 ENROLLS; 5 CHAFFED; 6 BATTING AVERAGES; 7 LEECHES; 8 RESISTS; 14 MEANDER; 15 DARNING; 16 RAFTERS; 17 INCISED; 18 NOISOME; 19 STREAKS.

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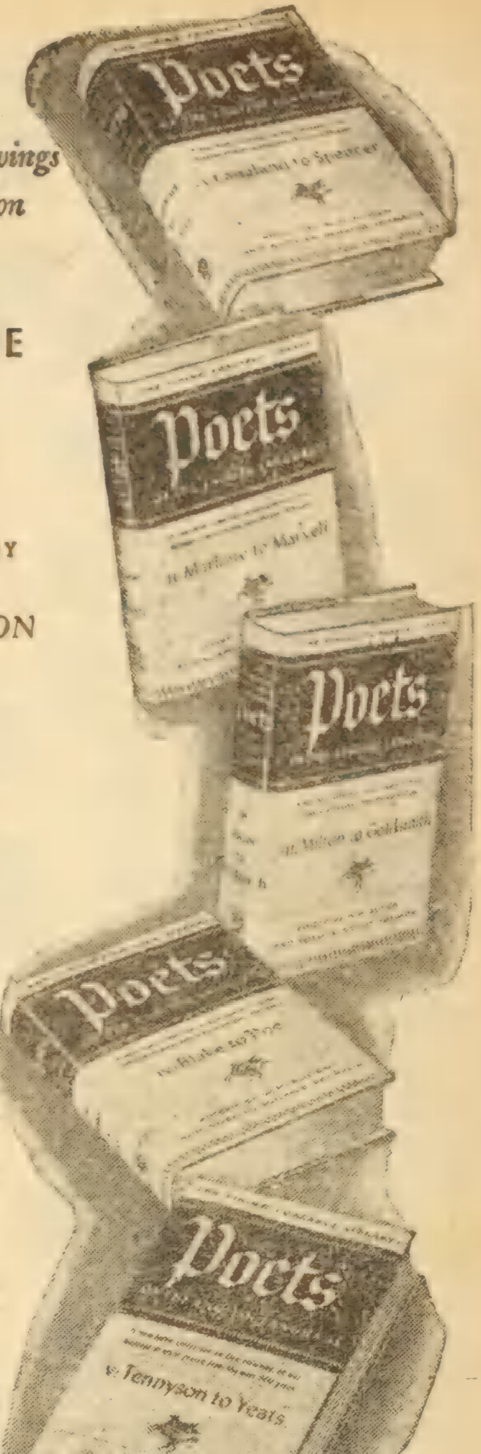

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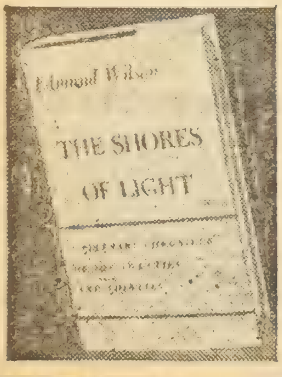

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THE Nation

November 1, 1952

Ike at Home and Abroad

He Lets Europe Down

BY MARK GAYN

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*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Boston's Battle of the Books

Boston

ON SEPTEMBER 23 the Boston *Post* fired the opening shot of a battle of the books that was to last almost two weeks. An unsigned column on the *Post's* front page informed its readers that the *New World Review*, "now required reading for all members of the Communist Party," was on the shelves of the Boston Public Library, but would not be, it added cheerfully, "for long." As it turned out, the *Post's* optimism had little foundation. Banner headlines, front-page editorials, and startling "revelations" of the library's contents have so far failed to shake the Marxist publications off the shelves.

The *Post's* campaign against the library began slowly. When the editors realized that their discovery of the *New World Review* in the library's periodical room was not going to induce Milton E. Lord, the library's director, to remove it, they demanded that the library "label the poison." Next a *Post* reporter found that the library did not have a copy of Senator Joe McCarthy's book, "McCarthyism—the Fight for America," which the *Post* was publishing in serial form. That offered an opportunity to blow up the crusade to headline proportions. Library officials said later that the book was on order, but its absence enabled the paper to work up some temporary excitement.

Succeeding *Post* articles, always unsigned, revealed that the library not only carried the *New World Review* but also the Russian newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and books by Lenin and Stalin. They declared, further, that the library actually urges people to read Communist publications; an exhibit advertising the adult-education program of the Great Books Foundation displayed the "Communist Manifesto" in a glass case. As a matter of fact the case contained similar paper-back editions of many other books, including plays by Euripides and selections from the "Aeneid" and from the Bible. The *Post* reporter saw only the "Manifesto."

Opposition to the campaign against the library was voiced by the Boston *Herald*. (The *Herald* is probably best known to *Nation* readers for its 1926 editorial, entitled "We Submit," in which the editors requested that the evidence in the Sacco-Vanzetti case be reviewed.) In two editorials the *Herald* defended the library on the ground that the American people must sift out the truth for themselves. Besides, if you have an enemy, the paper pointed out, it is a good idea to know what he is doing and thinking. The *Herald* said it was against "labeling" either books or periodicals.

With many capital letters blackened into bold-face type, the *Post's* new owner, John Fox, retaliated in a signed, front-page editorial. He warned his readers against "THE THING which is known as COMMUNISM," which to him means "the rape and prostitution of our women . . .; the slavery of our citizens . . .; the merciless extermination of our educated . . .; the extermination of all our religious—priests, ministers, rabbis, nuns." For these four sins, according to the *Post*, God must forgive the Communists, but for the fifth—"the seizing of the minds of our little children . . . THEY MUST BE DESTROYED."

This bogus religious appeal was probably directed toward the less informed Catholic opinion in the city, but Mr. Fox was rebuked almost at once by the *Pilot*, organ of the Archdiocese. The *Pilot* said that the church opposes library censorship, but it recommended that Communist publications be kept off the open shelves so as not to "confuse and confound the casual reader"—a policy already followed by the library.

Support for the library was also offered by the Back Bay Ministers' Association, the executive board of the New England Library Association, and a group of employees of the library.

Meanwhile the *Post* had collected allies. Two of the five trustees of the library, Judge Frank J. Donahue of the Massachusetts Superior Court and Patrick F. McDonald, president of the Archdiocesan Council of the National Catholic Laymen's League, said they were unaware of the presence of the *New World Review* in the library and intended to take steps to have it and other Communist publications removed. Mr. McDonald had earlier opposed the library's acquisition of Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power" on the ground that it was anti-Catholic. Mayor Hynes said he would recommend that pro-Soviet publications be placed in a separate file and marked pro-Communist. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion agreed that "subversive" publications should be banned. The City Council began to wonder what it had been appropriating money for. The result was a hearing before the council's Committee on Appropriations and Finance.

At the hearing it was evident that the library Board of Trustees was split. Mr. McDonald was in favor of banning Communist literature. The chairman of the board, Lee M. Friedman, a Boston lawyer, quoted from the American Library Association's Bill of Rights to support Mr. Lord's refusal to ban or label publications. Mr. Lord told the committee that in a period of twenty years only two books had been barred from the library and these only because state law forbade their circulation. "Strange Fruit" had been judged obscene by the courts, and "The Autobiography of Margaret Sanger" was not permitted to circulate in Massachusetts because it dealt with birth control. The committee postponed action.

On Friday, October 3, the trustees voted three to two to keep the offending publications but to see that "the material in the library shall not be misused for wrongful propaganda purposes to the injury of our country." They did not say how this should be done, but they came out strongly against censorship.

Then a *Post* reporter discovered a category in the subject file headed "Propaganda, Russian," and triumphantly announced that for all its brave words the library had in fact labeled pro-Communist books. He implied that the librarians had been secretly placing cards in this category during the campaign, though actually certain books had always been so classified to guide people interested in studying Russian propaganda. Since this last mistake, the *Post's* campaign has quieted down, and the library intends no change in policy.

EMILY WESTON

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

A Republican Myth

Those who are perpetuating the legend that President Truman has accused General Eisenhower of anti-Semitism are doing a distinct disservice to the Jewish community and to the country at large. In the first place they are obscuring the central issue in the dispute between the President and the General—the character of the McCarran Immigration Act. Secondly, they are making it appear that the act is bad because it is primarily anti-Jewish. Finally, they are distorting the facts, for the President's message to the Jewish Welfare Board did not accuse the General of bigotry. What Mr. Truman did was to emphasize the discriminatory aspects of the McCarran act and point to Eisenhower's willing collaboration with those who forced its passage over his veto.

The General's last-minute statement that "we must strike from our statute books any legislation concerning immigration that employs the blasphemy against democracy that only certain groups of Europeans are welcome on the American scene," does not alter the fact that when President Truman vetoed the bill the Republicans in the Senate voted four to one to override his veto, and in the House, seven to one. Leading the fight to override the veto were Senators Taft, Nixon, McCarthy, and Jenner, whom General Eisenhower now numbers among his "team."

The Facts in the Case

A new low in campaign expediency was struck when the pro-Eisenhower press and Governor Dewey tried to imply that certain elements, primarily the Jews, had made a group issue of this affair. The truth is that few Jews remain in the countries discriminated against under the act; Hitler took care of them. Virtually all leading Jewish organizations, to their honor, based their objections to the act on its un-American character. The chief opposition has come from Italians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, Armenians, Chinese. It has also been opposed by representative church, labor, and civic bodies, among them the Protestant National Council of Churches, the National Lutheran Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the Unitarian Service Committee, the National Council of Catholic Charities, the C. I. O., the I. L. G. W. U., the N. A. A. C. P., the A. D. A., the Liberal Party, and the Committee to Improve the United States Immigration Law.

Rabbi Silver's defense of General Eisenhower as a private individual is a matter of personal conscience. One wonders, however, whether he anticipated the political capital now being made out of his attitude by the Republicans—beginning with Governor Dewey, who persists in repeating the false charge that Mr. Truman imputed bigotry to the General.

Time Is on Bevan's Side

Nearly fifty Labor M. P.'s sat on their hands during the test of strength last week between the official leadership and the Bevanite "rebels." Even so, former Prime Minister Attlee won a substantial victory when by 188 to 51 the Parliamentary Labor Party passed a resolution requiring "immediate abandonment of all group organizations within the party, other than those officially recognized," and calling for an end of personal attacks by members on each other. Should the Bevanites ignore this order they will face expulsion.

It seems likely, however, that they will comply to the extent of disbanding such formal organization as they have rather than risk an open split in the party, especially as such a split would encourage the Tories to call a general election. Whether the ugly exchanges of personal abuse will also cease depends on restraint on both sides. For while the name-calling may have been started by the Bevanites, the right wing has recently been replying in kind and with interest.

While the Bevanite caucus may disappear, Bevanism is not likely to die. It has flourished not merely through effective organization—although that helped—but because it provided an outlet for a genuine wave of left-wing opinion among the most active elements in the party. Moreover, time is on its side. Already growing economic pressures have proved Bevan's point that the rearmament program was too heavy to be borne. In addition, the desire to break loose from America's leading-strings seems to be steadily growing among Britons in general.

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Whether this becomes a tidal wave of opinion depends, perhaps, less on anything Bevan may say, than on what the next Administration in Washington does. Continued pressure on Britain to cut East-West trade still further, combined with a reduction in economic aid and a refusal to revise the tariff, might well stimulate "neutralism" in Britain and make Bevan a national prophet instead of merely a left-wing hero.

Trouble in Kenya

New terroristic acts attributed to the Mau Mau secret society, the background of which is explained by George W. Shepherd, Jr., in an article on page 407, have led to the proclamation of a state of emergency in the British East African colony of Kenya. In addition, white settlers are being encouraged to arm themselves and detachments of regular troops have been flown to the scene.

There is no doubt that the Mau Mau movement, even if its size and influence have been exaggerated, does represent a challenge to the colonial authorities. It appears to have been responsible for some forty murders in recent months and for numerous beatings, acts of arson, cattle maimings, and other crimes. But police measures alone will provide no solution. As the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttelton, acknowledged during a debate in the House of Commons, the causes of the outbreak include land famine and social problems. The Kikuyu tribe, to which most of the terrorists belong, has grown in the last fifty years from 50,000 to 1,000,000 and during this period all the best land in Kenya has been taken for the benefit of white settlers.

Mr. Shepherd refers to the fear that, instead of instituting needed reforms, the government will use the Mau Mau emergency as an excuse to crack down on all native "agitators." On October 21, nearly a hundred Africans were arrested under an emergency order permitting detention without trial. They include Joma Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African Union, who has frequently denounced the Mau Mau, and numerous other native leaders, trade-union officials, journalists, and teachers, together with, as the London *Times* correspondent puts it, "common ruffians." Such dragnet methods strengthen the suspicion that the authorities aim at wholesale suppression of all organizations dedicated to advance African interests and may well serve to convert Mau Mau into a mass movement.

The Incurable Defect

The House Committee on Un-American Activities ran into some stormy political weather in its recent Los Angeles hearings to which some sixty-one witnesses were summoned. A fair example of the answers which were given to nearly every question regarding political beliefs and affiliations may be found in the reply of one witness: "I am not going to serve the purposes of this committee. I do not have to answer the accusations of stool pigeons. I do not have to answer the accusations of this committee and I refuse to do so." That so many of the witnesses were well-known and widely respected doctors and lawyers doubtless accounts for the distinctly unfavorable reception accorded the committee and for the fact that the hearings were abruptly adjourned until after the election. The public reaction was also influenced by such groups as the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which is now preparing a recording of highlights of the hearings, and Women for Legislative Action, which protested similar investigations at an all-day conference on October 5 attended by 200 delegates representing a broad cross-section of community organizations.

In the past, criticism of the Un-American Activities Committee has focused on methods rather than purpose and for this reason has not been particularly effective. The committee has readily promised to improve its behavior but, as Alan Barth has pointed out, its incurable defect is "rooted in the purpose for which [it] was created and in the concept that Congress may properly punish, by publicity, activities which it cannot constitutionally declare criminal."

The Kutcher Decision

The United States Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, has held that mere membership in an organization listed as "subversive" does not constitute sufficient ground for the discharge of a government employee. Handed down in the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who held a minor clerical position in the Newark office of the Veterans' Administration, the decision represents the first legal setback the government has received in an individual case since the loyalty program was established.

The Loyalty Review Board from its inception has taken the position that membership in a listed organization made dismissal mandatory. The court has now said that mere membership, in the absence of other evidence, does not justify dismissal. In effect the decision shifts primary responsibility for the determination of loyalty back to the administrator or department head—where it belongs. In this instance, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs must determine "the ultimate issue as to whether on all the evidence reasonable grounds exist for the belief that Kutcher is disloyal." In view of this decision and the Supreme Court's ruling in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case that organizations cannot be listed as subversive without notice and a hearing, the present list should be set aside. Otherwise the government will be in the untenable position of maintaining an illegal official "blacklist" and thus gravely undermining freedom of political association. Until it is formally abandoned, the list will continue to work grave injustice on a great many citizens of whom only a few have ever been government employees.

Idaho and the U. N.

One of the few strictly anti-United Nations campaigns of this election is being waged in Idaho, home of the late isolationist leader Senator William E. Borah. Getting the "U. S. out of the U. N.," is the principal plank in Republican Representative John T. Wood's program for reelection from Idaho's First District. Wood, who ran for mayor of his home town on the Socialist ticket some years ago, has the dubious distinction of being one of the three largest users of the Congressional franking privilege. He has gained this distinction by mailing out thousands of pieces of anti-United Nations material. Typical of his attitude on the U. N. is the statement: "Show me an internationalist and I'll show you a traitor." His Democratic opponent, Mrs. Gracia Pfost, lost to Wood two years ago by 783 votes. She is campaigning this year on a pro-United Nations platform. The outcome of this fight should be a fairly accurate gauge of sentiment in this last isolationist stronghold in the Inter-Mountain West.

Smearing the U. N.

THE purge of the United Nations staff is rapidly assuming a serious political character. As part of the obstinate attempt to defeat Governor Stevenson on the Communist issue, the strategists of the Republican Party have dragged the question of Communist infiltration in the United Nations into the final phase of the Presidential campaign. Leading hatchet men of the "crusade," Senator McCarthy and Whittaker Chambers, were moved up to the firing line to bolster the charge that some of the "suspects" had been appointed to their posts in the U. N. with the help of Governor Stevenson and the "Hiss clique" of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. To the Old Guard front fighters it mattered little that the General Assembly was in session and that any assault on the independence of the United Nations would be deeply resented by the majority of the delegations. Even General Eisenhower took part in the game by demanding in his Boston speech "that our government take action to get rid of Americans of questionable loyalty who are connected with the United Nations." And it is a foregone conclusion that Senator McCarthy will use the McCarran committee's smear of the U. N. as part of his carefully planned attempt to pin the red label on Governor Stevenson in the final week of the campaign, thereby establishing himself as a leading contender for the Republican nomination in 1956.

Until now the United Nations has been staffed by persons appointed by the organization itself, not by the United States government; today its independence is in the balance. As Mr. del Vayo said in his article, For a Free United Nations, on October 11, "the crux of the problem is whether or not the Secretary General considers the United Nations a sovereign institution." If he does, he need not seek the advice of the "group of eminent jurists selected from several U. N. countries" as he promised to do last week. He need only reread the Charter and, if necessary, glance over the Staff Rules, to which few people nowadays refer. Rule 6 says textually: "They [staff members] are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions." The only limitation is contained in Rule 56, which provides: "No persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities or connections with fascism or Nazism."

According to the Charter and the Staff Rules, a Communist staff member is not subject to expulsion unless he engages in political activities within the U. N. So far neither Trygve Lie nor the McCarran committee has produced the slightest proof of such activities on the part of any of the persons charged with subversion. What is happening is very obscure, and Mr. Lie obviously owes an explanation to his staff and to the public. Meanwhile his apparent willingness to cooperate with the McCarran committee plays directly into the hands of the Republican "crusaders." Perhaps *this* is a political action to which exception might be taken under the rules of the U. N.

No Time for Quibbles

AS THIS issue goes to press, it appears that the outcome of the election may well be determined by the independent vote in certain key states—namely, in California, Illinois, and New York. These states may swing either way and in all of them the independent vote is large. Of major importance will be the manner in which the 190,381 votes Wallace received in California in 1948 and the 509,559 votes he got in New York will be cast on November 4.

Although independent progressives should have little difficulty in making up their minds about this election, many are apparently still undecided. Some of them have understandable objections to important aspects of the Truman Administration and bitterly resent its tendency to yield ground to its critics which, as experience has shown, cannot easily be recaptured. But they should not permit their thinking to be swayed by the memory of past grievances when the immediate realities are so urgent.

The issues we consider of decisive importance were analyzed in the feature What You Lose if Eisenhower Wins, published on October 18, and also in the article by D. F. Fleming printed last week, showing that a victory for Eisenhower would accelerate the drift to war. As the campaign has developed, it has become clear that the Republicans intend not merely to check any extension of the welfare program but to reverse, if possible, the social gains of the Roosevelt decades. Since the conventions, and certainly since mid-September, the Republican campaign has been of a character to disillusion nearly every category of independent voter. Mark Gayn, who in June reported that Europe favored Ike, on page 402 of this issue reports Europe's disenchantment with its liberator-turned-politician. We would like to believe that the European change of heart reflects a similar shift in this country.

We would call attention, also, to Lloyd Tupling's account, on page 404, of the dramatic fight of the private-power interests to stop the Hell's Canyon project in Idaho, with its reference to the agreement between Governor Len Jordan and General Eisenhower on the question of public power. The article, it seems to us, has a larger relevance than a first reading might suggest. The story of the private-power lobby's skilful use of the "dynamic lie" to defeat this project suggests the source of the Republican Party's public-relations talent. Mr. Tupling's article is also enlightening about still larger issues. The fatal effect of a Republican victory on Hell's Canyon will almost certainly be felt by many similar projects and, indeed, by all welfare programs. These consequences point up the real differences between the two parties and the two candidates more eloquently than any detailed comparison of platforms or statements.

Again, some independent voters seem to have permitted their distaste for the Democratic Party, as an organization, to influence them too strongly. To these voters we would say that the Democratic Party of 1952 is not the Democratic Party of 1948: the Dixiecrats have largely withdrawn, the city machines have shown little enthusiasm for the Democratic nominees, and the Democratic ticket has obtained the support of a significant number of liberal Republicans including Senator Wayne Morse. While the Old Guard was never more solidly in possession of the Republican Party, the influence of the "interests" was never less in the Democratic. Independent voters should vote, not with an eye to past defeats but to future opportunities. The process of political realignment has been accelerated by this campaign; and to the extent that the McCarrans and the Byrds have deserted the ticket, independent progressives should find it that much easier to vote Democratic this year. Governor Stevenson has insisted again and again in the campaign that this is a "time for greatness"; and precisely because the issues are so important and the demand for great leadership so urgent, we ask voters to recognize that there is a clear choice between the candidates and the parties and to cast their ballots for the Democratic nominees.

New Alignments in the U.N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE day may soon come when the clichés, "automatic majority" and "Anglo-American majority," which the Russians employ to stigmatize the alleged capture of votes by the United States delegation, will cease to have any meaning. The trend toward a greater assertion of independence in speaking and voting was apparent in the last Assembly. In the present one it has already become a fact of great significance.

This trend reflects the difficulties which the anti-Russian coalition faces outside the United Nations. But it is chiefly important within the United Nations because it endangers all the efforts of the last few years to neutralize the power of Russia's veto in the Security Council by transferring the most controversial issues to the Assembly, where a reliable majority has facilitated Western diplomatic operations. The creation of the so-called "Little Assembly" and similar measures taken against angry Soviet protests had no other aim.

The growing independence of countries usually included in the "Anglo-American majority" was seen in the vote taken on October 23 in the Assembly's Political Committee on the question of inviting the North Koreans, together with the South Koreans, to appear before the United Nations. The negative vote supporting the American position was much smaller than that on similar questions in previous Assemblies. With abstentions counted as favorable votes, Mr. Acheson was opposed by twenty countries, including Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, and Bolivia.

Chiefly responsible for the new situation are the nations of the Asian-Arab bloc and the Latin American nations. The motives of the first are predominantly political, of the second, economic, although naturally the two frequently mix. The Arab-Asian countries vigorously oppose the efforts of the great powers to keep the Assembly from considering questions created by the widespread anti-colonial revolution—such as the situation in Tunisia and Morocco. They have seen their power in the U. N. increase as developments in Egypt, Iran, and other parts of the Middle East have blocked the efforts of the Atlantic coalition to strengthen its position in that area. Last week they scored a great success when the United States, at the price of antagonizing France, supported their demand to put Tunisia and Morocco on the agenda.

In general these countries are more apt to align themselves with the Soviet bloc, which represents the most aggressive anti-colonial tendency in the Assembly. The majority of the Asians seek the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, not only out of a sense of continental solidarity, but also as the surest means of preventing a disastrous extension of the war in Asia.

The Latin American bloc is increasingly unhappy over the fact that of every dollar spent on foreign aid by the United States, their share is only one dime. It naturally feels discriminated against. All these countries are expected to give total adherence to the objectives of the Atlantic coalition, maintain bilateral defense agreements with the United States, run the common risk of war, deny themselves trade with the Communist world, and at the same time resign themselves to seeing Point Four aid remain a theme for good-will speeches and dinners, with very limited practical results. To placate this discontent, Secretary Acheson visited Brazil last spring. The answer was the election in Chile of the former dictator Ibañez, who obtained much of his popular support through his opposition to military agreements with the United States. Now the Brazilian press is demanding an end to such agreements. The various interventions by Latin American delegates in the two weeks since the Assembly opened show that they are going to prove consistently less docile than in the past.

In the general debate Hernán Santa Cruz, of Chile, with the experience and authority derived from having presided over the Economic and Social Council for several years, sharply attacked American policy toward the underdeveloped countries. The Vice-President of Bolivia, Silas Suazo, who heads his country's delegation, dramatically voiced the distress of the small nations that they find themselves so powerless in the United Nations to aid in solving the world's problems. He vigorously affirmed his government's determination to carry out a policy based on the interests of the Bolivian people, not on those of the intrenched exploiters—the tin king, Patiño, and his associates of the big foreign mining companies. Muñoz, of Argentina, criticized the policy of the great powers in regard to the distribution of basic raw materials. Charlone, of Uruguay, ardently supported the Mexican proposal to end the deadlock over the exchange of prisoners in Korea.

The Asian-Arab and Latin American nations more and more frequently find themselves taking the same position. The Bolivian delegate indicated one of the most obvious points of agreement when he said: "The march of colonial and semi-colonial peoples cannot be stopped." It is premature to talk of a formal alliance between the two blocs, or even of two integrated blocs, since certain Latin American countries are still safely attached to the inter-American policy. But there is an undeniable tendency for each group to follow its "own" line in the United Nations, and to take all possible advantage of the strength each gains from the support of the other. All this can lead, and is leading, to a new power alignment which is worth watching very closely as the Assembly passes from general debate to the handling of each specific issue on the agenda.

IKE AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. He Lets Europe Down

BY MARK GAYN

Paris

THIS year's American Big Show is a disenchanting spectacle for Europeans. They are shocked by the tone of the campaign, distressed by the issues, and disillusioned with the man for whom they once felt so much enthusiasm.

In a way this is Act III in an election melodrama. Act I, "Hail to Ike," began last May. It was a story of infatuation with General Eisenhower, the savior of Europe. The villain was Senator Taft, a dark isolationist figure out of the wilderness of the Middle West, who apparently felt that the United States should prosper in its own juice without wasting any more money on Europe. By contrast Ike seemed wonderful. He was a friendly man, with affection for Europe, appreciation of its problems, and a famous grin. As the Republican convention neared, Europe broke into a cold sweat just thinking of what would happen should Taft win the nomination.

Act II began in July. It was a cheerful performance, what with Eisenhower's victory over the isolationists and the nomination of Governor Stevenson. At this time Stevenson was almost unknown in Europe; from the scraps of information available he appeared to be an informed statesman who saw the United States as an integral part of a global system. In advance of their Continental colleagues British press and radio correspondents began to file dispatches on his charm, wit, and literacy—both political and syntactical. The Communists had at once branded both nominees as the choice of rival Wall Street cliques, but this did not seem to disturb the general public. The widespread feeling was, "Whoever wins, Europe cannot lose."

> General Eisenhower is the man who has called for cuts in the defense program so heavy that they would damage both the hope of safety and the world leadership of the United States; who is making political capital out of the casualties suffered by the United States forces in the Korean war; who denies that the American standard of living has risen since 1950 and says the government is to blame; and who allows himself to be associated with isolationists and witch-hunters right down to the level of Senator McCarthy. It may be argued that a Presidential candidate must represent the views of those in whose name he stands, but that fact in itself does not make these particular views any more enlightened or acceptable. Many old friends of General Eisenhower in this country, still recognizing his great qualities, must share the surprise of President Truman himself that a man who has formerly worked so hard for the cause of freedom and enlightenment should now lend himself to such activities.—*From the London* Spectator.

MARK GAYN is an American journalist who has spent the last five years in Europe. The Nation *of June 21 carried an article by him entitled Europe Votes for Eisenhower.*

In mid-September the curtain went up on Act III, and it was a shocker. In a spectacular reversal of what they had been led to expect, Ike now appeared to Europeans as anything but friendly. An unfortunate remark he made about "decadent France" greatly annoyed the French. People began to wonder whether he had ever been Europe's true friend.

The disillusionment is now complete. Anxiety prevails in official circles, which only six months ago were rejoicing in Eisenhower's candidacy, and is percolating rapidly down to the public. The British press boldly, French and German publications more cautiously, say that Eisenhower has pitched his tent right next to the isolationist camp, and if he wins, America's foreign policy may be shaped by men who have no sympathy for Europe. Reports from America that General Eisenhower now favors a more vigorous policy in Asia increase the anxiety. Many fear that a "positive" American policy in the Orient might draw Europe into dreaded Asiatic adventures.

Europe received its worst jolt from Eisenhower's speech before the American Legion at the end of August, when he voiced the new Republican concept—liberation of enslaved peoples, not containment. It is true that the speech was inadequately reported, hastily gulped, and badly digested here. Responsible newspapers in England and on the Continent warned against reading too much into it. Yet people were shaken, and they were not calmed by John Foster Dulles's explanations. Not everybody, of course, was unhappy: a Hungarian refugee paper reported the receipt of numerous letters from exiles whose hearts were warmed by the new Republican doctrine. One urged gathering a fleet of ships to carry the Hungarian émigrés scattered over the world back to Europe, en route to their liberated homeland.

But though the exiles welcomed the prospect of "lib-

> No reasonable man outside the Communist area of the world will suppose General Eisenhower to have meant that the United States ought to take warlike steps to give the peoples of China, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and Sakhalin "the opportunity to choose their own path." The difficulty is rather that to list as *irredenta* vast areas of Europe and Asia, and to advocate telling the Soviet government "with cold finality" that "we shall never recognize the slightest permanence" in its position there, raises doubts about the manner in which General Eisenhower would really like American foreign policy to be conducted.
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> There have been many occasions in the past when American governments have taken up rigid, and wholly sincere, moral positions, refusing to recognize indubitable situations of fact, but such refusals have rarely been fruitful in their outcome. In these days the United States plays not a withdrawn but an active part in international affairs. From this change, perhaps the greatest single development in world affairs in the twentieth century, flows the inexorable necessity of matching a foreign policy to the means available for its pursuit; the desirable and the possible can no longer safely be confused.
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> The leading men of a democracy have to exercise a special care to make such distinctions clearly, or their own people will become confused about the purpose for which sacrifices are demanded of them and the results they can reasonably expect to see. It is more than likely that when General Eisenhower drafted his speech to the Legion he did not weigh all the awkward implications which some passages might have for his Secretary of State, should he be elected President.—*From the London* Times.

eration," European statesmen were worried. For them containment is the cornerstone of the entire Atlantic defense structure—of NATO, of the Lisbon accords, of German rearmament, and of many other things which Western Europe accepted under pressure but which have become an integral part of the political scene. After spending two years building European defense, governments saw the structure in peril—and at the hands of one of its chief American architects.

This reasoned objection to the idea of "liberation" is of course less powerful than the emotional reaction to what seems to be Eisenhower's new position. To a far greater degree than most Americans realize, people in Western Europe live in dread of another war. If their prime concern is to earn a living, their second is to stay at peace, at almost any price. And they know that liberation means war. Communist propaganda is busy strengthening this conviction, but the Communists are not its parents. Europeans are more and more coming to feel that United States policy is dragging them into war. It is in this belief that most of Europe's anti-American or neutralist ideas are rooted, from England's Bevanism to the Continental notion of a Third Force which would side with neither Russia nor America.

No subsequent explanations by the General or Mr. Dulles could abate the scare here. Even such a responsible organ as the London *Times* remained uneasy. "It would be pleasant to think," wrote its Washington correspondent, "that the 'liberation' idea had been buried when General Eisenhower failed to mention it [at a later meeting]. But there is evidence that it has only gone underground—or rather that it will not be used when Republican candidates are speaking to the nation as a whole but only when they are speaking to selected groups whose votes it might still win."

A well-known French political figure asked in *Le Monde* whether the concept of liberation, born of an electoral campaign, was likely to become an American diplomatic doctrine. If so, he continued, would liberation be an American or an Atlantic enterprise? Would it halt at the frontiers of Russia? Would it extend to countries captured by Communists in disguise? Could it be carried out without provoking a new world war?

With public opinion so alarmed, Stevenson suddenly loomed up as the champion of peace, righteousness, and good sense. His speech to the Legion was hailed as a courageous and sane declaration. It is amazing how often since then the word "courageous" has appeared in European editorial comments on the Democratic candidate. It has been applied to his stand on civil rights, labor legislation, foreign policy, tidelands oil, and many other issues.

Now, a fortnight before the election, the interest is intense. The French provincial press is asking the news agencies for more American news. The Paris papers, none of them rich by American standards, are rushing special correspondents to the United States to cover the last stages of the campaign. Considering their small size, European newspapers give an astonishing amount of space to the American election. Much of the British and French reporting of the campaign has been superb—detached, thoughtful, and just a little bit amused. The other day the Manchester *Guardian* devoted two precious columns to Mr. Arbuthnot's report on campaign clichés.

> The contradiction in the Republican Old Guard is that it combines isolationism [in Europe] with interventionism in Asia. Europeans fear that the United States will abandon Europe in a military and financial sense and leave it without defense for a long period of years, while provoking the Soviets elsewhere. Eisenhower advocates an interventionism designed to make Russia retire to its original position—but how?—and an isolationism aimed at reducing credits to Europe. —*From the* Gazette de Lausanne, *Switzerland.*

How is it possible . . . to talk of a peace settlement in Korea when General Eisenhower is asserting that no settlement would be tolerable in that country which left the "captive" North Koreans or the "captive" Chinese under their present masters? . . . The plain fact is that General Eisenhower is outlining a policy to which he knows no Russian government could possibly give its acceptance. He thus rules out any faint possibility of negotiation and invites us to conquest, as the Russians would see it, more formidable by far than anything which ever filled the mind of man before. —*From the London* Tribune.

The public gobbles it all up. The owner of the *laiterie* where I buy my eggs and butter and ask occasional questions about the "Pinay experiment," quizzed me about the possible effect of the Nixon Affair. A Swiss professor wonders what will happen to freedom of thought, discussion, and travel if the Republicans win. A steel worker in Aneurin Bevan's own Ebbw Vale, which I visited a few weeks ago, wanted to know why General Eisenhower was "playing pals with Taft and McCarthy." "If you ask me," he said, "they've never been far apart."

Few people have any confidence in the continuity of American foreign policy no matter who wins. The majority fear the Republicans would sharply reverse the present policy and deprive Europe of badly needed economic aid. If this happens, some persons insist, European public opinion will turn even more strongly against the United States. One French diplomatic reporter predicted the other day that Eisenhower's victory would supply the Communists here with rich propaganda material, would feed anti-American feeling, and "might even lead to divisions such as have been forecast by Stalin." I personally expect no such dire effects. The national interests of both the United States and the Western powers transcend the views of any occupant of the White House, and these interests demand close collaboration. But it is undeniable that General Eisenhower's speeches have estranged Europe, and that if he wins he will have to make a real effort to undo the damage. At present Europe's heart belongs to Adlai.

2. He Sells America Short

BY LLOYD TUPLING

Boise, Idaho

GENERAL EISENHOWER gave the voters of the Pacific Northwest a look at his position on public power when he spoke here on October 6. It was a frightening view. For behind the General could be seen a group of men intent on exploiting for their own gain the region's last great undeveloped natural resource—the thirty million kilowatts of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

Eisenhower's proposal of a complex interstate-compact system for the development of water power was much the same as that put forward a week earlier by Governor Len Jordan of Idaho, the Northwest's most vociferous opponent of public power. Like Jordan, Eisenhower proposed that "planning, management, and coordination for all present and future public projects for a Columbia Basin development be vested, not in a federal Columbia Valley Authority, but a new interstate body," the members of which would be chosen under some as yet undrafted state laws. He did not explain why the present efficient federal agencies should be abandoned and management of the Columbia Basin water resources turned over to state legislatures easily controlled by predatory special interests.

In the psychological war against the expansion of public power, Governor Jordan and his backers have made the interstate-compact idea one of their principal weapons. They present it as a thoroughly American, decentralized, grass-roots plan for river development, completely ignoring its record of failure. They carefully avoid mention of the interstate compact for the development of the Colorado River, which has been stymied by endless court litigation and vicious political in-fighting. The great danger is that the unworkable compact plan would prove an excellent device for fouling public power in interstate disputes, thereby paving the way for captive state officials to turn the region's water-power resources over to "efficient, business-managed, taxpaying private utilities."

Cutting through the rugged mountains between Oregon and Idaho, the Snake River has carved the deepest gorge in North America, a natural site for a storage dam. The federal government proposes to build a 760-foot dam that would produce 688,000 kilowatts of power at the

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site. Release of the stored run-off waters of the Snake when the Columbia River is low would also increase power production at downstream dams by 436,000 kilowatts, making the project's total output 1,124,000 kilowatts, roughly equivalent to that of two more Bonneville dams.

A DAM at Hell's Canyon, by providing for the maximum use of water, would meet the chief requirement of comprehensive river planning. Not only would the power output be great, but the ninety-three-mile-long lake created would provide transportation into a now inaccessible region, opening large mineral deposits to exploitation and creating a new tourist business in the heart of primitive country. More than 60 per cent of the nation's raw phosphate rock is found in nearby beds which are still largely undeveloped for farm fertilizer because of the lack of cheap, abundant power.

Hell's Canyon dam is far enough downstream to collect water which has already been utilized for irrigation and power on the upper Snake River; it is far enough upstream to pass along storage benefits to downstream Snake and Columbia power plants. Revenue from the sale of power would reimburse the federal Treasury for nearly all of the project's $357,000,000 cost, plus 3 per cent interest, and in addition could be used to develop extensive irrigation systems. Without federal financial aid there is little prospect for more reclamation in the Snake River basin. Navigation and flood control would also benefit.

Initial hearings on Hell's Canyon dam were announced for July 9, 1947. On June 18, by a strange coincidence, the Idaho Power Company asked the Federal Power Commission for a license to develop the Oxbow power site, a virtually abandoned plant in the future Hell's Canyon reservoir. This was the signal for an all-out propaganda campaign put on by the private utilities to enable them to grab for themselves the Snake River's most valuable resource—the 1200-foot power head in Hell's Canyon.

The utilities' main contention was that the Hell's Canyon project, which brought the first threat of competition from public power into the Idaho Power Company's economic barony, was unnecessary because private enterprise was "ready, willing, and able to do the job." The extent of this willingness can be seen in the company's plan for river development. It asked for a license to build a run-of-the-river dam with nameplate capacity of 106,000 kilowatts, less than one-tenth of Hell's Canyon's potential output. Later the company proposed building at some unspecified future date four other run-of-the-river dams, to produce, together with Oxbow, 530,000 kilowatts. Besides developing only half as much power, the five low-head dams would provide no storage, no flood-control or navigation benefits, no financial aid to irrigation. The grant of the Oxbow license would forever end the hope of the power-hungry Northwest to enjoy the varied benefits of the high dam at Hell's Canyon.

That the company has been able to convince many people in Idaho and Oregon of the superiority of its plan for comprehensive river development testifies to the strength of the dynamic lie. Skilful public-relations men have been able to win over the press, infiltrate civic bodies, capture farm organizations, and generally poison the wellsprings of public opinion.

THEIR methods were first revealed during the referendum in Oregon in 1948 on Senate bill 99. The issue then was whether Idaho Power's Oxbow project should be exempt from the provisions of the state's hydroelectric act permitting public bodies to purchase the property of private utilities. S. B. 99, as Byron Brinton, editor of the weekly *Record-Courier* of Baker, Oregon, told a Congressional committee, "was a two-edged sword in the hands of the utilities. A 'yes' vote by Oregon could be used as a mandate to the Federal Power Commission to authorize the private [Oxbow] license in the reservoir site of Hell's Canyon. But if Hell's Canyon were ever built, the new Oregon law would be such that the Oxbow rights, developed or undeveloped, would provide the basis for a gigantic shakedown against the federal project, either for enormous property litigation or severance of power allocations, or both."

Much of the hatchet work on the bill was done by the Baker Chamber of Commerce, whose manager, Robert F. Ball, graduated to a full-time job handling the Idaho Power Company's campaign against Hell's Canyon. Mr. Ball announced that after "exhaustive study" the chamber favored Oxbow and would fight the referendum. A few days later the president of Idaho Power spoke against it in a chamber-sponsored address. Ball also arranged to have a Chamber of Commerce delegation present a protest at the Army Engineers' hearing on Hell's Canyon at Lewiston, Idaho. The statement was actually prepared by A. S. Grant, attorney for the California-Pacific Utilities Company, which, like Idaho Power, saw its high domestic rates threatened by the competition of public power from the federal dam. Another protest prepared by Grant was in the name of a quickly created Baker County Taxpayers' League.

Representatives of the power companies bored into all the groups which supposedly express public opinion. E. E. Kime, vice-president of California-Pacific, presided at a Baker Kiwanis club meeting in the absence of the regular president, and a pro-Oxbow resolution was adopted without discussion. Next Kime became a member of the industrial-development committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and soon afterward the chamber authorized Manager Ball "to spend his entire time between now and the general election informing the citizens of Oregon about the critical need to amend our Oregon hydroelectric law." Ball handled the campaign for Idaho Power as secretary of a "More Power for Oregon Committee." The purpose of this infiltration and domination of civic groups by utility personnel was to make it appear that the general public opposed the high dam. The claim was refuted by the fact that the Idaho-Oregon Hell's Canyon Association, a grass-roots organization, enrolled more than 9,000 supporters in its first month of activity.

MANY false statements about Hell's Canyon were circulated. One newspaper said the big dam would cost $1,730 for each kilowatt produced: government estimates are $15.62 per kilowatt. It was asserted that Hell's Canyon dam would flood valuable farmland—except for a few hay farms the canyon is rocky and unsuited to cultivation; that it would bury large mineral deposits—mining companies await barge transportation on Hell's Canyon reservoir to enable them to work their low-grade claims; that it would destroy the scenic beauties of the canyon—the Seven Devil and Wallowa mountains tower 5,000 feet above the reservoir; that power output would be reduced 40 per cent in ten years by water depletion due to upstream irrigation projects—fifty years of irrigation have caused almost no appreciable decline in the Snake River flow. Oregon citizens were not fooled, however, and voted 242,000 to 173,000 against the private dams.

Anti-Hell's Canyon forces then shifted the main assault to Idaho, and the company produced a couple of new gimmicks—a phony water-rights issue and the "impartial" poll. By a clever distortion of facts in California's Santa Margarita water case, it tried to show that Hell's Canyon dam would deprive all irrigators in southern Idaho of their water rights. It is a mystery how the power-monopoly propagandists were able to make so many farmers believe that Hell's Canyon dam would affect their rights while the five company dams would not. The fact is that both the private and the public project must meet the problems of water rights and stream-flow depletion, the difference being that legislation authorizing Hell's Canyon dam guarantees all present and future upstream water rights, while if the private dams are built, farmers who need water will face the prospect of paying the power company.

To show that there was substantial opposition to Hell's Canyon dam, the Nampa, Idaho, Chamber of Commerce conducted a poll. Accompanying the ballot sent out was an "information sheet" offering the following "facts" for the guidance of members: "we could lose our water rights and self-government as regards our use of water"; "the project would mean great additional tax burdens"; "80 per cent of the power would be siphoned off to coastal areas"; "the dam would pay no taxes, while private-enterprise construction of five low-head dams, to furnish virtually the same amount of power, would pay over $3,000,000 annual property tax, plus federal taxes." With this material as a basis of judgment it is easy to see why members voted 165 to 5 against Hell's Canyon. The daily *Idaho Free Press* of Nampa censured the chamber for its methods.

A few weeks later the Boise Chamber of Commerce conducted a similar "impartial" poll. It was handled—believe it or not—by the chamber's irrigation committee, the chairman of which was President Roach of the Idaho Power Company. Company men went from door to door distributing pamphlets which sang the virtues of the five low-head dams and branded the government project "creeping socialism." Scores of resolutions, all apparently written on the same electric-powered typewriter, all insisting that "private enterprise is ready, willing, and able," were rounded up by company men from granges, garden clubs, church sewing circles, and other civic groups. Not a single one of these organizations had heard the other side of the story before they acted.

WHETHER such tactics will be effective with Idaho voters is not yet known. Nor can we tell how much of the propaganda against public power has rubbed off on the Federal Power Commission or to what extent it will influence the commission's decisions. The federal Water Power Act directs the F. P. C. to recommend to Congress a federal dam and reject an application for a private dam when the federal dam contributes greater benefits. Technical hearings on the Oxbow license were originally scheduled to begin in Washington, D. C., on November 17 but the F. P. C. has postponed them until January 12. The question inevitably arises: Will the F. P. C. interpret the act according to the outcome of the elections?

If it approves the Oxbow license, private interests will have been judged superior to the public interest. A private utility will be permitted to steal from the public nearly 600,000 kilowatts of power, with a cash value of over $10,000,000 a year plus many more millions in income from new industries. Farmers will lose millions of dollars through being deprived of cheap fertilizer. The people of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington will lose more millions in the value of the recreation, flood control, and navigation that the Oxbow dams will not give them. At worst, a victory for Eisenhower, who favors interstate compacts, might mean an F. P. C. decision completely indorsing the Oxbow plant; at best, a decision against Oxbow but a prolonged stalemate for Hell's Canyon in Congress, like the fifty-year battle on the St. Lawrence Seaway. In either event economic development of the Northwest through maximum use of the waters of the Columbia will suffer a staggering setback.

Kenya: African Storm Signal

BY GEORGE W. SHEPHERD, JR.

Kampala, Uganda

AFRICA is the last continent to rouse itself from slumber to meet the challenge of the new worldwide demand for a full and dignified life for all members of the human race. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria prospects are bright that these countries will soon take their place in the brotherhood of free nations. But in the eastern, central, and southern parts of Africa the people have awakened only to find that their birthright has been taken from them by an alien white race.

Immigrant Europeans first landed in South Africa exactly three centuries ago. Since then they have continued to flow in—after the Dutch, the British. Cecil Rhodes led a northward invasion in the late nineteenth century, and about the same time the first settlers arrived in East Africa. Wherever white men went they took the best land for themselves and either drove out the defenseless natives or bribed the chiefs to surrender their realms for a few trinkets.

In other continents the original inhabitants have practically died out. But the African native population shows no sign of nearing extinction. It is, on the contrary, increasing. In South Africa the whites are outnumbered four to one. In East and Central Africa the proportion is almost one thousand to one. The immigrant minority is a tiny white island in a vast black sea. The fear that one day the black tide will rise and overwhelm them is at the root of the passion for "white supremacy" which rules the "white savages" from the Cape of Good Hope to the Equator.

With Africans and other colored peoples denied equal rights and opportunities, an explosion is inevitable. White settlers and the world must face this fact. The African problem typifies the fundamental problem of our age. Colored peoples everywhere are demanding a just share in the wealth and opportunities of the community. Is the white minority prepared to accept them as equals or will it fight to the last ditch to preserve the status quo? An intolerable answer is being allowed to spread northward from South Africa through the Rhodesias, Tanganyika, and Kenya.

Monopolization of the best land and cheap labor are the economic pillars of the white-supremacy system. Though there is considerable mining in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia, the basic economy of the whole region is agrarian; cattle, fruit, coffee, sisal, wheat are the chief products. In South Africa 87 per cent of the cultivable land is reserved for "white settlers," who form a bare 10 per cent of the population. In Southern Rhodesia and Kenya the white man has an even more disproportionate share of the land. But the huge tracts reserved for whites are cultivated by Africans. The European type of farm, which is worked by the owner and his sons with perhaps one or two hired hands, is unknown among white farmers in Africa. Thus a kind of feudalism has been established. The African is a wage serf. He and his family may squat on the land but cannot own it.

Because the large white farms must have an ample supply of field hands the entire structure of society is designed to block any advance or independent development of Africans. Conditions force them to work on the European-owned farms and in the mines for wages of about $6 a month. A poll tax is almost universal, and the African must earn money to pay this tax by his labor. In South Africa the innumerable restrictions on his movements prevent him from seeking better wages or conditions of work. He is not allowed to cultivate enough land to obtain a cash crop.

Everywhere his education is limited. In Kenya in 1938 the educational allotment was £26/7/6 per white child and 16s. per black child. In Uganda in 1950 it was £200 per white child and £4½ per black child. Political progress is deliberately frustrated on every level. In Southern Rhodesia there are no Africans in the Legislative Assembly. In Northern Rhodesia there are four. Kenya permits a larger number but limits it to less than half that of the Europeans. The color bar is omnipresent. Hotels, restaurants, bars, trains, and other public places either exclude Africans and other colored peoples or set aside separate facilities for them.

THE wonder of it is that the African can be so patient. Most African political movements are nonviolent, seeking through peaceful change to achieve a juster social system. Of course this is partly a necessity dictated by their own weakness. But also the African character is essentially gentle and patient. In Kenya, where the European population is scarcely more than 25,000, violence offers the temptation of success to the African, whereas in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia ruthless suppression of violent revolt is at present inevitable. Not surprisingly, therefore, Mau Mau has

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staged its uprising in Kenya, with the avowed objective of driving the white man out of the country.

The nature and extent of the Mau Mau threat have been greatly exaggerated by the white settlers of Kenya to force the government to take drastic action and crush all African political strength. Nevertheless, the present revolt must be taken seriously as a storm signal. Kenya is the first area in which the militant anti-European nationalism of the African has broken to the surface.

Mau Mau bases its power on the Africans' belief in ancient tribal superstitions. Members are admitted by signing certain oaths in blood. It is not known for certain what these oaths are or what is the aim of the organization beyond a general desire to drive the white man out of Kenya. Reports on the number of members vary greatly. The local press makes it very large and tries to associate Mau Mau with other African political organizations, such as the Kenya African Union. The responsible African leaders of these organizations, however, have denounced Mau Mau excesses. Probably the number of sympathizers exceeds several times the number of actual members, for Africans generally are becoming increasingly anti-European, although few support violent action. Mau Mau is known to be centered around Nairobi, among the Kikuyu, politically and economically the most advanced tribe.

Under pressure of the white settlers the Kenya government has promulgated several "emergency measures" to enforce law and order. But they do not go beyond increased police action. The government seems to have no conception of the necessity for instituting reforms which will ease the discontent of the Africans. It is greatly to be feared that its severity will alienate completely all moderate and sensible African leadership in Kenya. The trial of Jesse Kariuki, vice-president and long-time leader of the Kenya African Union, for complicity in Mau Mau has aroused great antagonism. The trial was held in secret. The defendant was denied the basic right to confront his accusers, and after he was declared guilty, the government still deliberated the pros and cons of making the evidence public.

Recent vicious cattle raiding by Africans is the reaction of extremists to the new police measures. Armed with pangas (bush-clearing knives), Africans stole up in the night on European farms in the Timay area and killed nearly two hundred head of cattle. European farmers live in fear that pangas will be used against them next.

There is of course no easy and immediate solution for the problems raised by the presence of "white savages" in Africa. Recognizing that the situation must be carefully studied, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has appointed a Royal Commission for East Africa. This is almost the only encouraging sign in the present situation.

The French Revolt

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

WHAT was bound to happen has now happened: France has rebelled against the rearmament of Germany, against the European army "in its present form," against the surrender of sovereignty, against letting France and Europe be run by the United States, against the Schuman shop window. It makes no difference, fundamentally, that nothing has been formally settled yet, that within the Pinay government there still are voices, like those of M. Schuman and M. Pleven, in favor of going on as before and at the Radical Congress voices like René Mayer's admitting grave doubts about the "Herriot line." As it has done so often in the past, the voice of Herriot most closely reflects French public opinion. In the last few days I have talked with people of almost every political shade, and all have expressed satisfaction, though not always for the same reasons, with this "French awakening."

Those on the right, echoing De Gaulle's own grudging approval of M. Pinay, said that France was now "going Gaullist without De Gaulle," and for the first time in many years had the feeling of "being governed." Supporters of the center parties were more reserved in their enthusiasm, but blamed the turn things were taking on "American *gaffes*"—the interference in North Africa, and the famous American note treating France as a "satellite," which had played straight into the hands of M. Pinay in search of an easy parliamentary success.

On the left opinion was more divided. The critics of the Atlantic system, including the so-called neutralists, were delighted, even though they genuinely regret that the inevitable revolt should have come not from the left but from the right. On the other hand, certain left-wing groups, represented by *Franc-Tireur*, dread a break with America and a dislocation of the "European system"—whatever that may still mean. And yet even the French Socialists, with their rosy Little Europe spectacles, have begun to scratch their heads, and Guy Mollet hastened to say that there was no disagreement at all between him

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and the Radicals on the need for taking precautions about the European army.

The French revolt is closely associated in most people's minds with the name of M. Pinay. Herriot, in declaring the European army "in its present form" to be unconstitutional, stressed that he had previously submitted the text of his speech to M. Pinay, who "had not dissuaded him" from delivering it. On Sunday night the French radio broadcast a statement by Pinay saying that he fully agreed with Herriot, and that while not against the European army in principle he was against any Germans being on its general staff. Although it was later denied that Pinay had made this statement, most people thought he had withdrawn it to avoid internal Cabinet complications and that it represented his real sentiments.

Many things that have been concealed from public view in the last few years by a flood of conformist pro-American propaganda and Free World ballyhoo have now come to the surface, and it is ironical to think that a few of us who refused to take France's Atlantic enthusiasms at their face value should for so long have met with nothing but dirty looks from nice people and dark hints of "neutralism" and "crypto-communism." Pinay's latent *La France aux Français* conservatism, which is not so far removed from Vichyism, and his anti-communism, which is showing clear signs of crystallizing into a major purpose, were bound sooner or later to make common cause with the Gaullists' vigorous anti-communism and devotion to French sovereignty. The feeling loudly voiced in several debates in the National Assembly last winter that France "could not go on like this indefinitely" has become strong again, despite new financial difficulties in the offing—difficulties which were only artificially and temporarily postponed by the *"Confiance Pinay"* drive.

Nothing has really been resolved. The war in Vietnam continues to swallow billions of francs every year, without any real help coming from anywhere. In Europe the United States' determination to build up Germany as a great military power and relegate France to the position of a second-class partner is a fact which no amount of Schuman window-dressing can conceal. Nor can anyone deny the far-reaching effects of what has lately been happening in Germany: the increasing arrogance of Bonn about the Saar, with the government openly fostering back-to-Germany movements there; the encouragement given by the United States to anti-Soviet crusades in which France has no desire to be involved; and, finally, the prospect of a Social Democratic victory in next year's elections, which would make all the Schuman-Adenauer planning meaningless. The German left's lack of faith in the Little Europe of Schuman, with its supra-national authorities, has its parallel in large sections of the French population, as has the German argument that the European army and the Schuman Plan are devices for "enslaving Germany"—here they are considered devices for "enslaving France"! Whether rational or not, the sentiment exists in both countries and, as we have seen, is being more and more openly expressed.

ANOTHER important factor in the French revolt is the belief that Eisenhower is likely to be elected. As a result there is a kind of rush in France to get as far away as possible from any entanglements which the Eisenhower roll-back policy might imply. On the other hand, now that the Communist Party Congress at Moscow—which received an enormous amount of attention here—has shown fairly convincingly that there is no danger of a Russian invasion of Western Europe, it is not surprising that the French government has decided it can afford to start its drive against the Communists; this, to say the least, is expected to serve as a sop to the pro-Americans in France and to the United States itself. Add to all this the irritation over North Africa, especially on the right, and the reasons for the change of attitude here become fairly obvious.

There is no desire to "break" with the United States—still less to refuse American aid—but the revolt is certainly a demonstration in favor of greater French independence. European planning, if there is to be any, must take more account of France's distrust of Germany and dislike of American policy toward Germany. If the war in Vietnam is not to be "shared," France will before long have to do something drastic about it—here there is undoubtedly an element of pressure on Washington. As for North Africa, it is to be hands off, quite definitely, and the main difference of opinion in France is not on whether the U. N. should deal with North Africa but on whether France itself is to be liberal or tough there.

It remains to be seen whether this revolution in foreign policy will be pursued to any kind of logical conclusion; it remains also to be seen what internal counterpart it will have. The arrest of M. Le Leap, one of the non-Communist heads of the Federation of Labor (C. G. T.), and the demand by a military court (which can always be relied upon to take more notice of the government's desires than a civil court) that the parliamentary immunity of Duclos, Marty, and several other Communist deputies be lifted have made a very bad impression on left-wing intellectuals. "At this rate any of us might be arrested," said M. Domenech of *Esprit*, and Claude Bourdet has speculated on the advent of a police state in France. Altogether, the situation contains the most far-reaching possibilities. The least charitable theory about Pinay is that both his new foreign policy and his anti-Communist drive are little more than red herrings to divert people's attention for a time from the country's grave financial and economic difficulties. But there is more to it than that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Eastern Ways of Thinking

THE MIND OF EAST ASIA. By Lily Abegg. Translated from the German by A. J. Crick and E. E. Thomas. Thames and Hudson. $4.50.

THIS is an attempt, with the aid of psychological techniques, to characterize the patterns of thinking of East Asian peoples—which, for the purposes of this volume, means the Chinese and Japanese—and to trace their manifestations in such fields as language, cosmological beliefs, religion, social behavior, science, and so on. The author's qualifications for this formidable task include a childhood spent in Japan, eleven years as a journalist in China, Japan, and neighboring countries, and—according to the jacket blurb—"the equipment of a person trained in modern psychology." In the latter field she is apparently a follower of Jung.

Starting with the proposition that Chinese and Japanese thinking is radically different from that of the West, Dr. Abegg, from a psychological point of view, arrives at conclusions very similar to those formulated in philosophical terms by F. S. C. Northrop in his "The Meeting of East and West." So striking, indeed, is the similarity that one wonders why Dr. Abegg waits until almost halfway through her book before mentioning it.

Dr. Abegg's basic thesis is that whereas Western thinking tends to be analytical and to follow a single line of reasoned development toward its object, Chinese and Japanese thinking tends to be synthetic and "total" in its approach. That is to say, it does not operate by means of a single chain of reasoning but rather approaches its object from several different directions simultaneously, until it finally completely envelops it—very much, one is tempted to add, as an octopus would envelop its prey. The following key passage (p. 49) further characterizes these two modes of thought:

> Thought in a straight line moves on from point to point; it cannot comprehend the whole at once, but only its individual parts. It is a "one-way thought," which has to penetrate everywhere before it can build a picture of the whole. In other words, this kind of thought must start by analyzing. After the process of analysis is finished, this thought reconstructs the whole from its various parts. . . .
>
> Thought based on envelopment first sees the whole, and the parts only subsequently find their place in this whole. In this kind of thinking, [with] every part belonging to the whole, the whole being already comprehended, [each part] must [then] quite automatically have its place or function in it. It is not necessary to analyze the details, for they are indeed already seen in their interrelationship. . . . It is thought of a synthetic kind.

Whether or not one is prepared to accept this thesis—and it should be stated that Dr. Abegg argues for it quite persuasively—there is no doubt that in her later chapters she has put her finger on many genuinely significant characteristics of Chinese and Japanese civilization. She points out, for example, that the concept of absolute evil or original sin is alien to Chinese and Japanese thinking; that the Chinese world view is one in which time and space form a single continuum, and which stresses the complementary quality of opposites, while rejecting dualisms based on conflict; that East Asian theories of history are cyclical rather than evolutionary; and that the East Asian community is conceived of as an organic hierarchy of smaller social units rather than a collectivistic agglomeration of individuals.

Interlarded with these fruitful observations, however, appear statements of dubious validity, as well as downright factual errors. The errors are particularly conspicuous when she speaks of traditional China, for here she leans heavily upon a rather limited range of second-hand literary sources, some now obsolete and some of questionable merit. Likewise her occasional remarks on modern China—whether of the Kuomintang or of the Chinese Communists—are often superficial. Under the circumstances it is a tribute to her general insight that despite many errors of detail she has succeeded as often as she has in hitting the nail on the head.

A major weakness of the book is its preoccupation with thought processes *per se,* to the exclusion of any satisfactory attempts to explain *why* these processes should assume the forms they do. This failure stems directly from the author's obliviousness to the significance of factors of a non-ideological nature, such as physical geography, economic activity, or social and political organization. Her attitude toward the concepts dominant in any given civilization seems to be curiously Platonic. For her, they appear to have a life of their own, quite irrespective of the physical and social context in which they occur. This makes it impossible for her to give any really adequate explanation for the significant differences found between Chinese and Japanese civilization—as manifested, for example, in their differing attitudes toward law, to which she calls attention.

A further result of this situation is that she sometimes, in a somewhat mystical manner, tries instead to identify ideology with race. Writing of cruelty, for example, she remarks that "all peoples *racially akin to the Chinese* [my italics] possess the same inhuman tendency, just as they are all equally superstitious" (p. 283). Since, for her, the Japanese are presumably culturally but not racially akin to the Chinese, this permits her to argue that the former are less cruel than the latter. (Here, and sometimes elsewhere, her remarks about Japan appear to have an air of special pleading.)

A few pages later, however, in one of several contradictions in the book, she attributes this difference to religious reasons: the Japanese are less cruel than the Chinese because of the greater influence among the former of Buddhism, but both races are more cruel than the Westerners because of the greater influence among the latter of Christianity. Shades of the Spanish Inquisition, Buchenwald, or, for that matter, Hiroshima!

In short, there is much in this book that is of high value, but also much that must be read with great caution, especially by the non-specialist. The translation from the German seems to be generally excellent, but it is a pity that many Chinese names have been misspelled, some of them badly and more than once. Examples are Chang Buddhism for Ch'an Buddhism, Huang Ti for Shih Huang Ti, Li Si for Li Ssu, Kwei and Sen for Kuei and Shen, Yang and Yen for Yang and Yin, Pao-China for Pao-chia, Hangkow for Hankow, etc. The index is quite inadequate.

DERK BODDE

Poetry Since 1900

POETRY IN OUR TIME. By Babette Deutsch. Henry Holt and Company. $6.

NO OTHER kind of history can be as dull as literary history usually is; this, though a broad statement, is not an extravagant one—witness the prodigious efflorescence of dulness that our mid-century has provoked. Ateeter on these fulcral years, the inspired have become lookers-back, takers-of-stock, chroniclers. The military and political historians, the historians of labor and industry, have managed to fare pretty well with the awesome occurrences of the last half-century in their domains; but the literary historians have been dull as dishwater and about as wet—all of them. Except Miss Deutsch.

Her "Poetry in Our Time" is a marvelous book and ought to be recommended to anyone who wants to learn something about the poetry written in English since 1900. It is the only book I can think of that will neither bore nor bewilder the newcomer. These are its singular advantages: First, since there is no point in writing about poets who were not any good, most literary histories are a bland succession of praises; yet Miss Deutsch manages to regard the era's every poetic excellence without once being tedious. Second, the organization of literary history naturally falls into periods based on a handful of major figures; yet Miss Deutsch contrives to include hundreds of diverse poets without destroying the clarity of her book's historical structure. Third, where so many have cracked up, Miss Deutsch has the wisdom to stop short; that is, she declines to judge the poetry that has appeared since World War II, although she uses many poems from the time as illustrations. Furthermore, though Miss Deutsch's literary opinions are chiefly those held by current fashion, she states them with renewed vigor and precision, and she does not fear to turn aside from the accepted line when her own interpretation is better than anyone else's.

Not many have read so widely or so sensitively in the poetry of the modern period. Miss Deutsch's book is steeped in poetry and the love of it. She is able to give us hundreds of new comparisons, cross-references, intuitions of the historical process in literature. In her writing the obscure poet flourishes, if only for a sentence, beside his brilliant colleague, and both are enriched. Thus the experienced reader, as well as the beginner, can read her book with profit, and his enjoyment will be all the more for the graceful writing and the discovery or rediscovery of much that our more intense disputants have overlooked. All told, Miss Deutsch has written a first-rate book (but she shouldn't have been so hard on Robinson).

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Croce: Philosopher and Political Man

BENEDETTO CROCE, MAN AND THINKER. By Cecil Sprigge. Yale University Press. $2.50.

CECIL SPRIGGE, for many years head of the British news agency Reuters, in Hamburg and in Rome, and special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian,* is nevertheless as far from the "typical" correspondent as Croce from the "typical" philosopher. (What manner of philosopher is this "the progressive elaboration of [whose] philosophy has been elicited by the challenge of facts, and not by a sheltered proliferation of images"?) And given Sprigge's background in German and Italian politics and thought and his close acquaintance not only with Croce's work but with the philosopher himself, it is not surprising that he should have been chosen to write the volume on Croce in the Yale Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought.

In Sprigge's study Croce comes alive as the great mature creator, the details of whose thought are, as he himself has often stated, "nothing if not the answer to a special problem." Croce wrote during the war years that "every particular truth is intrinsically systematic and either expressly or implicitly refers to all the others." Thus Sprigge points out that "the biographical sketch, the book review, the notebook entry, the diary, the letter to friends on current affairs," all express, expand, and, in small measure perhaps, exemplify the formal structure of Crocean thought. And he cautions that this work is "not to be known intimately by poring over the 'Aesthetic,' 'Logic,' and other systematic works. Croce must be heard also in the intimate communications of books like the 'Ethical Fragments,' where he reviews the great concerns of humanity . . . at an ambling pace."

The essay will be criticized by those who, familiar with Croce's reputation and the general tenor of his thought, wish a capsule interpretation, a sort of Croce formula which will save them the trouble of further examination or, if they are sincerely curious, will serve as a springboard or short cut in the introductory phase of their own reading of Croce. But Sprigge cautions re-

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peatedly that Croce's work, "philosophical, literary, and political, takes on full meaning only when the vast scope of its unity is discovered." Instead, usefully, the author stresses certain specific interests which, in their initial concatenation and the frequency with which the philosopher has returned to them, have profound relevance to his life and work: such was the early preoccupation with Neapolitan history and folklore, the subsequent detailed inquiry into Marxist contentions, the careful—and largely ignored—study of economic science, the constant preoccupation with the effect of government on the governed. Out of this study emerges a man of vast stature whose mind continues vigorously to grapple with the problems of the living, and so frequently beleaguered, individual.

The important point is made that, in Croce's position he was bound to be a target for the Catholic and Marxist critics who "give expression to a feeling of frustration in face of a philosophy which seems to them to be oriented toward equilibrium in an accepted reality, *when they would have it directed along a route for the surpassing of reality as known at any moment.* The Catholic convicts Croce for refusal to tackle the road of methodic religious exercise and cult, the Communist of a proud rejection of the evangelism of political zeal [italics mine]."

Less clearly does Sprigge expose Croce's own political position as largely responsible for the basic platform of the post-war Liberal Party in Italy. We may believe that the coup d'état—one can call it nothing less—by which the progressive Premier, Parri, was ousted in 1946, and which was engineered by the Liberals in conjunction with the Demo-Christians, far exceeded in fact any intent Croce may have had when he repeatedly attacked the Action Party. This charitable reading would not undo the fact that the immediate result of the unethical and undemocratic ousting is that the Italian nation, liberated from totalitarian rule and from the House of Savoy at last, has been saddled with a Vatican-directed government ever since. Certainly with the "atomizing" of the Socialist coalition which began with the fall of the Action Party, any hope for an autonomous democratic regime in Italy in the immediate future has fled. Sprigge may well write that "the Actionist episode ranks high among the vexations of Croce's last years." It would be only fair for him to add, as a conscientious journalist, that the philosopher's role in helping to bring about the downfall of the coalition spearheaded by the Action Party, which, as Sprigge rightly says, was largely "grounded upon [his] dicta," was one of the "vexations" of post-war Italian political life.

Such minor reservations about the book spring, however, from slight differences in point of view. There is no gainsaying that Sprigge has rendered a service in this controlled and intelligently limited presentation of biographical data—data which must be, given the subject, not only a list of vital statistics but a tracing of the evolution of ideas and their impact on the life of Croce's time.

FRANCES KEENE

McCarthy Documented

McCARTHY: THE MAN, THE SENATOR, THE "ISM." By Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May. The Beacon Press. $3.75.

THE extraordinary difficulty of writing news stories about Senator McCarthy arises from his use of the "multiple untruth" system. Take the time and trouble to document the case about one of McCarthy's habitual distortions, misquotations, or plain and ordinary lies, and the Senator from Wisconsin has gone on to sixteen others; it is impossible for anyone to catch up with him in the daily or periodical press. For that reason if for no other it is useful to have some material between book covers.

Jack Anderson, who is on Drew Pearson's staff, and Ronald May, a Wisconsin resident with news-writing and political background who quit his job to work on this book, have put together a mass of documentation which makes the case against McCarthy devastating.

Here are direct quotations from McCarthy himself—and the answering quotations and facts. Here is the story of how McCarthy's fierce ambition and combativeness have made him literally the terror of the Senate, a man shunned by most, despised by many, but feared by nearly all.

Any person with less energy or less ruthlessness than McCarthy would have been ruined long ago by the exposure of his trickery, his tax irregularities, his "fee" for writing a housing pamphlet, his brazen misrepresentations of his own war record, his "quickie" divorce judgments when he was a Wisconsin circuit judge, his incredible juggling of facts and half-facts and outright falsehoods even on the Senate floor. Yet McCarthy has not been ruined—at least through the period of the 1952 Republican Senatorial primary in Wisconsin—and the answer is that he is as crafty as a panther, as tough as a wounded bear, brazen, immune to shame, a clear-eyed devotee of the "big lie" and "multiple untruth," and as ambitious as forty Caesars.

As a boy in a poor section of Wisconsin, bullied by older boys, he got little sympathy from his father, compassionate love from his mother. He learned in his adolescence to be rough, aggressive, and hard-hitting. He fought his way to some kind of education by learning to cram—he can work incessantly for long periods and recuperate like a cat. He can double-cross his closest friends without compunction.

The authors correctly describe their book for what it is—"a book of journalism—reporters' notes on McCarthy the man, the Senator, the 'ism." They disclaim any scholarly attempt to analyze the "baffling post-war phenomenon called McCarthyism," but they do make some suggestions: that perhaps many Americans at this mid-century point, "filled with a strange, un-American malaise" compounded of doubts and fears, wanted "personal explanations" and McCarthy "supplied the Communist issue as both the problem and the solution"; and that the American press, with its quixotic notion that every lie or exaggerated charge made by a Senator must be "factually" reported as "news," helped "build the Frankenstein."

Since we do not know, at this writing, whether the sovereign people of Wisconsin will reelect McCarthy, it is hard to judge how important the labors of Anderson and May will prove to be. If McCarthy is returned to the Senate, the book is going to be used a great deal. If to his own bewilderment his house of cards should suddenly be swept down one imagines that the sociologists would still have some use for the evidence presented here. The question will remain how a demagogue and a terribly dangerous man smashed the regime of the La Follettes in Wisconsin and in less than six years made himself a major factor in American politics—a factor so powerful that neither Senator Taft nor Dwight D. Eisenhower knew how to handle him except with restraint, tenderness, and the same terror that freezes so many of McCarthy's other Republican colleagues. WILLARD SHELTON

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE MILLIONAIRESS" (Shubert Theater) gives the impression of having been knocked together out of spare parts that happened to be lying about in Shaw's workroom. Still, the parts are authentic—the perorations and the conceits, the ingenious twists of plot and the extravagant yet biting humor about money and marriage and social injustice. And an actress of skill, charm, and grace could make the wilful yet enterprising millionairess sufficiently vivid and engaging to carry off the play. Katharine Hepburn employs neither skill nor grace nor charm, but only naked force. She starts off at the top of her voice and almost never lowers it; every movement is violent; and by the end of the evening the sense of strain, induced not only by the sheer volume and monotony of the noise she makes but also by the sight of her distended neck muscles, her tensed body, and haggard face, becomes almost unbearable—and extremely annoying. The man who put a bullet through a television set the other day because it was "playing too loud" had better be kept away from the Shubert.

Miss Hepburn, as I have observed her, has only one routine of expressions, motions, intonations—that of the wilful and athletic young woman. If the part she is playing happens to call for this routine, and if she is firmly directed, she can produce a reasonable facsimile of acting. I had hopes of this performance, given the part and given the fact that the director is Michael Benthall, who two years ago in his charming production of "As You Like It" kept Hepburn sufficiently under control to make her Rosalind acceptable, though at times, to be sure, she did kick over the traces. Then too there were those "rave" reviews reported from London. One can only assume that if she played the part there as she plays it here, Mr. Benthall exercised no control whatever or lost it along the way, and that her performance became famous as one of those curious American spectacles not to be missed.

To give the hoyden her due, there is one scene—the scene in the sweatshop—in which Miss Hepburn is relatively subdued; and the relief was such that I think of it as the best scene in the play.

The rest of the cast, which includes Cyril Ritchard and Robert Helpmann, play very well, but Hepburn rampant, and ridiculous, creates so constant a disturbance that the whole performance is thrown out of proportion.

Miss Hepburn's clothes are beautiful.

Take a sex-starved woman, surround her with people whose sensuous life is full and free, and exhibit her suffering in detail. This seems to be one of the current prescriptions for a play, thanks to the success of Freud and "A Streetcar Named Desire." But "Streetcar," though it seemed to me, in dramatic terms, one long third act, was at least written out of conviction and talent; its sadism was authentic; and these elements generated tension and suspense. Neither conviction nor any particular talent is evident in "The Time of the Cuckoo" (Empire Theater). This time the woman is an American secretary, past forty, single, and still virginal; the setting is Venice, which makes it possible to ring in another theme, the difference between American and European attitudes toward love, sex, and marriage. There is a great deal of talk about this difference—much of which made me ashamed for both races; and the woman bewails interminably her lonely state in a world that goes in two's—to the point where sympathy gives way to boredom, perhaps because disbelief has long since entered in. For this frustrated Puritan (Shirley Booth) looks like nothing so much as a *femme délicieuse*, and one is never convinced that she is either starved for love or incapable of finding it, even at forty-five. Especially in a country where women of forty-five are reputedly still eligible. But American public conventions must be observed. A star must be irresistible and a single American woman must be

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and remain virginal, especially if she goes among foreigners. I look forward to a Kinsey report on the American woman, but though I have no doubt it will prove "disillusioning" I have no doubt either that it will have little or no effect on our public conventions, in the theater or elsewhere.

Shirley Booth plays her thin and thankless part with more verve and skill than it deserves, and Dino DiLuca is so convincing as her Venetian admirer that one wonders if he can play any other role.

The interest of "Bernardine" (Playhouse) is limited, but at least the play seems to have been written from the heart and not merely manufactured. It deals with a group of adolescent boys, and while I can't pass on the authenticity of their lingo or their daydreams, it is apparent that Mary Chase has given them close and loving study. Their antics are both amusing and touching. Only one scene rings false; this is the scene between the fifteen-year-old and the "older woman" who incarnates for the moment his dream of "Bernardine" —a woman at once perfect and comfortably beyond his awkward reach.

The young men who play the parts of the boys—a difficult assignment—are all accomplished, and Johnny Stewart, who has the lead, is particularly good, though Michael Wager as the mama's boy whose conversation consists entirely of accounts of his mother's illnesses, major and minor, contributes the funniest moments of the evening. The mother (Alney Alba) who "understands" her son is almost too naive and obtuse to be believable, but the characterization serves well as a foil for the goings on of the youngsters in "the back room of the Shamrock" where they drink 3.2 beer, exchange confidences and boasts, and call up the girls.

The speech with which the play is introduced—and justified—may or may not be necessary, but surely it should not be intoned as if it were the Gettysburg Address.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A VISIT to the Brociner Electronics Laboratory gave me my first hearing of speakers in corner enclosures with folded horns—specifically the new Brociner Model 4 which uses the Lowther speaker for the entire frequency range, and the new model of the Brociner Transcendant which uses the Lowther for the range above 250 cycles with a 15-inch speaker for the range below that point. In addition I heard the RCA LC1A speaker in the Brociner Ductflex enclosure.

The Ductflex turned out to be a rectangular cabinet similar to the bass-reflex—one that makes the port a duct. The objective is a smaller cabinet that will produce a sound like that from the 10-cubic-foot infinite-baffle box; and without having heard the two types of cabinet side by side I would say the Ductflex works very well but I still prefer the sound from the infinite-baffle box.

As for the Model 4 and the Transcendant, they produced sound that was ramarkable in the clarity of definition throughout its range, the solidity of the bass, the live distinctness or "presence" of the upper range, the cleanness and sweetness of the high violins. The Transcendant was the more impressive of the two by virtue of the greater solidity and projective force; but both Mr. Brociner and Mr. Hegeman, his associate in the development of the systems, said this was partly a result of the location of the two systems in the room. Side by side with these two the LC1A in the Ductflex sounded very pale; what the LC1A would sound like in a folded-horn enclosure, or—as my engineer friend suggested—in combination with a low-range speaker in such an enclosure, I have yet to hear. Mr. Brociner told me of its improved sound —the increased power of the bass and increased over-all efficiency—in a Gately enclosure, which I hope to be able to hear for myself in the near future.

The records were played on equipment which included the Brociner preamplifier; and so I had an opportunity to observe the effect of the operation of an equalization system, which Mr. Brociner and some others consider essential. Their contention is that good reproduction requires different response characteristics to fit the companies' different recording characteristics; but in practice, it turned out, there was no such correspondence. A record was played with the equalizer set for the right response characteristic, but didn't sound right; whereupon it was played with whatever other response characteristic made it sound right; and then it sounded the way it had sounded on my own equipment with only the one equalization providing a single compromise turnover at 500 cycles. The reason was that a company's recordings are not all alike, and that the differences in sound result not only from failure to adhere to the alleged recording characteristic but from differences in microphone placement and acoustic conditions. What, nevertheless, makes an equalization system worth having in addition to treble and bass controls is that, with the equalization system providing the basic equalization, the controls can be used to provide additional gradations of treble and bass. And the compromise 500-cycle turnover doesn't take care of the old 300-cycle European 78s. I should add that the violins of the London recording of Mahler's Fourth that had sounded excessively veiled on my equipment sounded the same on the Brociner equipment not only with the equalizer set for London recording but with every other setting that was tried.

And finally, I heard the new Fairchild, Pickering, and G. E. cartridges, of which the Fairchild impressed me as unquestionably superior to the others by virtue of the refinement of its sound. The sound of the G. E. was slightly edged; that of the Pickering somewhat coarse; and of these two I preferred the G. E.

The Haydn Society has issued the Schneider Quartet's performances of Haydn's Quartets Opus 50 (1786), of which Nos. 3 and 6 were already known to me as superb works, and Nos. 4 and 5 turn out to be as fine. No. 4 in particular is one of the unusual works that Haydn was likely to produce when he wrote in minor mode—with powerful harmonic strokes in the slow movement, and the surprise of a moderate-paced finale that is a wonderfully expressive fugue. No. 1 I find not very interesting, and No. 2 not much more so. The playing again has the exciting life in all parts that Haydn's liveliness of mind calls for, and is well reproduced except for treble in No. 5 that needs stepping up and then is sharp in loud passages.

Schubert's wonderfully beautiful Quartet Opus 29 is on a London record, played very well by the Vegh Quartet, though I would like a little less hurried and more relaxed treatment of the minuet movement and the finale even better. Again the violins sound veiled.

An unavoidable cut in my October 18 article caused the omission of my reasons for disliking Furtwängler's recorded performances of Beethoven's Seventh, Mozart's G minor, and the Brahms-Haydn Variations: "They exhibit his tendencies to slowness of pace (except for the first movement of the Mozart, which is played much too fast), to lingering even in the slow pace, and to fussing with changes of pace."

CONTRIBUTORS

DERK BODDE, professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of "Chinese Ideas in the West," among other books, and the translator of the two-volume "History of Chinese Philosophy" by Fung Yu-lan.

HAYDEN CARRUTH was formerly editor of *Poetry*.

FRANCES KEENE lived in Italy for many years and edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of fascism as told by the opposition.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Dangers of Complacency

Dear Sirs: The United States' enormous war strength is often referred to in the press, but the resistance it has encountered receives less emphasis. For example, little mention is made of the 149,000 North Korean casualties. Even the severe Allied losses are seldom given. America has become so "success-minded" and the press has so lauded American successes that the frustrated ordinary man thinks his leaders must be concealing traitors. McCarthy gets his support from wounded pride, not from actual danger to security.

This self-worship can lead to unexpected results, and one of them may be Eisenhower as our next President.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia

Socialists and the Election

Dear Sirs: Northern Democratic machines are apolitical: they will support whatever wins votes. Southern reactionaries are isolating themselves from the party. The only other major component is the Northern liberal and labor groups, as represented by the A. D. A. These groups have a genuinely progressive social program whose position on consumer cooperatives, public development of resources, and unionization of labor could be regarded as transitional to full social democracy. By the way, the Democratic fund-raising difficulties both in 1948 and this year should squelch the notion that the Democratic Party is a capitalist plot.

Why, then, doesn't the Democratic Party whole-heartedly embrace socialism? For the simple fact, which liberals are so loath to admit, that a majority of the American people do not want socialism. As long as we have a two-party system, the official party platforms must approach each other (a frequent Socialist accusation against the Democrats) in the competition for the necessary support of in-between voters—for some strange reason called "independents"! But the ideology of Democrats is not so conservative, and thus the party can be a more liberal force in government. Before the Second World War, when the British electorate regarded Tories and Labor as poles apart, Labor was never able to achieve an effective Parliamentary support for its ministries; the Liberal Party captured the in-between vote. Now that the official Labor leadership does not contemplate further radical change, and the Tories claim to have accepted most of the welfare state, the Liberal Party has dwindled away.

The Socialist Party's hero-martyr delusions would not be important if this year's election were not going to be so close. But Socialists may actually hold the balance of power in key states like New York. The difference between Democrats and Republicans is not ideal, but it is real. *The Nation's* recent discussion of those who would control the committees of a Republican Congress should be convincing. Therefore I urge my fellow-Socialists to ignore their party's quixotic campaign and to vote Democratic. American liberties, the labor movement, and even world peace may well be at stake.

Seattle DAVID DRAKE

The Korean Stalemate

Dear Sirs: My son was wounded less than a month after he arrived in Korea but has now returned to active duty. I thank God that he is alive today. In the truce negotiations we have compromised or yielded on practically every issue except that of the return of war prisoners. There we have closed the door to any compromise or yielding. American families are asked to continue to sacrifice their sons indefinitely while our government tries to change the attitude of the Communists by bombing North Korean cities and intensifying the ground action. It is conceivable that such tactics will bring about the much-to-be-desired concession on the war-prisoner issue from the Communists. It is also conceivable that such tactics will never succeed but will increase with each passing day the threat of full-scale conflict. If the American public were faced today with the alternative of defending the principle of no return of war prisoners against their will or total war with China, I feel sure that some compromise would immediately be reached. As long as our present policy confines the cost in lives and injury to a relatively small group it is tolerated.

Our present policy is negative, dangerous, costly, and inequitable in terms of the burdens it imposes on a few while

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the great majority of Americans escape them completely. In most newspapers Korean news and casualty lists are buried in the back pages. The policy we are following bars the way to constructive action in rebuilding Korea and is giving us a black eye in Asia. Why should the American public get stirred up about this as long as it is a minority which must carry the burden?

The only way the Administration can be forced to explore new possibilities in this situation is by the pressure of public opinion. I wish very much that *The Nation* would do its utmost to keep the Korean issue alive. It isn't enough to say that nothing can be done until the election is over. Before then thousands of our young men will be butchered in this futile military see-sawing. With the campaign dominating the public's attention more and more, the Korean issue must not be callously shoved aside. It seems to me that there is hardly anything more important in terms of our future. Someone ought to question this steady, quiet butchering which is the cost of our present position. There is everything to gain by intensifying the search to find a way to end the military conflict. I hope *The Nation* will help.

Medford, Mass. LEWIS F. MANLY

The Struik Case

Dear Sirs: You may have noticed that in recent news stories the district attorney of Middlesex County has announced a further delay of my trial and of that of the two other defendants [for allegedly advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of Massachusetts and of the United States, see *The Nation* of November 24, 1951]. I have received so many inquiries about the status of my case that I want to give you a brief explanation of events as I see them.

The district attorney has been quoted as stating that he does not wish to proceed to trial as long as one of the defendants, Mrs. Gilbert, is fighting extradition from Illinois. He has argued that trying us all together will save the county the expense of two trials. It is clear, therefore, that the responsibility for the delay rests not upon me but upon the district attorney.

The financial argument for the delay is hardly convincing if we consider how much the taxpayers might have been saved in dollars, and how much Massachusetts might have been saved in self-respect, if these indictments had not been sought in the first place.

It seems a refined cruelty to hold a man under criminal indictment month after month for a year and longer, his fate subject to events over which neither he nor the prosecution seems to have any control. Let me remind you that immediately following the indictments I said that the principal effect of mine would be to intimidate teachers who want to speak out for peace and for the truth as they see it. The whole history of this case seems to confirm my opinion.

In short, although I am charged with shaking the foundations of Massachusetts and of the nation by something I supposedly said between 1944 and 1948, and the indictments came years after that, and now more than another year has elapsed, it will still be some time before the public can know whether or not a man may hold and express a point of view unpopular in some high places without going to jail. DIRK J. STRUIK

Belmont, Mass.

Doing Our Job

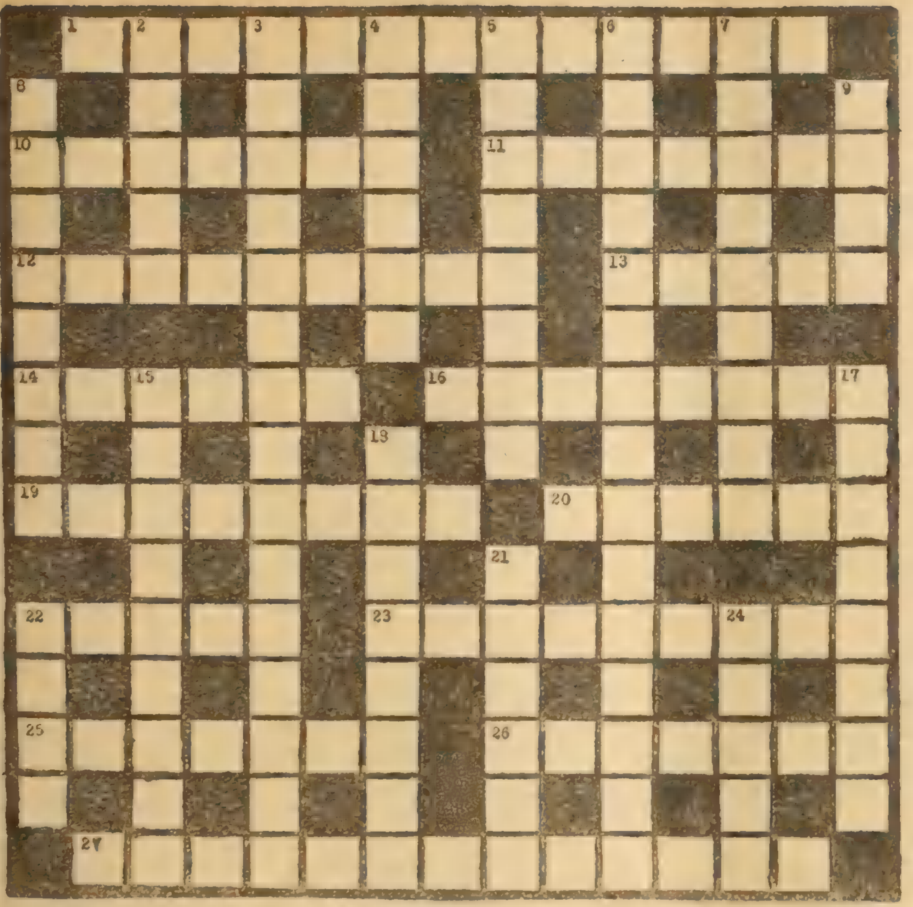
Dear Sirs: More than three decades have passed since I acquired the habit of reading *The Nation*. It seems proper that I should write a word with regard to what the journal is doing to meet its present-day responsibilities. It is no exaggeration to say that, in my judgment, there has never been a period during the past half-century, or at least as much of it as I have known, when this magazine met the needs of the age more courageously and adequately than is the case today. This is high praise when we take into account what *The Nation* has accomplished in the past.

There has never been an era in modern history when the services of an interpreter of the highest level of public opinion were needed more than they are today. The sniping at the United Nations in California and Idaho, to which you called attention in the issue of September 20, is only one illustration of what I mean. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that the idea of "one world," which the U. N. organization was designed to promote and make incarnate, has deteriorated year after year until it has now reached that extreme dualism which it was the prime purpose of its founders to avoid. I realize that it is possible to furnish innumerable alibis for the situation, especially for our share in it, but this fact, if it be a fact, does not relieve the stark tragedy of the picture. . . . FREDERICK D. KERSHNER

Dean Emeritus, School of Religion,
Indianapolis Butler University

Crossword Puzzle No. 488

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Baseball's not as busted as N. Y. U.'s. (3, 4, 2, 4)
- 10 See 22 across.
- 11 One who capitalizes on the bill for trimmings? (7)
- 12 Another name for those things which reputedly deserve to be perpetuated. (9)
- 13 Decline to do so. (5)
- 14 The proper name for a sort of oil rag. (6)
- 16 I'm coming back in the sort that Gertrude had four of. (8)
- 19 Printer (or tailor or counsel?) (8)
- 20 Is such an impression made away from the scene? (6)
- 22 and 10. Serve food to supporters of future flyers. (12)
- 23 Related to the backstop? (9)
- 25 A spring? Like heck it is! (7)
- 26 His man doesn't necessarily get in, despite the implication. (7)
- 27 Place descriptive of the River Rouge employment office? (13)

DOWN

- 2 Lo! The poor Greek, rather than the poor Indian. (5)
- 3 A regular apple, proverbially! (6, 9)
- 4 This might teach one what they have at the bathing beach each year. (6)
- 5 Antithetical. (8)
- 6 Oral obstruction might hamper it, somewhat. (7, 2, 6)
- 7 Scotch ganders? They're somewhat like ichneumons. (9)
- [illegible] The distance between old-fashioned lovers? (5, 3)
- 9 See 22 down.
- 15 France, at one time, could be unconcealed at this place. (4, 5)
- 17 Do they pay up their bills before they build new homes for themselves? (8)
- 18 The sort of gem [illegible] singer takes to town. (4, 4)
- 21 Long written or long spoken. (It sometimes follows the Apostle.) (6)
- 22 and 9. Suitable accompaniment of [illegible] lightning arrester? That's so much hokum! (8)
- 24 Autonomous republic or variant tribesman. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 487

ACROSS:—5 WRIGHTS; 9 ARROW; 10 and 32 NORFOLK; 11 COVER; 12 SPRATS; 15 and 1 across DOWN ON THE FARM; 16 SARACEN; 17 TIER; 19 and 21 MARE NOSTRUM; 23 WARP; 25 PAINTER; 27 TILDEN; 29 DAHLIA; 34 and 26 ADORATION; 35 INGOT, 36 DURANTE; 37 KINETIC.

DOWN:—1 TRANSIT; 2 ERROR; 3 and 18 AT WIT'S END; 4, 33, 31, 30, 5 MANY HANDS MAKE LIGHT WORK; 6 INCHON; 7 HAVEN; 8 STRANGE; 13 SAROYAN; 14 CARTONS 15 DENUDED; 20 and 22 A LA MODE; 22 MATCHED; 24 PLASTIC; 25 PERSON; 28 LINER;

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November 8, 1952

KOREA
Undebated Campaign Issue
AN EDITORIAL

*

Colombia: Political Volcano
BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

*

Jim Crow: A Problem in Diplomacy - - *W. A. Rutherford*
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AROUND THE U. S. A.

On Loyalty Oaths

[The Society for the Study of Social Problems was organized last year in Chicago to promote and protect sociological research. At its first annual meeting on September 3 last its Committee on Standards, and Freedom of Research, Teaching, and Publications, presented a report which is here reprinted in part as a noteworthy discussion of the question of loyalty oaths.]

ALL societies demand of their members loyalty to certain ways of doing and of thinking. These ways constitute what may be called sanctioned behavior, and deviation from them meets with retribution in the form of punishment, ostracism, or loss of material advantages and status within the group. But history is studded with examples of men who pushed forward the boundaries of human well-being through refusal to abide by the old, and through proposing new patterns of behavior. Modern democracy has gone farthest not only in making place for such dissenters but even in making dissent itself a form of sanctioned behavior, as witness certain basic documents which laid the foundation for the American idea.

The right to dissent from accepted conventions of thinking and doing lies at the heart of democracy. The discovery of new truth is the highest activity of democratic citizenship, and science its most important institution. Thus in American culture the ultimate allegiance of mature men and women—and that for which we must educate the young as well—is to truth, and loyalty is not some mechanical process of saluting or verbal mumbo-jumbo but a process of continual search, questioning, and reappraisal of accepted ideas.

Since the end of World War II there has been a tendency to demand of individuals that they proclaim their loyalty to American ideals, to investigate public officials and civil servants as to their loyalty to the American way of life, and to require teachers publicly to proclaim that they are not members of subversive organizations aimed at overthrowing the government. People have been required to sign what have come to be known as "loyalty oaths" to the federal and state constitutions, and their public and private lives, past as well as present, have been subjected to inquiry. Little if any attempt has been made to establish precisely what it is that citizens in a democracy are supposed to be loyal to. Many distinguished persons who have refused to sign such an oath on the ground that it interfered with their constitutional right to hold heterodox opinions and was an obstacle to the pursuit of scientific truth concerning nature, man, and society have been deprived of their jobs and publicly pilloried.

Loyalty defined in terms of obedience to the powers that be is often incompatible with loyalty to the Jeffersonian dictum that the test of democratic citizenship is the struggle against tyranny over men's minds. Indeed, loyalty oaths and investigations have become the method used by organizations and groups with a narrow view of democracy to make their view of loyalty the only view. This makes it possible for all forms of bigotry, intolerance, totalitariansm, or organized ignorance to use organized power to substitute another concept of loyalty for the democratic concept. . . .

LOYALTY OATHS betray a basic insecurity and anxiety concerning the future of America. It may well be that the proponents of loyalty oaths are not so much fearful of the threat of communism and of Sovietism—a threat which all liberal men and women wish to beat back—as of the threat of true democracy to their own undemocratically wielded power. . . .

The right to freedom of assembly and the right to join organizations of one's own choosing have been placed under attack by the extreme loyalists. In exercising those rights democratic citizens have sometimes had to rub elbows, exchange opinions, and even on certain issues act in agreement with individuals who later turned out to be "agents of a foreign power." Those who have been found in this situation are being accused through the doctrine of guilt by association. Lists of organizations have been drawn up membership in which is claimed to be prima facie evidence of disloyalty, though democratic citizens may have joined them simply as "political innocents," seeing no harm in working for a cause which Communists also happened to be working for.

This procedure has made men cautious of holding certain opinions, deprived youth of their right to question the institutions and forms of sanctioned behavior thrust upon them as children, and initiated a type of regressive behavior which can lead to infantile acceptance of all authority. If carried far enough, this procedure can end by thrusting America into the very totalitarianism which the authorities claim to be fighting against. . . .

. . . Even before the appearance of the loyalty scare in recent years, sociology was looked upon as a subversive science because of its desire to find the truth concerning sex, race, crime, propaganda, power, and the forces of ignorance and superstition. How much more suspect will it become if the present climate of opinion continues. Sociologists may soon be required to subscribe to an oath that they will not investigate certain topics on the ground that they are un-American — with Americanism defined to suit vested interests. The classroom, which particularly in colleges and universities must be a market-place for ideas on many "unpleasant" topics, will be under surveillance; prying eyes will seek to discover that the young are being subverted through being taught to think for themselves—which usually means simply being taught to think. . . .

. . . Sociologists know only one sure loyalty—the devotion to truth, even though that truth should involve transvaluation of existent values. Of all the sciences, social and natural, sociology is most endangered by loyalty oaths and the ideology underlying them. Other scientists may continue to unearth truths in restricted or specialized areas, truths which may be used by all men instrumentally. But sociology cannot put on blinkers and retain its birthright. Sociology has an inherently rebellious aspect in that its aim is to ask questions about the very way in which society is organized. If that be disloyalty, it will be necessary for us to see that ignorance and bigotry do not make the most of it.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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KOREA: THE UNDEBATED ISSUE

November 3, 1952

THE NATION will go to press before the balloting begins but after the campaign has ended. As to the results, we share the general uncertainty and shall not try to anticipate them. It is also too early to attempt an evaluation of the campaign as a whole, but of one thing we are certain: a great issue went undebated—the issue of the Korean war. As Arthur Krock pointed out in the New York *Times* of October 31, "Our involvement in this conflict, the continuing stalemate, and the contributing events have always been implicit as a campaign issue." Yet it was not until the final phase of the campaign that the Korean war made its appearance, and even then it was treated obliquely rather than as a central problem calling for creative thought and discussion.

For the failure to raise the issue in a timely and direct fashion the two parties bear equal responsibility. After first indicating agreement with the Administration, General Eisenhower later sought to exploit the emotional potential of Korea without advancing any constructive policy of his own. Instead of clarifying the issue, he dealt with it in a way that endangered our alliances, called in question the principles on which intervention was originally justified, and contributed to Asian distrust of American motives by asserting that the war should be converted into a struggle between Asian peoples. And finally, in his Detroit speech, he suddenly promised to make "a personal trip to Korea" in an effort to bring the war to an early and honorable end—but with no hint as to how he would go about it.

The Administration has been thoroughly inept in its handling of the situation. The reason is clear enough. Fear of the China lobby and Republican flanking attacks have forced it into a negative position and deprived it of the capacity for creative action. In consequence, the Administration's policy has been wholly static, leaving the initiative to the Russians. It is a measure of this inflexibility that the Russians, not we, were responsible for starting the truce negotiations. Largely because of its morbid fear of being charged with "appeasement" and of being "soft on communism" the government has refused even to permit its allies to take part in the attempt to achieve a cease-fire. By the same token, it was unwilling to face the risk of inviting a clear mandate from the people by bringing the problem into the campaign.

Finally, with the truce discussions stalemated for a year and the Korean war barred as a campaign issue, the Administration allowed it to be placed at the top of the agenda of the Political Committee of the General Assembly in the final weeks of the election fight! By every canon of common sense, consideration of Korea in the United Nations should have been postponed, since it was apparent that Mr. Acheson could not and would not discuss it with any freedom in the last days before the election. He could do no more than present an able but dry-as-dust historical recital of the facts. He proposed nothing while accusing the Russians of proposing nothing. Without committing the United States he could at least have tested the honesty of the Russian position. In his address of October 29 Mr. Vishinsky had said: "The question of the exchange of war prisoners has remained the lone hurdle on the path to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question." Mr. Acheson might have responded by asking the Russians if they were prepared, in the interest of world peace and of saving further lives, to accept an immediate cease-fire, leaving to a special committee the negotiation of the exchange of prisoners.

THERE were other possible alternatives, but the Administration's U. N. strategy remained as negative as its campaign strategy. And both had the effect of preventing any outspoken stand on Korea by the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. We do not believe Governor Stevenson, had he been President, would have sanctioned such an ostrich-like attitude. But as nominee he knew that any positive proposals he might make would imply criticism of the Administration. On most issues the Governor spoke with candor and sense, but on Korea he was a victim of his party's record in office.

Failure to debate the Korean war stems from the fallacy that a bipartisan foreign policy necessarily implies an absence of public debate. To such a degree has this view been accepted by the Administration that it has increasingly assumed a tone and manner which imply that any criticism of its foreign policies is tantamount to treason. Nothing could be more short-sighted. Had the Administration given a full accounting of the facts and prospects

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in the Korean situation, it is altogether possible that fewer voters would have been reported in "basic conflict," up to the very end, on the issues of the campaign. Voters have not been given the facts—witness the belated release of a "top secret" report to Senator Morse. In a sense, therefore, the stalemate on Korea reflects the absence of debate and the resulting paralysis of political opinion in this country. The way to end both stalemates is to encourage full and free and public discussion—in the United Nations, in the United States—of the question of war or peace. What the new Administration must understand, specifically, is that Korea is a major issue for the American people. The China lobby can intimidate an Administration on the eve of a crucial election; it cannot intimidate the people once they know all the facts.

Campaign Notes

IN THE course of a campaign as hectic as the one just ended, minor incidents which may be of considerable interest in retrospect are often missed. For the record we should like to set down a few such items.

*

IN THE EXCITEMENT over the Nixon affair, the press seems to have failed to identify the newspaperman who published the original exposé of the California Senator's private expense fund. It was Dan Green—publisher of the *Independent Review*, a legal-notice newspaper in Los Angeles. With forty years' experience in West Coast journalism, Green is a widely known and respected figure in California Democratic politics. His recent series of pieces in the *Independent Review* on the Rise and Fall of Richard Nixon deserve a wide audience.

*

PHIL LA FOLLETTE, son of the founder of the Progressive movement, in a radio talk just before the election came out for Eisenhower, praised "the military mind," and forgot to mention Joe McCarthy. The comment of Miles McMillin of the Madison *Capital Times* was interesting. "There are many Progressives who stood with Phil's father," he wrote, "and many who stood with Phil when he was talking like his father's son. They will wonder about the ways of politics as they see Phil standing in the ruins of his heritage. . . . He went on the air the other night to bear witness to a creed that could hardly be called the faith of his father. Military leaders of the type of Eisenhower and MacArthur, he said, make better Presidents than governors like Adlai Stevenson. This is a somewhat different doctrine than Old Bob La Follette formulated about the military mind in public office and handed along to the Progressive movement." That one of Old Bob's sons should have supported MacArthur in 1948 and Eisenhower in 1952 —and should have ignored McCarthy in an important political address—underscores the need for serious research on the background of McCarthyism in Wisconsin.

*

TWO DAYS BEFORE Senator McCarthy invaded Nevada to campaign for Senator George ("Molly") Malone, Henry Greenspun, editor and publisher of the Las Vegas *Sun*, made a blistering attack on McCarthy in his signed column "Where I Stand." Previously Greenspun haled Senator McCarran into court to answer charges of having brought pressure on local advertisers to withdraw their accounts from the *Sun*. At a crowded meeting in Las Vegas sponsored by the local women's Republican organization, McCarthy praised Malone's fight against communism and accused Greenspun of having smeared "a man I love dearly, Senator Pat McCarran." "I wish his name wasn't Greenspun," he roared; "he's a disgrace to a fine race . . . he follows the mouthings of the *Daily Worker*."

When McCarthy had ended, Greenspun asked for the floor. "If you want to listen to the editor of the local *Daily Worker*," said McCarthy, "you can, but I'm going," and he marched out of the hall, followed by perhaps half of an estimated audience of 1,000. The other half stayed and cheered Greenspun as he recited the facts of various unsavory episodes in Joe's past. The next day Greenspun, a strong Republican supporter of Eisenhower, wired the General demanding that he "disavow and repudiate" McCarthy. When Eisenhower failed to respond, Greenspun switched to Stevenson.

*

WITH ITS ELABORATE COVERAGE by Nevada newspapers, the Greenspun incident may prove to have changed the political situation in the state. Booming Las Vegas now holds the balance of power in Nevada. In 1940 the population of Clark County was 16,414; in 1950 it was 48,289. McCarthy's attack on Greenspun did not hurt the chances of young Tom Mechling, whose fight against Malone has been one of the brightest chapters in the 1952 campaign. While stationed in Las Vegas during the war Mechling decided that Nevada was the one state in which a young man interested in a political career might be able to shake hands with most if not all of the registered voters. In the last ten months he seems to have done just that. And in breezy radio talks he has explained why he had two opponents—Senator Malone, the Republican nominee, and Senator McCarran, the senior Democratic Senator.

Two days after Mechling defeated McCarran's protégé in the Democratic primary, representatives of McCarran came to see him. They told him he could have the support of the Democratic machine on two conditions: that he leave all patronage in McCarran's hands, and that he accept McCarran's "guidance" on key national and international issues. When Mechling laughed at this offer, McCarran and his boys began to work for Malone, as they had worked for, and elected, the Republican nominee for governor in 1950. President Truman then announced that McCarran was not his "kind of Democrat," and Governor Stevenson seconded the motion to boot McCarran over to the Republican side of the street.

*

IT TAKES NO MORE than two quotations to expose one McCarthy lie. In his October 27 speech at Chicago Senator McCarthy said:

> In Stevenson's biography—and here's something which I especially call to your attention . . . on page 73 we find that in the summer of 1943 . . . after Mussolini's government had fallen, Stevenson was given the task of formulating America's post-war policy in Italy. On page 75 we find the statement that his recommendations were followed in Italy. . . . Well, General Bedell Smith, a fine American, . . . has told what that foreign policy established by Stevenson was. . . . He says that foreign policy was to "connive," to "connive" to bring Communists into the Italian government and to bring the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, back from Moscow. . . . Keep in mind that Bedell Smith had nothing to do with this program—he was just testifying as to what it was.

In his book "My Three Years in Moscow" General Bedell Smith, as quoted in an Associated Press dispatch of October 30, wrote as follows:

> We of the West [in Italy in late 1943] were determined to establish a democratic government with as broad a base as possible, and this made it easy for us to accept Communist participation in the Italian government, and even to accept, and indeed to facilitate, the return of the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, who had been in Moscow.
>
> Even had we been contrarily disposed, it would have been difficult to deny Communist participation in the Italian government. Disciplined, militant Communist groups, particularly in the industrial areas of northern Italy, had been the rallying point for Italian opposition to the Germans. The Communists were the hard core of the partisan movement, and their initial participation in the reconstructed Italian government was on a cooperative, collaborative basis.

General Bedell Smith did not mention Mr. Stevenson in connection with this policy.

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A FULL-PAGE ADVERTISEMENT prepared by the Volunteers for Stevenson at Columbia University appeared in the New York *Times* of October 16. The 324 signatures attached included those of outstanding teachers and scholars at the university. A week later an advertisement was inserted in the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* urging the election of Eisenhower and purport-ing to carry the signatures of 714 members of the Columbia "faculties and staffs." The paucity of well-known names on this list, together with the known heavy faculty preference for Stevenson, aroused suspicion. Professors were amazed to find on the list the names of their apartment-house superintendents. It was discovered that only 259 of the 714 names could properly be regarded as representing either faculty or staff: 228 could not be located in any university directory; 89 were students, many non-matriculated, who apparently held part-time jobs at the university; 103 were office and secretarial workers; 23 were buildings-and-grounds employees; 6 were bookstore employees; and 6 were superintendents of apartment buildings owned by the university.

The indignation of the faculty at such tactics was increased by another circumstance. Earlier in the campaign the acting president had urged high officers of the university to refrain from signing campaign documents lest the university be misrepresented. Accordingly, men like Dean Ackerman of the School of Journalism had not signed the Stevenson advertisement. The pro-Eisenhower statement, however, bore the names of various top administrators, among them President Russell of Teachers College. In a lead editorial on October 29 the *Spectator*, the undergraduate newspaper, declared that Professor Howell Inghram, secretary of the Eisenhower group, had refused to explain the presence of the questionable names. Remarking that much had been said about academic freedom, the *Spectator* defined the issue as one of academic integrity. "This is the second surrender of principles at Morningside," it said. "Let there be no more." On October 30 Professor Irwin Edman, speaking for the Stevenson committee, observed that "this issue transcends partisan political allegiance," and "involves a serious breach of ethics."

Next Week in *The Nation*

The Meaning of the Election

Comments by

Aubrey Williams, publisher of the *Southern Farm and Home;* Harry Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette;* Hugo Ernst, general president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution;* Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Edward Lamb, publisher of the Erie *Dispatch-Herald* and owner of television stations WICU in Erie and WTVN in Columbus; Leo Lerner, Chicago North Side Newspapers; James Fitzsimmons Gardner, Labor's League for Political Education; Irving Dilliard of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch;* Maury Maverick, Saul D. Alinsky, Stringfellow Barr, and James Warburg.

UNESCO and Franco Spain

Paris

IN A world where screaming contradictions between "principles" and "realities" abound and considerations of expediency receive cynical respect, it may seem a small matter whether Franco Spain is admitted to UNESCO or not. The arguments in favor are familiar enough: Spain is already a member of the Food and Agricultural Organization; so why not let it into UNESCO too? Also there are plenty of other UNESCO members, like Argentina on the one hand and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland on the other, whose domestic ideologies have little in common with UNESCO's aims. With respect to the second argument, all these countries became members when conditions were different; the Communist states, moreover, are little more than nominal members, having forefeited their voting rights by non-payment of dues. In any case the dropping of existing members is a different matter from the admission of new ones. The prospect of having Franco Spain in UNESCO angers and disgusts all people who sincerely believe that the agency stands for something that may become increasingly valuable in future years.

The admission of Spain now would be a baldly political act—a means of getting the regime accepted "gradually" in more and more places; UNESCO is the last place where Franco Spain could possibly "fit." Its lack of cultural and educational freedom, the complete subservience of its universities to the Catholic church, would hardly make it a loyal and enthusiastic member of the organization. The Spanish dictator has already shown how he feels about UNESCO's work. Many of its publications have been barred from Spain, among them "The Human Rights Exhibition Album" and various educational books aiming at a better international understanding.

The widespread feeling against the admission of Spain to UNESCO will be voiced when the question is discussed at the agency's general conference opening in Paris on November 12. Last May the U. N. Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution saying it had "no objection" to Spain's entering UNESCO, but many people hope that the representatives of countries like France, Britain, and the United States will "think again" when the final decision has to be taken by UNESCO itself. It will be recalled that among those who voted against the Economic and Social Council's resolution were the delegates of Uruguay and Mexico; Mexico is the country of Torres Bodet, the director general of UNESCO, who certainly has its future at heart.

For financial and other reasons UNESCO may not be all that it should be, but why do something that can only make it worse? ALEXANDER WERTH

War Without End?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

IF ANY further proof were needed that only a new, radical approach to the problem of ending the Korean war can extricate the United Nations from its present state of impotence, the debate this week in the Political Committee has furnished it once and for all. The difficulties which the U. N. has encountered in attempting to end the hostilities in Korea, while at the same time participating as a co-belligerent, are augmented by the American insistence that any concession to Communist China is a betrayal of political morality. This propaganda emanates from the most varied sources—isolationists as well as interventionists, liberals as well as reactionaries.

In this situation it was probably impossible for the spokesman of the United States to do more than he did in his three-hour speech on October 26—that is, present capably the American record and position. Mr. Acheson's report was an effective piece of special pleading but completely negative in a diplomatic and political sense. It gave Mr. Vishinsky abundant material for an answer a quarter of an hour longer, delivered with a vigor which contradicted the rumor that he had grown old and tired.

For Mr. Acheson, the important thing was to show that the Korean war was inspired, equipped, and maintained by Moscow. For Mr. Vishinsky, it was to prove that the attempt to put the responsibility for the initial attack on North Korea directly—though in fact on the Soviet Union—was based upon an arbitrary action of the United Nations, which had named North Korea the aggressor without giving it a hearing. But while this controversy was being carried on by the major adversaries, the rest of the committee had a different interest. What the majority of the delegates wanted to hear was whether either side had any new ideas as to how to bring about the end of the Korean war.

Except for the proposal, signed by nineteen other states, that the Assembly throw its weight behind an appeal to the Chinese and North Koreans to accept the principle of voluntary repatriation of prisoners, which the United Nations negotiators have persistently defended at Panmunjom, Mr. Acheson had nothing to offer. Mr. Vishinsky concluded his speech by asking the United Nations to hand over the problem of ending the war to a new United Nations commission so constituted as to guarantee a fresh approach to this most intricate question. Such a commission, he asserted, should be composed of "the parties directly concerned and of other states not participating in the war in Korea." It was easy to deduce that this meant, in addition perhaps to Russia itself, Communist China and North Korea as counterbalances to South Korea, together with influential neutral countries, such as India, whose authority in the U. N. in regard to Korean concerns is indisputable.

The mention of Communist China even by implication was enough to cause certain delegations to dismiss the Vishinsky proposal as a repetition of the attempt made last year at the Palais de Chaillot to remove the truce negotiations from Panmunjom and bring them before the United Nations. Last year, however, the Soviet initiative could still be rejected on grounds which sounded very strong: it was considered inadvisable to make such a shift while the negotiations in the theater of war were in progress and apparently had a chance of succeeding. In the present Assembly this argument has lost 90 per cent of its force. The truce talks are at a standstill, and as long as the United Nations continues to adhere rigidly to its position on the repatriation of prisoners, there seems to be no way of ending the stalemate except by returning to General MacArthur's policy and stepping up the war in Korea. Mr. Lloyd of Britain and M. Hoppenot of France, while opposed to the Vishinsky proposal, offered no other solution. But Ambassador Palar of Indonesia expressed the increasing desire of the Asians, as well as of the Arab states and Mexico, to find a new basis of discussion.

If there is not to be an expansion of the war, the truce negotiations will have to be filled with a new content. As things stand today, no merely "military" negotiations will end the Korean struggle. The Communist armies have built up too much strength for anyone to believe that, with no quid pro quo, they will yield on the prisoner question, which has become a major political issue. If we maintain that the solution lies in Moscow, is it even mildly realistic to imagine that Russia, seeing no likelihood of an accord on Germany or of a Big Four conference to discuss outstanding differences, will render American diplomacy the service of extricating it from an almost impossible situation in Korea? On the contrary, since the Russians obviously do not believe there will be general war in the near future, their natural inclination is to fold their arms and wait, in the expectation that the conflicts of viewpoint and interest which have arisen among the members of the Atlantic coalition on the subject of the Korean war will eventually split it apart.

The situation would be different if negotiations to reestablish peace in Korea were to be based on new proposals—if, for example, the question of the eventual admission of Communist China, or of a general conference on Asian problems, were discussed collaterally. From this point of view a new commission like that proposed by Mr. Vishinsky would feel freer to explore beyond the narrow problem of the exchange of prisoners—this, of course, on the assumption that there really is a desire to end the war in Korea. If there is not, no proposal, however original and constructive it may appear, will have the slightest value.

The Rosenberg Case

BY ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

JULIUS and Ethel Rosenberg are held in Sing Sing prison awaiting execution. They were given the death penalty by Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, having been found guilty of violating the Espionage Act by supplying secret information to Russia. Said the sentencing judge: "I consider your crime worse than murder."

The judgment was affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals. Certiorari was denied by the United States Supreme Court. At this writing a rehearing is under consideration by that court.

Why the uneasiness about this case? Is it due to leftist propaganda? What support, if any, is there for the claim that these people are innocent, or that they did not have a fair trial?

It is true that they were convicted on the testimony of co-conspirators and confessed spies. It is charged that the testimony of Greenglass and his wife, the chief witnesses against the Rosenbergs, was induced by an agreement with the prosecutor that Ruth Greenglass would not be prosecuted and that David Greenglass would receive a relatively light sentence.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, together with David Greenglass, Anatoli Yakolev, and Morton Sobell, were charged with conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act by communicating secret information to Russia between 1944 and 1950, with intent and reason to believe that the information was to be used to the advantage of Russia. Harry Gold, who had pleaded guilty in another court, and Ruth Greenglass were named in the indictment as co-conspirators, not as defendants. David Greenglass, a brother of Ethel Rosenberg, was stationed as a soldier at the Los Alamos Atomic Experimental Station. He testified that he conveyed information and sketches to the Rosenbergs and their emissaries which, it was charged, they turned over to Russia. Harry Gold had, at the command of Yakolev, met with Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist and Russian spy working at Los Alamos. Greenglass testified that Julius Rosenberg admitted to him that he transmitted information to Russia on microfilm equipment and that he received rewards from the Russians in money and gifts. Rosenberg also, according to Greenglass, was associated in some way with Jacob Golos, his go-between having been Elizabeth Bentley. After Fuchs was arrested, the evidence showed that Rosenberg gave Greenglass some $5,000 which Greenglass claimed was to enable him to leave the country. Rosenberg himself and his wife had passport photographs taken, apparently contemplating a getaway. The facts are complicated, but if Greenglass is to be believed they fit into a picture like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, implicating all the defendants in the conspiracy to transmit information to Russia.

Russia was our ally in 1944, but under the statute a crime exists if secret information is turned over to a foreign government with reason to believe that the information may be of advantage to the recipient. The charge was not treason. The defendants were not indicted or tried for giving aid to an enemy. In a treason trial there would have been certain constitutional safeguards. Thus, the defendants argue that the crime of which they were accused was of the same kind as treason but of a lesser degree, and that they were at least entitled to the constitutional protections which would have been required in a treason trial. Further, the argument runs that traditionally and by statute the courts have been authorized to impose the death penalty for treason, and that to authorize such a sentence for a similar but less grave offense is to permit cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Constitution. It was argued that the political views of the defendants, the fact that they were Communists, naturally prejudiced the jury against them, and that the question of whether or not they were Communists should have played no part in the trial. The court held that this evidence was relevant. Said Judge Frank of the United States Court of Appeals:

> An American's devotion to another country's welfare cannot of course constitute proof that he has spied for that other country. But the jurors may reasonably infer that he is more likely to spy for it than other Americans not similarly devoted.

It is alleged that the concept of treason was emphasized during the trial, although that was not the crime charged. The answer is that the term "treason" was used in a general not in a technical sense.

The jury has spoken. The Appellate Court has spoken; the opinion of Judge Frank began, "Since two of the defendants must be put to death if the judgment stands, it goes without saying that we have scrutinized the record with extraordinary care."

In view of all this, why the fuss about the Rosenbergs? The answer lies in the penalty, the sentence of death. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are lodged in Sing Sing awaiting execution. As the trial court said, it is hard to conceive of a crime which, as events have transpired,

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could have more vicious consequences. Yet we cannot forget that Klaus Fuchs, the scientist and chief conspirator in this whole business, was tried in England and sentenced to only fourteen years in jail, and that in the Canadian spy trials the sentences were relatively light. We may try, but we cannot forget the two young Rosenberg children.

So far as I know, there is no precedent for a death penalty in a case like this. We cannot help feeling that giving information to an ally (we must bear in mind, however, that the Rosenbergs continued to give information when Russia was no longer an ally and was in a sense an enemy) is not so serious as giving information to the enemy and that if this is a lesser crime the penalty ought to be less. These considerations apparently moved Circuit Judge Frank, who felt constrained to hold that the appellate court had no power to reduce the sentence. Judge Frank said:

> In support of that contention [that the penalty should be reduced] they assert the following: that they did not act from venal or pecuniary motives; except for this conviction, their records as citizens and parents are unblemished; at the most, out of idealistic motives they gave secret information to Soviet Russia when it was our war-time ally; for this breach they are sentenced to die, while those who, according to the government, were their confederates, at least equally implicated in wartime espionage—Harry Gold, Emil Fuchs, Elizabeth Bentley, and the Greenglasses—get off with far lighter sentences or go free altogether. Finally, they argue, the death sentence is unprecedented in a case like this: No civil court has ever imposed this penalty in an espionage case, and it has been imposed by such a court in two treason cases only.

There is a suggestion in connection with the death penalty that the Supreme Court might "well think it desirable to review that aspect of our decision in the case."

It is the damnable death penalty that causes the uneasiness. To avoid this horrible killing by the state, argument is made that the trial was unfair, and some people, mostly leftists I take it, are claiming that the Rosenbergs are innocent. If this judgment is carried through, we shall make martyrs of the Rosenbergs, perhaps not to many people in the United States, but to millions in other parts of the world. You can imagine what would be our own emotional response if two Russians were sentenced to death for supplying information to us while we were allied with Russia. Somehow, I cannot help feeling that the British treatment of Fuchs shows a higher degree of civilization than the sentence in this case.

Colombia: Political Volcano

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

ONE thing to remember about Latin America is its paradoxical affinities amid disparities. Here are twenty countries as different from one another in most respects as the nations of Europe—except that eighteen of them have the same Spanish language. Yet touch a sensitive spot anywhere and the shock will be felt in every country, most strongly in the neighboring countries but perceptibly everywhere.

The tragedy that Colombians are enacting today seems to be having an exclusive run on their national stage. There is fortunately nothing comparable to it anywhere else in the hemisphere, if in the world; but neighboring Venezuela is already indirectly involved, vast financial investments could be jeopardized, a source of contention is shaping up for every Latin American country as people take sides with either Conservatives or Liberals, and everywhere one finds the sense of foreboding that violence causes in a continent that has been the scene of so much internecine bloodshed.

A strange sort of civil war is going on in Colombia. This received striking expression on September 6, when a small organized group of Conservatives—not a mob—wrecked the offices and plants of the two great Liberal newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, and burned down the houses of the Liberal ex-President, Alfonso Lopez, and of the director of the Liberal Party, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, as well as the party headquarters. It was a carefully directed and planned outrage, according to neutral observers in Bogotá. A nucleus of about fifty men—not the usual type of hired thugs—went about the job systematically. At no time were more than 150 to 200 men involved; naturally some hoodlums joined the fray. In fact, twenty or thirty men did the job on the two private homes.

Dr. Lopez's house was two doors away from that of Acting President Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez, who was in the country at the time but whose house was guarded by police and soldiers. These watched without lifting a finger. In fact, reliable witnesses say that soldiers were

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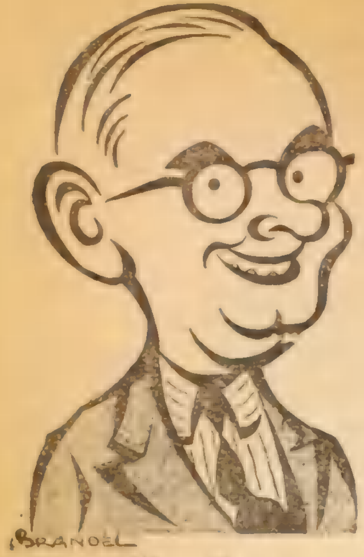


Alfonso Lopez

in the group which burned Dr. Lopez's house and at one time were firing their guns. The police were not actively involved—but of course they should have been, protecting property and arresting the culprits. Neither police nor army moved until the damage had been done.

These are the facts, and they are not based on hearsay or imagination. That is why it is generally believed in Bogotá that a militant group of Conservatives, determined to suppress the Liberal opposition by violence, was behind the outrage. It is also possible, in view of the conduct of the soldiers, that some army officers were involved. If the army is intervening in Colombian politics, as it has never done before, the consequences could be momentous.

What happened on that September afternoon and evening immediately reminded everyone of the uprising of April 9, 1948, when the ninth Pan-American Conference was meeting, with General George C. Marshall as one of the distinguished delegates. In fact, the story really begins there, although the 1948 *Bogotazo* was itself an explosion of long-pent-up forces.

It is literally true in Colombia that "Every boy and every girl / That's born into the world alive / Is either a little Liberal / Or else a little Conservative." In the land of Gilbert and Sullivan this was an amusing statement of the normal rivalry of political parties; it did not mean that Liberals and Conservatives wanted to cut each other's throats. The Colombians spent the greater part of the nineteenth century doing just that. They had no fewer than seventy revolutions or civil wars up to 1903. Then the fighting stopped, after a terrible holocaust, and for forty-five years Colombia provided a fine example of a tolerant, two-party system of democratic government—the democracy being somewhat relative, especially when it came to elections, but none the less real. The country was, in fact, a model for Latin America; yet it threw its democracy away. For this both the Liberals and the Conservatives were to blame.

In 1943 the Pan-American Union put out a pamphlet which said: "Colombia has shown a remarkable growth in sound and orderly methods of government. High standards of public administration prevail, and government leaders have displayed unusual political sense and moderation. Elections are free, the press is uncensored, and the government has been more and more responsive to public opinion." This was written during the second term of Alfonso Lopez, the very man whose house was burned down by Conservatives on September 6. Dr. Lopez was—and is—a moderate; they all were, in both parties, during those years. The moderate Conservative and the moderate Liberal had as much in common as American Republicans and Democrats. They were hard put to find doctrinal differences, and to this day they cannot explain what happened to bring about the hatred and bloodshed of the last five years.

CLEARLY, control passed from the moderates to the extremists, and it apparently did so first in the Liberal Party, although the Liberals claim that the adoption of falangism and fascism by Conservative extremists during the Spanish civil war (1936-39) started the trouble. A Liberal demagogue, Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, acquired a large popular following and split the Liberals in the presidential elections of 1946. As a result, a Conservative, Mariano Ospina Perez, won a plurality, not a majority, and became President. The Conservatives have been a minority party ever since, so far as one can see, but they have never lost their grip on the government.

The Bogotá uprising of 1948 occurred when Gaitán was assassinated in the streets of the capital. The killer was lynched on the spot and his accomplices were never identified. Foreign Communists were there—ready and organized, with a methodical plan and the arms to carry it out—but there were few Colombian Communists, and despite hysterical charges at the time, it was not a Liberal-Communist plot. It was simply a case of the Communists taking advantage of the existing situation, which had been brought to the explosion point by the hatred that had developed between the Liberals and Conservatives. The lid blew off and a fearful brew was disclosed. The outstanding victims in those few days of violence were the Conservatives, and especially the future President, Laureano Gomez, whose newspaper, *El Siglo*, was destroyed and whose home was burned. It has been a stock argument of the Conservative apologists that the Liberals were just as bad when they were in power, but aside from the fact that this is a gross exaggeration, it is never true that two wrongs make a right.

For a while, the *Bogotazo* frightened both sides into relative calm, but explosive forces were again gathering strength. In March, 1947, and again in May, 1949, Congressional elections left the Liberals with majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives, but the President, Ospina Perez, was Conservative, and when the Liberals moved to impeach him in November, 1949, he clamped down a state of siege. This was on the eve of another presidential election.

According to the Liberals, the elections of November, 1949, were won by a simple procedure—for which there were precedents. An atmosphere was created in which great numbers of Liberals would have had to risk their lives to vote for the Liberal ticket. So they boycotted the elections, with the natural result that the Conservatives elected their candidate, Laureano Gomez. The Congressional elections in September, 1951, packed Congress with hand-picked Conservatives, and it has been that way ever since.

It so happens that Colombia is a country where the spoils system operates to the hilt. The party that wins appoints just about every functionary in the country; and since the Liberals had been in power for sixteen years, their adherents held all the jobs. The Conservatives not only swept them out but cut loose with a ferocious burst of violence before and after the 1949 elections, in which many Liberals lost their lives and thousands were driven from their homes and farms into banditry. As always in such circumstances, there is no way of proving which side started the bloodshed. Possibly it was all mixed up, but the Liberals took by far the greater punishment, and that is why one sees it as a case of Conservative oppression. The Conservatives were on top; they had the power in the form of police, soldiers, and arms, and many of the judges were their men.

IN ANY event, this violence was the beginning of what can now be called Colombia's civil war. Retaliation by the Liberals set up a vicious round which has never ended. The national police and troops—poorly trained, badly disciplined, irresponsible youths for the most part—made matters worse. They had great provocation. The authenticated tales of bestial torture and execution by both sides give one the shivers. "We are riding a wildly spinning wheel," wrote the Conservative newspaper *El Colombiano* of Medellin on September 11, "where today's victims become tomorrow's executioners and these, in turn, the future victims. Each victim feeds on a sentiment of retaliation, so that there will be enough hatred in Colombia for the next 150 years."

The worst focus of strife, or "banditry" as it came to be called, was in the *llanos*—the plains of the northeast, bordering on Venezuela—but other regions also became infested with armed bands. Out-and-out criminals, some released from the jails in the 1948 rioting, naturally joined them and often became leaders, thereby somewhat confusing the ideological struggle. The government kept up the fiction that these were bandits—that is, criminals; the Liberals called them by the honored name of guerrillas. But both sides recognized that the lawlessness was a part of the Liberal-Conservative struggle.

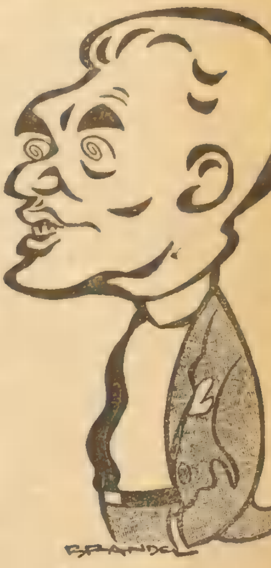
It is an uneven struggle, for the fighting Liberals are unorganized, scattered, and poorly armed, and the home-staying Liberals are weakly led, and their political machine has been virtually destroyed. A revolution is an impossibility in such circumstances.

The struggle follows the line of typical Spanish guerrilla fighting. Its effect depends on its extent and persistence. The Napoleonic armies in Spain, for instance, found it an intolerable drain. Generalissimo Franco, on the other hand, is bothered little by it. In Colombia it is becoming almost unbearable, and that is what provoked the September 6 outrage and what is bringing the civil strife to a crisis. The news of that incident appeared in the North American press as if out of a clear sky, but those in touch with Colombia have watched the long, steady process with growing dismay. From cities to towns to villages to isolated farms, the violence has gone its destructive way, often exploding as if by spontaneous combustion. As we saw in our own Civil War, and as Spain learned to its cost, there is a peculiar intensity of bitterness and hatred about civil conflict. It somehow seems worse than a war between different countries and races.

Religious intolerance has been a natural concomitant of the tension, and the few Protestants—Colombian and foreign—are being persecuted.

One of the paradoxes of the situation is that these years of strife have been years of growing prosperity. Foreign capital invested in Colombia now totals around $400,000,000. Coffee, the principal crop, is fetching continually high prices. Industry is flourishing, and there is a building boom. At the same time Colombia has the typical hierarchy of a small, wealthy ruling class, an underpaid and neglected middle class, and a mass of poverty-stricken workers and peasants. Social and economic inequities have had a great deal to do with the discontent and violence of recent years, even though these have taken a political form.

The sympathies of the outside world have gone to the Liberals. During their tenure of power from 1930 to 1946 they ruled with decency and with honest regard for democratic institutions. The incidents to which the Conservatives now point were exceptions, not the rule. Three weeks before the November, 1949, elections, the Ospina Perez government proclaimed a state of siege and a censorship, and suspended Congress until a Conservative majority could be elected. President Laureano Gomez, the Conservative leader, got his ideas and methods from Franco Spain. Although he became ill in October, 1951, he has been directing affairs from behind the scenes, while Roberto Urdaneta is President-designate. Dr. Gomez's son, Alvaro, pub-



Laureano Gomez

lisher of *El Siglo*, is considered an example of the tough, extreme wing of the Conservative Party.

The party has a dissident wing which probably represents a majority, but it has been held down with vigor and skill by Laureano Gomez. The actual head of this branch is a demagogue, Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, who has been pro-fascist and anti-American but is now moderate and pro-American; ex-President Ospina Perez is its titular leader. The hopes of many Colombians are placed in this group.

As long as Laureano Gomez remains President and is able to pull the strings, there seems little hope of concord. Laureano, as everyone calls him, seems to think only in terms of authoritarianism and is a man of strong and violent emotions. Dr. Urdaneta is by inclination a moderate and is given credit by all except his Liberal opponents for being a sincere, honest, patriotic citizen. One can only suppose that his power is far below his position as Acting President and that his feelings make a compromise with the Liberals inconceivable to him. One must always keep in mind that the hot-tempered, emotional, intense Colombian does not feel or think the way an Anglo-Saxon would in similar circumstances. Extremism is more natural than moderation in Colombia—as in many Latin American countries.

It would be unfair in any discussion of the situation today to overlook the fact that Colombia under the Conservatives is the only Latin American country with ground troops fighting in Korea. It is also one of the few in which there has been virtually no nationalism and anti-Yankeeism.

To try to predict what will happen in the coming critical months would be folly. One can say that the danger is very great and that compromise and pacification are unlikely. Clearly, the situation cannot go on much longer as it is without a descent into anarchy. The army leaders are obviously getting fed up with the casualties among the soldiers. That is why some people fear—and many hope for—an army coup, followed by a military junta which would maintain order until new elections could be held.

It is the realization that the situation is becoming intolerable which makes the rest of Latin America—and above all neighboring Venezuela—so nervous. Is there going to be an explosion or not? And if one comes, how damaging will it be?

The Smith Act—Baltimore Version

BY FRANK J. DONNER

WHEN the Smith act was passed in 1940 with President Roosevelt's approval, few people paid much attention to it. All eyes were on the war in Europe. Nor was any great interest aroused by the indictment and conviction under the act of certain trade-union leaders and their political associates in Minneapolis in 1941.* The defendants belonged to an unpopular political minority, and, again, people were thinking about the war. When the eleven Communist leaders were indicted in 1949, the timing indicated that the action was aimed at arresting the third-party movement. "Politics," people said. The melodrama of the trial before Judge Medina overshadowed the larger issues: people still did not realize what was happening. Then came the Baltimore and Los Angeles convictions, the Honolulu and Pittsburgh indictments, at present awaiting trial, and the still more recent arrest of eighteen minor Communist functionaries, including several well-known trade-unionists. Twelve years have now passed since the Smith act was slipped through Congress as a rider to the Alien Registration Act, and it is time that the American people realized what is happening. To this end they should take a careful look at the decision of the United States Court of Appeals in the Baltimore case affirming the convictions of six persons on a charge of conspiracy to violate the Smith act.

The Smith act makes punishable as crimes the following four types of conduct directed at the overthrowing of the government by force and violence: (1) teaching and advocacy; (2) the printing, publishing, editing, circulation, selling and distribution, or public display of written or printed matter teaching, advocating, or advising; (3) organizing or helping to organize a society or group which teaches, advocates, or encourages; and (4) becoming a member of or affiliating with such a group, knowing its purposes. The Supreme Court affirmed the convictions of the eleven Communist leaders in New York for a conspiracy to violate the provisions against teaching and advocacy and organizing. Its action seriously weakens the protection of the First Amendment.

But the Court of Appeals decision in the Baltimore

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*I. F. Stone discussed this case in an article called The G-String Conspiracy printed in *The Nation* of July 26, 1941.

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case extends the Smith act to areas left untouched by the New York, or Dennis, case. If it is permitted to stand, membership in an organization or the circulation of literature can result in a prison sentence of five years and a fine of $10,000, provided a jury can be persuaded—no difficult task in times such as these—that the organization or the books teach or advocate doctrines proscribed by the Smith act, and that the member knows the organization's purpose and has a guilty intent.

Supreme Court review of this decision is now being sought. If the court accepts the case for review, its judgment will have a decisive impact upon all the other Smith act cases, whether pending trial, on trial, or on appeal. The decision will determine the immediate future of constitutional liberties in this country.

THE Baltimore case furnishes disturbing proof that repression is contagious, that attacks on civil liberties cannot be confined to a particular kind of restraint or class of individual. In the Dennis case the Supreme Court justified the convictions by accepting the government's contention that the defendants were too dangerous to be permitted to enjoy the protection of the First Amendment, since as members of the national board of the Communist Party they were in a unique position to make policy, wield power, and exercise control over the entire party. The Court of Appeals, in affirming the Baltimore convictions, totally ignored the limitations of the Dennis decision. Judge Parker, in approving the extremely broad membership and literature provisions of the Smith act, relied on the Dennis case, although those provisions were in no way involved in it.

Judge Parker eliminated all constitutional problems by declaring that "the question presented is not one as to freedom of speech." This pronouncement must be regarded as one of the major mysteries of modern jurisprudence. But he also sought to bury the weighty constitutional questions presented in another way—by ruling that the First Amendment does not apply to a conspiracy case. The four justices who subscribed to the major opinion in the Dennis case, Justice Frankfurter in his concurring opinion, and the two justices who dissented, all agreed that free-speech standards must be applied where the object of a conspiracy is the exercise of free speech. Only Justice Jackson in a separate concurrence took a contrary view. Thus Judge Parker seized upon the view of one justice of the Supreme Court and ignored the position of seven others with respect to the scope of the protection of the First Amendment.

Judge Parker proceeded as though the mere finding by a jury that a conspiracy exists is sufficient to erase the protections of the First Amendment. But in the Dennis case the Supreme Court made it clear that it is the extent of participation of the accused in the conspiracy, the danger presented by his conduct, and evidence with respect to his intent that determine the constitutionality of a conviction under the Smith act. The Supreme Court stated that "where there is doubt as to the intent of the defendants, the nature of their activities, or their power to bring about the evil, this court will review the convictions with a scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution." It seems clear that the convictions in the Baltimore case were not reviewed by the appellate court with that "scrupulous care."

Though the text of the Baltimore indictment made it clear that the objects of the conspiracy charged were confined to teaching and advocating, and organizing a group to advocate, Judge Chesnut, the trial judge, stated in his instructions to the jury that the indictment charged a conspiracy to violate all the provisions of the Smith act, including the literature and membership provisions. He told the jury it could find the defendants guilty if it decided they conspired to violate the statute "in any one" of the four ways referred to above.

It seems manifest that the broader membership and literature provisions were submitted to the jury as a basis for the defendants' guilt only because there was no evidence that would sustain a conviction for conspiring to advocate and organize. In fact, the evidence concerning the defendants' conduct related almost exclusively to membership and the holding of office. This variance between the indictment and the instructions to the jury violated fundamental due-process requirements and the guaranty of the Sixth Amendment that defendants have "the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation."

BUT the trial judge did more than inject into the case conspiracy to violate two provisions of the Smith act heretofore unused because so dangerous. In effect, he instructed the jury that they could find the defendants guilty without finding a conspiracy in a legal sense at all. This he did by practically equating the Communist Party with a conspiracy.

After years of effort, particularly through the trade unions' struggle for legal existence, we have eradicated from the law the notion that an unincorporated association is a conspiracy if one of its objectives may be condemned as illegal, and that a member of an unincorporated association may be vicariously liable for acts in which he has not participated if those acts go beyond the association's charter. In the Baltimore case all these limitations upon the conspiracy concept were abandoned. The case was submitted to the jury as though the Communist Party were a vast ready-made, judicially condemned conspiracy of which the defendants became a part by joining it. Under the court's charge, if the jury found that the Communist Party taught proscribed doctrine, the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy to violate all the substantive provisions of the Smith act by the mere fact of membership. Not the defendants but the Communist Party was placed on trial, and the conspiracy of which the defendants were convicted was that of joining the Communist Party and remaining members of it.

Proof that this alleged conspiracy had evil objectives was not based on what the defendants themselves said or did. The great bulk of the testimony admitted against them came from agents, informers, and employees of the Department of Justice. Almost all of it was not only of a highly prejudicial character and extremely remote in time but totally unconnected with their conduct. In short, the case was tried not as a criminal-law trial but as a legislative hearing in which a witness is permitted freely to denounce the political objectives of an organization and its members without regard to the rules of evidence, in particular the rules against hearsay and opinion evidence.

A reading of Judge Parker's decision shows how wide the case has opened the door to mass trials in which guilt is imputed solely by association: ". . . conspiracies of the sort here involved are properly thought of, not as agreements, but as partnerships in criminal purposes or as organizations for furthering such purposes. Guilt is established when an organization with such criminal purposes is shown to have existed and defendants are shown to have joined it with knowledge of such purposes." But liability arising from participation in a partnership or an unincorporated association likewise rests on agreement, and the law of conspiracy cannot be altered because an unpopular minority is involved.

Judge Parker's reasoning should come as no surprise, for his views on conspiracy have significant antecedents. It was he who in 1927 approved a sweeping anti-labor injunction against the United Mine Workers, its officers and members, in the notorious Red Jacket case. This injunction rested in part upon the theory that in seeking to unionize West Virginia coal miners who had signed "yellow-dog" contracts, the union, its officers and members, had engaged in a criminal conspiracy because the means used—inducing breach of "yellow-dog" contracts—were illegal. Judge Parker was nominated for the Supreme Court by President Hoover and was rejected by the Senate principally because of the Red Jacket injunction. A second reason for his rejection was his Negro-baiting during the 1920 governorship campaign in North Carolina and the resulting opposition of the N. A. A. C. P.

By predicating conspiratorial guilt upon the act of joining an association with knowledge of its criminal purposes, the court has again made the conspiracy concept a serious menace to the right of free assembly and association.

The constitutional issues raised by the Baltimore case cannot be ignored by any American concerned with the survival of democracy in this country. Judicial approval of the convictions would mean approval of book burning and mass trials of political dissenters. It would mean that labor organizations and other unincorporated associations could be condemned as criminal conspiracies if their objectives were found to be within the broad scope of the Smith act. On the other hand, a reversal of the convictions would serve notice that the Justice Department had overplayed its hand and mark a start on the road back to constitutional sanity.

Jim Crow: A Problem in Diplomacy

BY WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD

Paris

THE day after Harry and Harriet Moore were buried in Florida, a group of Negro and white leaders from various religious and civic organizations told Governor Fuller Warren: "We have come to express the grief and indignation of hundreds of thousands in every state in the union. The increasing atrocities and mounting terror against the Negro people are not only bringing ruinous disgrace to the state but shame and discredit to our nation in the eyes of the entire world."

The truth of this statement, extreme as it is, cannot be denied. Recently President Auriol of France, defending France's record in North Africa, spoke of "certain disorders and certain miseries elsewhere" which show that "it is easier to give lessons than to give examples." His words were interpreted by his listeners as a reference to the treatment of Negroes in the United States and evoked a storm of applause. Europeans are unquestionably interested in how we are coping with our "color problem," and it is appropriate to ask what our representatives abroad have said and done to enlighten them.

At the first Peace Conference called by the Communists in Paris in 1948 Paul Robeson, making the keynote speech for the American delegation, declared that many American Negroes could not vote, find jobs, or obtain adequate educational, health, or living facilities. He spoke of the terrors which oppress Negro Americans North and South and compared their condition with that of "oppressed" people throughout the world. The Amer-

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ican embassy at once asked the anti-Communist Negro novelist, Richard Wright, to record a speech in reply. Wright refused, saying he did not agree with Robeson politically but could not quarrel with anything he had said about the plight of American Negroes. The United States government, he maintained, could cut the ground from under Robeson's feet simply by taking measures to change the things he condemned.

A year later Wright was invited to address the "counter peace conference" organized in Paris by Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell with the support of American labor unions and other groups. Before he spoke, an American consular official demanded that he "soft-pedal" the situation of American Negroes. He refused. The official pressed his point with the argument that "we mustn't wash our dirty linen abroad," and let slip a remark to the effect that "after all, we have a lot of money tied up in this conference." Thereupon Wright withdrew completely from the conference.

At the time of the agitation over the case of Willie McGee various foreign-service agencies saw the necessity of taking the initiative to overcome the hostility of the European press and public. The Economic Cooperation Administration, which maintained a huge information service in Europe, finally commissioned James Baldwin, a young Negro writer living abroad on a scholarship, to write an article on the American Negro. Baldwin produced an eight-page theoretical analysis of the development of the American Negro and emphasized the impossibility of white Americans, colored Americans, or anyone else ever being able to understand the situation.

Some months ago Edith Sampson, who was an alternate United States delegate to the U. N. in 1950, the first Negro to serve with an American delegation, was asked to give a series of talks in Germany. Speaking under the auspices of the High Commissioner, Mrs. Sampson described the condition of Negroes in America as "wonderful." "Negroes are happier in the United States," she said without a blush, "than they would be any place else in the world. Those that do not like it can leave." "Certainly some Americans are bad," she continued, "but the vast majority are good. I myself am an example and a proof that American Negroes are not denied opportunities." She insisted that anything said to the contrary was a baseless attack on America.

I covered several of Mrs. Sampson's lectures and heard an American information officer say point-blank, "This sort of cover-up does more harm than good. Why don't they send us a serious, objective speaker? After six years of occupation these people know the American scene better than that."

In November of last year, when the U. N. General Assembly was in session in Paris, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Vishinsky, accused the United States of violating human rights by lynching Negroes and referred specifically to the killing of a Negro prisoner in Groveland, Florida, by the sheriff who was guarding him. Dr. Channing Tobias, alternate delegate and second Negro to serve with a United States delegation to the U. N., was chosen to answer him. Dr. Tobias first made countercharges about Russian slave-labor camps and then described the progress made by American Negroes. Few papers carried his speech.

When William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, went to Paris to present a petition to the U. N. charging the United States government with genocide against the Negro people, he ran into a wall of silence. When he persevered in his request for a hearing, the official American reaction was a demand for his passport. Several newspapers learned of the story, and the press of the world had a field day.

This time the United States Information Service got busy and devoted a complete issue of its bi-monthly bulletin to "The Negro in American Life." European editors, however, seemed unimpressed, and the booklet, which avoided all mention of segregation, poll taxes, or lynching, was completely overshadowed in the news by the contentions of the genocide petition.

Less than a month later Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in an exclusive interview granted me as correspondent for the Associated Negro Press, described the situation of Negroes in America as "bad." The genocide petition, she said, was "a well-drawn document . . . not presented with spurious reasoning as is often the case," but the charge was "ridiculous in terms of the United Nations definition [of genocide as systematic destruction]." The petition, she added, might "do some good in focusing world attention on the bad situation in America." When asked whether she thought United Nations intervention in behalf of South African Indians and natives would justify such intervention in behalf of American Negroes, she replied: "Yes, such action would be morally justified. The American delegation has always voted against South Africa on this question and is against all actions in violation of human rights."

The ambiguity of the State Department's "line" about the American Negro is certainly harming the American honesty rating abroad. The evolution of the world's colonial peoples—all of them colored peoples—is changing the course of world affairs, and the United States is being held responsible for its actions just as much as is France, England, or any other colonial power. Americans may maintain that social change cannot be brought about by legislation, but the people of India, Iran, and other Asiatic countries know that it can be. Legislation against untouchability in India, for example, has accomplished a great deal. Are we likely to inspire trust among foreigners when we cannot honestly discuss facts known to the whole world or even try to deal with problems other peoples have taken energetic action to solve? Jim Crow at home seems to have bankrupted our diplomatic resources even more than has a boiling Africa or Asia.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Artists' International

BY S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Pittsburgh

THE Pittsburgh, formerly the Carnegie, International is under new management. It has new sponsors, and a new director, Gordon B. Washburn, chose the paintings. For the first time in its fifty-six-year history it offers not so much a cross-section of everything now being done as an indication of what the director believes is valid in contemporary painting the world over. Visitors have until December 14 to ponder the results, and after that the exhibition moves to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco—the first time it has ever traveled from Pittsburgh.

Like its predecessors, it is too large. To absorb the contents of 305 paintings takes more time than the morning and afternoon I gave to it. Yet it is smaller by sixty items than the previous shows. This wise restriction made it possible to space the pictures far enough apart to be properly seen; not to have done so would have been disastrous for the bold abstract designs which predominate. The dreary, burlap halls of the Carnegie Institute have been cleverly veneered in cardboard painted middle gray or dark olive, and in the largest gallery the ceiling has been lowered by suspending a tent-like canopy. But the exhibition covers two floors of galleries, and on the scale that exists one of them is inevitably anti-climactic. With eighty-five fewer pictures, the whole affair could be presented on one floor, where it would at least give the illusion of being comprehensible. As thirty-five of the European painters have two paintings each (and everyone else only one), elimination of such generosity would require a further subtraction of only fifty paintings to accomplish the result. In 1954 I hope it will be done.

Whether Pittsburghers will admit that this painting is as contemporaneous as their industrial technology or the new steel and aluminum buildings of their replanned Golden Triangle remains to be seen. No longer can they assume that the sort of painting here represented is merely a marginal product, to be tolerated in small doses as a gesture to fair play. While there are more conservative pictures than the publicity led me to expect, they provide cold comfort for the opposition. As a whole, the exhibition gives overwhelming evidence that if art is still a force which draws men together it does so today through the language of non-objectivity.

Make no mistake about it, Gordon Washburn has raised the aesthetic ante, and to do so took courage.

I think the jury chose well, though I should have given first or near-first prizes to two Germans who did not even receive an honorable mention. Fritz Winter and Theodor Werner both manage to arrive at symbolic allusion through pure visual invention and without recourse to any tricks of recognition. The Ben Nicholson, which gained first prize, looks emotionally parched in their company. It rather resembles a big Braque still life of the 1920's, but so bleached and refined that it somehow suggests that greyhound sort of humanity, the gentle dynasty of Sir Anthony Van Dyck. If, as I suspect, the Cornwall mists float subtly across its surface, these are more than matched by Fritz Winter's red atomic fires.

Juries are commonly plagued by the Nobel Prize attitude. Is the award to be given for the picture in question, or is it about time to crown a distinguished career? Though I wondered which view prevailed in the Nicholson case, no such doubt occurred to me in connection with the second-prize landscape by Gromaire, whose formal and very French discipline has often led to arid results. The present work is rich and resonant. It is classic in the best sense: the discipline did not feed upon itself but operated to clarify a deeply emotional experience.

As in past exhibitions, American painting is allotted one-third of the total representation. Here some pruning would be desirable. A start could be made among modern practitioners of Maxfield Parrish's pretty vacuums. (Promised Land and The Wind that Blew the Sky Away are the titles of two of them.) A further improvement would be possible by substituting better examples, notably of Loren MacIver, Franz Kline, and Jackson Pollock, whose Number 27-1951 is greatly inferior to the works included in Fifteen Americans last spring at the Museum of Modern Art. My notes indicate less strenuous objection to the examples of Shahn, Congdon, Baziotes, and Kurt Roesch. I found little point in the inclusion of a trick number by Brian Connelly—The Spectrum, a Painting in Four Acts. When you fold back the central leaves of this polyptych four successive color schemes are revealed, and in each there is something like the effect of a Flemish interior plus the reflections on the cover glass plus a totally academic still life. Four Acts, but no Saints.

Despite these and other disappointments, the American section holds up well in quality on the average, and of the best there is no shortage on this side of the Atlantic. I was strongly impressed by Charles Sibley, Louis Schanker, and Adolph Gottlieb; impressed by James Brooks, Bradley Walker Tomlin, and Jack Tworkov; charmed by Gertrude Half; and easily seduced by Colleen Browning. Among the more conservative pictures Joseph Hirsch's Shoe Shop achieves a powerful effect; and to call it a Loren MacIver elegy about shoes framed in the violently silent red rectangles of Hopper does not do it justice.

Space prevents, of course, an adequate coverage of this big international, which is so international in impact that the local inflections are altogether subsidiary. But merely to mention the names of Jiro Yoshihara, Ludvig Eiklas, Marc Mendelson, Raoul Ubac, Hans Jaenisch, Leonardo Cremonini, and Veira da Silva may serve to indicate that there are talented youngish-to-young painters in Japan, Norway, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal. And they could all understand one another.

The Education of Wendell Willkie

WILLKIE. By Joseph Barnes. Simon and Schuster. $5.

THE author of this sympathetic biography, Joseph Barnes, is a former foreign editor of the New York *Herald Tribune* and editor of the New York *Star* who served as secretary and interpreter on Willkie's "One World" tour. He has utilized all available source material to provide the best account we are likely to have of Wendell Willkie. Properly, most of the emphasis is given to the years after 1939, when Willkie became first a national figure and then an international inspiration. Adequate attention is devoted to those environmental and family influences which gave Willkie a profound belief in freedom for all people. His home town, Elwood, Indiana, had been industrialized by the natural-gas boom and then wrecked as industry departed with the exhaustion of cheap fuel. It provided a laboratory in which Willkie could observe the impact of industrialism on a simple rural economy. By 1940 he recognized that "Elwood's experience shows that individuals cannot carry through large-scale social readjustments—that society owes an obligation to its members when it leads them up a blind alley." But he ignored these implications until his campaign for the Presidency forced him to seek a political answer.

Instructed by a libertarian father who had courage both to break from the church and to challenge corporate power as a labor lawyer, Willkie came out of a home characterized by a "constant atmosphere of reading and discussion." Until drawn into politics he never questioned the dominant values of middle-class society. As a successful trial lawyer in Akron "he was always out to win," and there is no evidence to suggest that he had any doubts about the business system. "Actually, he seems to have taken the system much as he found it, trying to improve it where he could but basically interested in making it work, in serving his clients, and in making money—the traditional functions of a lawyer in American business." Nevertheless, the early influences may have been responsible for a quality of mind differentiating him from the dominant attitudes of his class.

There is a full and objective account of Willkie's conflict with the TVA and David Lilienthal on behalf of Commonwealth and Southern. Though Mr. Barnes makes a case for this as a struggle of principle, it is significant that in the 1940 election Willkie was unable to carry a single state where public power was an issue. It was this controversy that made him a national figure, provided much of his shrewd comprehension of Washington politics, and gave him "a burgeoning sense of his power to use political means to serve his ends." Between 1929, when he came to New York, and 1940 "he had grown up as a man and had become a mature and self-confident personality."

Appreciation for the stature of Wendell Willkie requires but a cursory glance at the substitutes for leadership the Republican Party has culled from the bench since 1920. By miracle or accident the professionals were off balance long enough for the Willkie amateurs to secure the nomination. In the perceptive summary of the late Raymond Clapper: "Once, by accident and not because the leaders of the party wished it, a real leader appeared—Wendell Willkie. He was forced on the party. But as soon as the election was over, the party leaders tossed him out. The Republican Party was even unable to recognize a real leader when it had the luck to find one on its doorstep."

By 1952 it was apparent that had Wendell Willkie lived neither major party would have considered him acceptable. For Willkie symbolized the conflict within the parties and the business community between enlightened conservatives and the more visceral types. In October, 1943, he could write that "some of the talk we hear about 'free enterprise' or 'private enterprise' is just propaganda on the part of powerful groups who have not practiced real enterprise in a generation and have no intention of doing so." He had come to recognize after a lifetime as a corporation lawyer that "we must distinguish between enterprise and private ownership. A corporation may be privately owned and still be the worst enemy of free enterprise." Though he was never able to resolve the conflict between economic power and political democracy, he, unlike his successors, understood that Americans must find a solution—or risk losing political and social freedom.

No other facet of Willkie's career distinguishes him more decisively than his perceptive courage in defending civil liberties. Mr. Barnes notes that "on no single issue throughout his business and his political career was Willkie so consistent or so articulate as on civil liberties." Although in his home state native American fascism was firmly rooted, Willkie actively fought the Ku Klux Klan there as well as in the 1924 Demo-

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cratic National Convention. He attacked the Dies committee and the abuse of Congressional investigation to destroy reputation by inference and innuendo. In 1940, while the Nazi-Soviet pact was still in force, he wrote: "Now, you may hate communism even more than you hate fascism (and I am surprised at the number who do) but if you truly believe in protection of civil liberties, you will wonder whether Browder was sentenced to four years in jail and a $2,000 fine because he made a false statement on a passport application or because he was a Communist Party member." The question is still relevant, though the prosecution has shifted to Mrs. Browder!

It is further evidence of Willkie's life-long devotion to the fight for civil liberties that, at his own expense, he pleaded the case of William Schneiderman, whose citizenship the government sought to revoke until the Supreme Court ruled in Schneiderman's favor. In 1951, when Schneiderman was indicted under the Smith act, there was no comparable figure prepared to stand out for sanity.

Time has added urgency to Willkie's advice in "One World": "To suppress minority thinking and minority expression would tend to freeze society and prevent progress. . . . Now more than ever we must keep in the forefront of our minds the fact that whenever we take away the liberties of those whom we hate, we are opening the way to loss of liberty for those we love."

H. H. WILSON

Miss Millay's Letters

LETTERS OF EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY. Edited by Allan Ross Macdougall. Harper and Brothers. $5.

LET us begin with the ungracious, and obvious, remark that no doubt a much better collection of Miss Millay's letters might have been made. Some items in this book should have been left out, and perhaps many items that are not in the book should have been put in. One could wish for the omission of some of the awfully cute material, notably some of the letters to the editor; and one cannot imagine a person of Miss Millay's reticence approving publication of some of the Ficke and Bynner correspondence. Moreover, the book gives off a strong smell of an unpleasant behind-the-scenes atmosphere: one senses, on the one hand, suspicion, withholding; on the other, an almost indecent urge to be in there, to justify someone's existence or behavior in the light of Miss Millay's life. Haste, carelessness: a notable example is the insertion, after page 107, of a page reading "VI—Steepletop—1926-1930" instead of "IV—European Trip—1921-1922." This is the kind of blunder that Miss Millay, if one can judge from other letters to her publishers, would have raised holy hell about; it is also, if quickly corrected, the sort of thing that will make a juicy collectors' item. Nice to be a reviewer, and in on the ground floor.

This said, we have, nevertheless, much to be grateful for. We have an interesting story, hectic, in the true sense of that much-misused word, an Alger-like rise from rags to riches and close to rags again, an alternation of trouble and peace, despair, distress and rejoicing, sickness and health, high and low spirit, affection, courage. We have interesting people, good people, notably the mother of the poet and the devoted husband, Mr. Boissevain. We have, too, quite a few characters who were, in plain English, not good enough for her. And this biography has—an authentic style, rather rococo, to be sure, but with real virtues underlying its showy affectations: the love for mother and sisters and friends, the honest self-facing beneath the specious self-portraits, the valid enthusiasm below the mistaken—in my opinion—judgments. Not all rococo, either: in righteous wrath Miss Millay could be capable of a fierce baroque if not a Doric manner; witness some of the letters to her publishers, to Governor Fuller, to the Chancellor of New York University, to, most notably, the League of American Penwomen on the subject of their treatment of Elinor Wylie.

The correspondence appears voluminous, even while we suspect (*v. supra*) that there were many more, and some better, letters which have not been published in this book. Yet, Miss Millay repeats over and over again, she hated to write letters, had as it were a phobia for this form of literary activity. This may account for the fact that we find in her correspondence very little of what we might expect from any writer: discussion of her reading, her ideas about writing, her interest in the other arts, and so on. Had the book been fully indexed, the number of such references would have been relatively few. Evidently she read, as she wrote, a certain amount of trash: she was not the serious writer that a Virginia Woolf would be, or an Elizabeth Bowen; there was a good deal of the dilettante in her make-up. But she also could, and did, write well; and for this let no silliness be held too much against her. "There is much to be said for death," observes a character in Chesterton's "Man Who Was Thursday," "but if anyone has any preference for the other alternative, I strongly advise him to follow me." Miss Millay would have jumped, or even scrambled, most undignifiedly, to take advantage of the offer.

One *mot*, at the end of one of her letters to her publishers, seems too engaging not to quote: "Trusting, however, in closing that for one year more it may be said of me by Harper and Brothers that although I reject their proposals, I welcome their advances."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Master Campaigner

CHAMPION CAMPAIGNER—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By Harold F. Gosnell. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE question whether campaigns make any significant difference in the outcome of national elections has been debated long and inconclusively by political scientists. While party politicians have always acted on the assumption that it is rational to expend vast sums of money, time, and emotion every four years, academic observers have been somewhat more skeptical. Harold Gosnell's excellent study of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a campaigner indicates that the professional politician may, after all, be right. Economic conditions and previous party allegiance may determine the decision of a majority of the electorate, but there is a telling, perhaps even decisive, minority that responds to the program of a party and the personality of a candidate.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as this book carefully documents, was truly a champion campaigner. Mr. Gosnell analyzes his record—nine victories out of eleven tries for office—with fascinating (although sometimes sparse) detail. The story is so interesting that Mr. Gosnell's occasional clichés—"stood like a rock," "hitched his wagon to a star," "his goose was cooked"—do little to impede it.

What was the secret of F. D. R.'s immense success? Why did he consistently run ahead of the rest of his ticket? Why did he again and again confound the overwhelming opposition of the press? Mr. Gosnell rightly believes that the answer is complicated. Roosevelt's gift of charming friend and enemy alike was justly proverbial. Senator Borah once remarked that he never listened to Roosevelt's speeches because he was afraid that they might convert him to internationalism. F. D. R. genuinely liked people and—more important, as Machiavelli had noted four centuries earlier—appeared to like them. His physical handicap was a well-earned political asset; people did not vote for him out of pity but because they admired his courage and steadfastness. Then, too, he was a father-figure to a considerable segment of the electorate; millions loved to picture his invincible optimism by that famous cigarette holder clamped in his teeth at a jaunty angle. Mr. Gosnell makes some shrewd observations about F. D. R.'s qualities of leadership without descending too deeply into the morass of psychological jargon.

Roosevelt effectively supplemented these natural and acquired political qualities by meticulous attention to detail and by thorough, hard work. His first bid for the White House was carefully prepared and patiently timed: he did not run for the Presidency until he had firmly established a network of correspondence and personal friendship with Democratic politicians all over the country, and until he had become supremely available after his great electoral victory in 1930, in which he was reelected Governor of New York by the impressive margin of 700,000 votes. His able helpers, foremost among whom—according to Mr. Gosnell—was his wife, relieved him of wearisome detail. But Roosevelt supervised all aspects of his campaigning; no matter how many writers collaborated in drafting his speeches, they all bore the unmistakable imprint of his personality.

Mr. Gosnell's analysis of Roosevelt's

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manipulative skills is most penetrating, but one significant ingredient of F. D. R. the master campaigner—his greatness—is lost in this process of dissection.

PETER GAY

Of Making and Doing

THE BUILD UP. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.50.

"THE BUILD UP" is third in the series of novels of which "White Mule" (1937) and "In the Money" (1940) are the earlier parts. Written out of the same general preoccupation that appears in the long poem, "Paterson," and in the semi-historical sketches, "In the American Grain," they are one more way by which Dr. Williams has tried, patiently and discursively, to find the meaning in certain facts of American life. These, usually observed at first hand, he has studied and pondered; they have become for him symbols of some pattern which he sees slowly revealing itself in our history. The microcosm of particular facts on which the novels focus is the life of a Scandinavian-German family—the family, as his autobiography indicates, into which Doctor Williams married—in Rutherford, New Jersey, during the two decades before 1914. So far, though the history of Joe and Gurlie Stecher is evidently intended to mean more than the events which compose it, the meaning itself is not clear.

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Some few directions, however, do emerge in this volume. Joe, the steady, hard-working, scrupulously honest German, who makes money only to shower it, carelessly and disastrously, on his wife and daughters, sounds as if he were intended as an archetype of one kind of middle-class American husband. Gurlie, the daughter of bankrupt Vikings, is one version of what Thomas Beer, describing the clubwoman of the nineties, called the Titaness. Dedicated to the worship of the bitch goddess, she is bound to succeed; she wants to re-establish in America the fallen fortunes of her house, and even more she wants power. "The Build Up" traces the economic and social rise of this couple and the beginnings of their undoing, the result of the folly inseparable from Gurlie's tumultuous activity and of the anti-German feeling which became rampant in America after 1914.

Unhappily, just as Dr. Williams's short stories are only so many sights, sounds, and actions wonderfully observed and set down, so "The Build Up," like the novels which preceded it, is, with the exception of the last badly written chapters, a sequence of similar sights, sounds, and actions which never becomes a novel. The reader, while admiring the superb talent which contrives to make the daily facts of daily life so exciting, is regularly disappointed because the excitement of the facts is all there is to hold his attention. This writing assumes that any experience is, somehow, meaningful, and that any recaptured fragments of experience, put together, will somehow constitute a novel. But the details, the sketches, and the episodes do not result in character and action. Gurlie is for a while an exception. She starts out as a magnificent and irresistible natural force; and then, because the last chapters lapse into a series of notes, she disintegrates into a stock figure, someone's mother-in-law, brainless, destructive, and driving.

This prose is essentially lyrical, encompassing the moment and, on occasion, the day but missing the weeks and the months and the years. It conveys no feeling of the generations going on, though to create such a feeling must be important to what appears to be Dr. Williams's purpose. Its greatest charm lies in its Robinson Crusoe quality. On this level, as a record of making and doing carried on with passionate intensity, it has a power which can often lead the reader to forget, momentarily, how little in the way of fiction it achieves and how inchoate is the pattern it appears to be seeking.

ERNEST JONES

Films

MANNY FARBER

"COME BACK LITTLE SHEBA," Hal Wallis's high-priced entry for the Academy awards, is not so much a good picture about a dismal, twenty-year old marriage as a somewhat funny and touching play that someone failed to make into a movie. With a crawling pace of events, an unusually bulky cast, and great displays of vivid Theater Guild acting that is almost always consciously perpetrated, it sits around kitchen and parlor revealing—in dialogue—the blundering and wastage of life. Meanwhile its two main figures—a shiftless housewife and a temporarily reclaimed stewbum—watch the love affair of a college-girl boarder and think of all they are missing. It is crowded with plaintive touches (the wife's vicarious participation in radio soap operas, her aimless conversations with anyone she can pull off the street) that are the bulk of the show, while the only cinematic trait lies in its concentration on trivia.

When the movie clicks, it is always on something tiny and pedestrian: Lancaster's gingerly pouring of grapefruit juice, for the boarder, from can to glass; the dependable little kiss when he goes off each morning to his chiropractor's office; his newspaper reading being broken into by the wife's need for companionship. At times it creates a large sense of American domesticity at its warmest and most intertwined. However, Miss Booth gets into her part of the female "schlump" with such an upwelling of enjoyment that she threatens to become Anna Magnani; Lancaster goes at his role of the long-suffering husband as if he were resolved to be an undertaker. You will half-enjoy the film, but its realism is more effective than convincing, and it tends to reiterate the twisted sentimentality of left-wing writing that tries to be very sympathetic toward little people while breaking its back to show them as hopelessly vulgar, shallow, and unhappy.

Since most directors these days have neither the time nor the interest for filmic inventions, we should make the most of the new team of Crouse and Greene which leaps after strange devices to set their films off from the average run. Their "The Thief" is almost as boring as the spy thriller "Saboteur" which it recalls, but it has some dynamic scenes done with a hidden camera and (ah, bliss) no talk. The movie is Ray Milland's, who, throughout this latest milking of the Klaus Fuchs case, is a friendless, mild-tempered nuclear scientist who photographs secret atomic data, hides his tiny packets of microfilm in books at the Smithsonian Institute, where they are picked up by a Russian courier (Martin Gabel), intercepted by a half-dozen decoys (wooden actors), and eventually sneaked off to the Kremlin. After an hour of jangling telephones, spastic eye movements, and Milland's panicky chain smoking, the movie comes to a *déjà vu* Hitchcock climax with the hero trying to shake off an F. B. I. agent on the observation platform and stairways of the Empire State Building.

This rather puny chase film, however, is not so pat as it sounds. Milland, no pantomimic genius, manages to breeze through his silent role with much of the real distaste and embarrassment of a quiet guy caught in the lurid machinations of a super situation. You expect the usual anguish, guilt, and patriotic misgivings—and you get them—but in inspired moments Milland also plays the practical spy who believes "any job worth doing is worth doing well." It is a show in which the camera, the framing and handling of scenes, is the major concern. The Crouse-Greene team figure out their camera shots to hold back the unexpected until the right split second; they approach problems in the intellectual fashion of latter-day Eisensteins, such as using ceiling shots when the hero is cornered and low shots when he is free. The lofty camera study of a spy hemmed in by the walls of his furnished room is in a class with the earliest Hitchcock inventions in psychological film work; the panoramic angles of Griffith Stadium offer the most particular qualities of a ball park with the fewest effects. And when you see Milland blend convincingly with a Times Square atmosphere, scene after scene of actors being spotted in just the right place to catch the character of a real-life setting, you get the idea that C-G did a lot of looking at windows, signs, and crowds before they even hired an actor.

During Howard Hughes's reign at RKO a number of good movie ideas and artists were stopped in their tracks by the boss's slutty taste and inveterate kibitzing on every production. "The Lusty Men," one of Hughes's last jobs, however, has a refreshing story idea (about wild men who work the rodeo Big Apple from Tucson to Pendleton) with a more humanized version of the Hughes formula, which includes cheesecake, climactic and fast events, spare somewhat salty dialogue, and a copybook exercise in splitting up two pals with wine, a practical-minded redhead, and quick money. What is good about it is the occasional imaginative scene, as when the has-been bronco buster searches under the old ranch house for a boyhood cache, with the camera taking you on a treasure hunt under the rotting beams, and the treasure turning out to be a broken sixshooter and a purse with two pennies. Arthur Kennedy brings to the male lead—the glory-seeking contestant—a mixture of sweetness and wildness, with some exquisite touches, like the shy, guilty smile of encouragement just before his rival takes off on his last Brahma-bull-riding turn. Mitchum is the most convincing cowboy I've seen in horse opry, meeting every situation with the lonely, distant calm of a master cliché-dodger.

For a fairly good movie you can see "Kansas City Confidential," which in general burglarizes another burglar movie, "Asphalt Jungle," adds a few wrinkles picked up from the Brink robbery, and passes over probability faster than any movie in memory. But unlike any of the above films, it tells a story without gimmicks or short cuts, and all the people involved—director Karleson, actors Elam, Van Cleef, Brand—were not only concerned with the best way to express the material on hand but obviously enjoying themselves. Stanley Kramer's "The Four Poster" is a domestic saga that shrieks for clean directing, less claustrophobic situations, and two stars who are a bit less conceited about their own charm and wit than Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS in 1946 that Markova's dancing first showed a reduced intensity—most strikingly in "Giselle," in which she merely sketched in the early scenes and saved her strength for the big solo of the first act and the taxing second act. Nevertheless a "Swan Lake" performance at that time had, in addition to its continuous flow of exquisite movement, a dramatic force I had never experienced in her previous performances of the work. As it happened, "Swan Lake" was the first of her performances with Ballet Theater that I saw recently;

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and the saving of lessened strength this time produced an exquisite flow, but of movement done on the smallest possible scale—some of it in fact only half-done (the leg trailing when it should have been raised high), and some not done at all but faked (an easier movement substituted for a taxing one)—and without the slightest projective force. And in the "Nutcracker" pas de deux the lessened doing was concealed by a lot of twitterings of hands and lovely arms.

On the other hand her performance in "Les Sylphides" was made as breathtakingly beautiful as ever by that unique "instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time" (as Edwin Denby once described it)—not only in the supported dances but in the Prelude which she danced alone, and in which there were the additional "refined rhythmic delights" of her movement around, rather than on, the accents of the music. And even with the things she could no longer do in "Giselle" her performance had those enchanting subtleties of phrasing, with in addition a distinction of style, of mere carriage and appearance, which lifted it to a level of grandeur, of compelling dramatic credibility: as one acute observer put it, you believed Markova was someone who would die of the hurt of having been deceived, which you couldn't believe of Alonso.

But though it lacked this distinction Alonso's performance in "Giselle" offered dancing of extraordinary brilliance and loveliness. So with Youskevitch: the observer I have mentioned could point out that his dancing near the end conveyed increasing exhaustion, when it should have conveyed increasing exaltation; but most of the time it offered the brilliance achieved with elegance that we get from no one else. The dancing of Alonso and Youskevitch also contributed to making Balanchine's "Theme and Variations" the satisfying and exciting experience it was. Other such experiences were Loring's "Billy the Kid," with Kriza excellent as Billy, and Koesun lovely as his sweetheart, but with Kelly Brown lacking the necessary force of presence and projection for Garrett; "La Fille mal gardée," brilliantly and amusingly done by Alonso, Kriza, Eric Braun, and Caton; and Lichine's "Graduation Ball," in which Lichine was as engaging as ever, but Riabouchinska no longer spread the radiance over the stage that she used to.

On the other hand the company's "Swan Lake," apart from Markova and Youskevitch, was lifeless and shabby; and Robbins's "Fancy Free" provided an example of how a ballet gets changed and hammed up in the course of time by successive performers; while "Rodeo" provided an example of how a ballet can be changed and hammed up by its creator: the new violence of the square dance between the two scenes is an instance of what De Mille has done throughout the piece; and one remembers also the quieter colors of the costumes of the original Monte Carlo production. In addition to which one remembers the original cast: Franklin, whose series of cabrioles in the second scene were done with a casualness that made them sensational, instead of with Kriza's violence; De Mille herself, who had a toughness that isn't in Jenny Workman; and Kokitch, who had the personal force that isn't in Kelly Brown.

What Brown has is the boyish sweetness and charm suitable for his role in De Mille's new ballet, "The Harvest According," another of those birth-life-death affairs that leaves "Tally-Ho" still the last good piece she has done. The other new ballet, Caton's "Triptych," is a pleasantly inventive series of classroom exercises in costume.

I have nothing to add to what Margaret Marshall wrote about the Dancers of Bali; but I will say that without the long acquaintance that might have made me aware of its variety and subtlety I found the music oppressively shrill and monotonous.

CONTRIBUTORS

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

H. H. WILSON is author of "Congress: Corruption or Compromise."

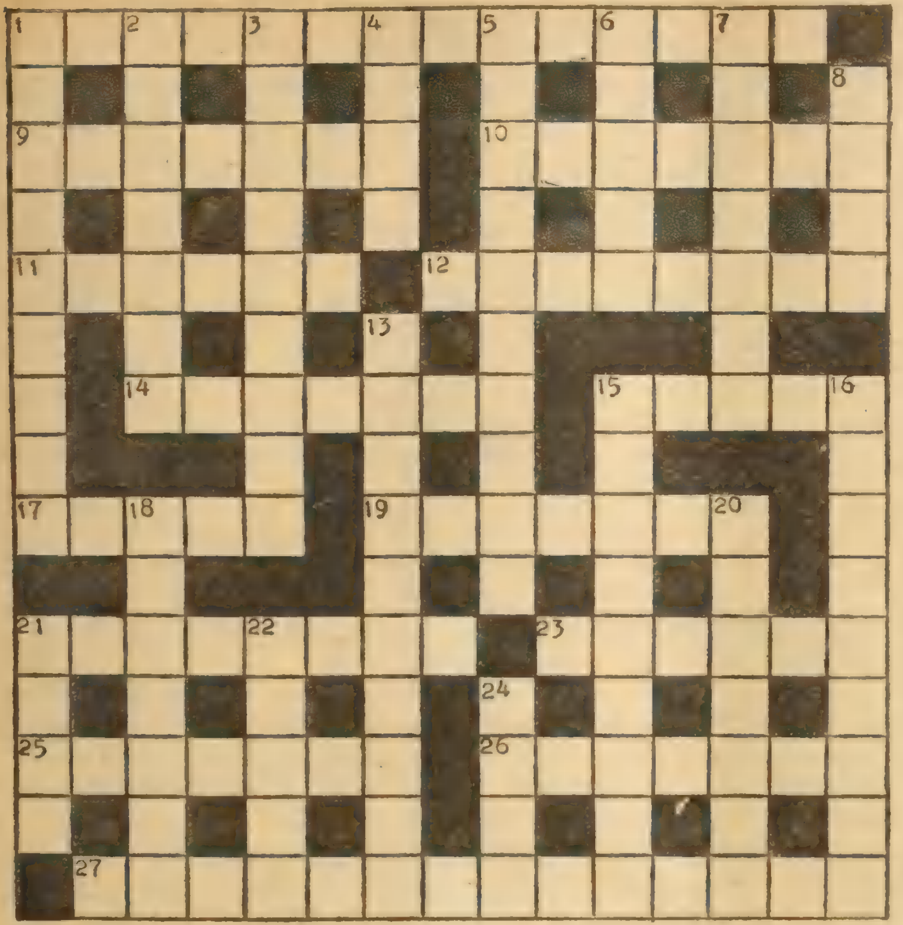
ROLFE HUMPHRIES has published several books of poems, of which the most recent is "The Wind of Time."

PETER GAY, instructor in government at Columbia University, will shortly publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

ERNEST JONES regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation.*

Crossword Puzzle No. 489

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 11. It might be thee that marks the inevitable decline. (3, 9, 2, 3, 3)
9 Makes a leftish movement again, according to rumors! (7)
10 Tom and the "Commercial Secretary," perhaps, could use a buck! (7)
11 See 1 across.
12 Just the thing to give you a lift. (8)
14 Overthrow. (7)
15 See 4 down.
17 The dream of life to both Browning and Longfellow. (5)
19 These pieces of paper could create suspicion in France. (7)
21 Honeysuckle is more than a place for fuel storage. (8)
23 The sort of ironer responsible for many hangings. (6)
25 An order to take part and die together in the confusion. (7)
26 The spinners seem to take sick (possibly necessary to their craft). (7)
27 Herminius, Lartius, Horatius! (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Vaudeville schedule—just for the record? (9)
2 Not a local way to put thought into words. (7)
3 Go astray, and with a young man, too! (6, 3)
4 and 15 across. Slips of actors are likely to disclose such, by the very nature of occurrence. (4, 5)
5 A good plant must run it a different way. (10)
6 and 21 down. Certainly not stalemates! (9)
7 Pelagic. (7)
8 A timid combination, hence pale. (4)
13 A leaf with the middle in a muddle in not quite the middle. (10)
15 Plant enclosure. (6, 3)
16 Gets too bossy to make a mistake in eggs. (9)
18 Make good like Mr. Merimee, perhaps. (7)
20 It might be cold in an artist or a gentleman. (7)
21 See 6 down.
22 Strain. (5)
24 Wild oats, raised by an architect? (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 488

ACROSS:—1 THE HALL OF FAME; 11 PREENER; 12 ROTATIONS; 13 DROOP; 14 GLORIA; 16 ANIMISTS; 19 PRESSMEN; 20 OFFSET; 22 and 10 CATERPILLARS; 23 OCCIPITAL; 25 AVERNAL; 26 ELECTOR; 27 HEREFORDSHIRE.

DOWN:—2 HELOT; 3 HEALTH INSURANCE; 4 LESSON; 5 OPPOSING; 6 FREEDOM OF SPEECH; 7 MONGOOSES; 8 SPARK GAP; 15 OVER THERE; 17 SETTLERS; 18 PALO ALTO; 21 SCREED; 22 and [illegible] CLAPTRAP; 24 TATAR.

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McCarthyism in Germany—*Carolus*

THE *Nation*

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The Meaning of the Election

Comments by

William T. Evjue, Hugo Ernst, Stringfellow Barr, James G. Patton,
Maury Maverick, James P. Warburg, James Fitzsimmons Gardner,
Aubrey Williams, Murray D. Lincoln, Harry S. Ashmore,
Irving Dilliard, Walter White, Saul D. Alinsky

*

"Ike" and "Mike"

TV and the Election

BY SAUL CARSON

*

Election Night with Stevenson

BY EDWARD LAMB

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Election Night with Stevenson

Toledo, Ohio

A WEEK before the close of the Presidential campaign I had lunch with Adlai Stevenson. I had traveled through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, and I passed on to him the pleas of many local professional politicians. All of them had begged me to slip the message past what they called the palace guard—Wilson Wyatt, Arthur Schlesinger, William McCormick Blair, and others. These politicos wanted the Presidential candidate to "get off of Korea and back to the bread-and-butter issues."

"No," said Stevenson, "my appeal is to the head and not alone to the belly. I believe that in all honesty my job is to educate the American people on this over-all world problem, and win or lose I'm going to stick on it. I'm going to live with myself in all the days ahead." The politicians simply replied that there were a lot of people, mothers and young people, as good and loyal as any other Americans, who just did not agree with the Truman foreign policies.

Well, if I couldn't persuade him to take the advice of some of his friends concerning the substance of his speeches, I could at least offer suggestions of my own concerning the trappings of his campaign. In my opinion the advertising agencies handling General Eisenhower's talks were doing a much better television job. They dressed up with all the visual aids in the book Ike's and Dick's folksy visits to American homes. Governor Stevenson on the last day of the campaign did agree to bring his sons before the TV lens, but he still talked to the minds of his audience.

I saw the Governor in the Executive Mansion just before the returns came in, and of course he was hopeful. Then the gloom settled, and he decided at midnight to make his announcement of defeat. Afterward he asked me to return to his home for a talk. I remained with him until three-thirty in the morning.

The initial shock had subsided. Someone found a magnum around the place and we drank a toast. Then the Governor said, "Here's to Wilson Wyatt, the country's best campaign manager—from Adlai Stevenson, the world's worst politician!"

Actually there were tear-filled eyes in that room. Senator and Mrs. William Fulbright, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Ives, and a couple of others were there, with two of the Stevenson boys. My only contribution was, "To Adlai Stevenson, an honest, gallant American!"

As the titular head of the Democratic Party, Governor Stevenson is quite aware that this is not the time for prolonged rest or for abandonment of the liberal, progressive principles for which he stands. With witch-hunters extraordinary now given the green light in Congress, it is possible that the liberal movement will have a rough time. But there are social and economic forces at work which will call for tremendous political decisions—and to carry them out any government in power will have to ask for the cooperation of millions of workers, farmers, and white-collar folks. And there might even be a depression.

Governor Stevenson had many disturbing thoughts during those early morning hours of November 5. If the Republicans insist upon raising high tariff barriers, will not our erstwhile allies in Europe and Asia have to turn to the Communist nations for trade, just to assure their own survival?

What are we to do? It was suggested by one of the early-morning guests that the liberal forces brought into being by the Volunteers for Stevenson might well be kept alive. A suggestion was made that Governor Stevenson go on television, possibly once a month, to discuss the issues before the American people. Everyone agrees that this witty, wholesome man has the fresh spirit and the basic wisdom to command respect from all sides.

As we sat around the table weighing the future, we slowly realized that this defeat might prove to be a real challenge to the democratic elements of the nation. The apathy which develops in any party long intrenched in power may now give way to the militant, forthright, progressive attitude of Adlai Stevenson. If the conservative forces attempt to scuttle labor, agricultural, or other public-welfare safeguards, it will be the task of all the forward-looking people in the United States to organize a new aggressive opposition. It looks as if we might build a common front around Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. EDWARD LAMB

[*Edward Lamb is publisher of the* Erie Dispatch-Herald *and owner of television stations in Erie and Columbus.*]

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · NOVEMBER 15, 1952 NUMBER 20

BEHIND EISENHOWER'S VICTORY

READERS in search of the meaning of the election—as who is not?—may make a selection from the variety of explanations offered by the distinguished contributors to the symposium published in this issue. But one meaning we reject: that the election can be regarded solely as a personal triumph for General Eisenhower. That it was a personal triumph goes without saying. But not to realize that it was a great deal more is to underestimate the emotions of the impressive majority whose votes swept the General into power. It is also to misread past events and likely future developments.

For us the outstanding fact which emerged from the Eisenhower victory is the feeling of insecurity that pervades the American electorate. Obviously Eisenhower had no program that could provide security. Obviously Stevenson was talking sense, and the record of the Democratic Party in historical perspective offered a firmer basis of security than did the Republican Party, its leadership, or Eisenhower's "team." But sense was rolled under by a wave of anxiety such as the American people had seldom experienced, and it was on this wave that Eisenhower rode to victory.

The components of the voters' mood were fear of the extension of the Korean war and desperation over the long stalemate, fear of communism stimulated by the unbridled campaign joined in by Democrats and Republicans alike, fear of economic collapse produced by inflation, high taxes, and doubt about America's ability to remain prosperous without war or war preparations. The Democrats showed little creative initiative in the campaign. It was Eisenhower who broke the ice in which the key issue of Korea had been encased, more by accident than by design, and once the issue was in the open, public feeling found expression. It did not matter that the General had nothing specific to propose, or that what he did say was empty and demagogic. He relieved anxiety by seeming to make the issue paramount, by insisting that he would do something about it. The Democrats, on the other hand, failed to recognize the intensity of the feeling; their negative attitude was taken as indifference by those whose indignation had been aroused by the stalemate and continued losses in Korea.

On the issue of inflation the Democrats angered millions of voters by overdoing their claim that Americans "never had it so good." Squeezed by mounting taxes and high prices, many voters were under an enormous strain; if you are broke, there is nothing much to worry about, but inflation creates special neuroses. Again, it mattered little that the Republicans had a much worse record in Congress on all measures relating to inflation; at least they did not outrage the feelings of the man in the street, or more particularly the woman in the home, by a cynical slogan and the assumption that everybody was rich and comfortable.

A corollary factor was the issue of corruption. Americans particularly resent corruption and favoritism in the collection of taxes. The Nixon affair indicates that integrity is not a partisan virtue, but what aroused millions of voters was the complacent attitude of the President and some of his closest advisers toward revelations of widespread if rather petty venality in the Administration. To point back to the grand-scale corruption of the last Republican regime was of no avail in offsetting recent scandals.

In different circumstances the issue of communism—as a domestic menace—would not have been of major importance. But the strain of the last few years created a mood of fear in which the poison of anti-Communist demagoguery spread far and wide. The disposition to seek a scapegoat is always present, but it assumes the proportions of a mass movement only when people feel a real need for one—that is, in a time of trouble. Furthermore, the incontestable fact that we are fighting Communists in Korea and are engaged in a cold war with Communist Russia invested the wildest of McCarthy's charges with a bogus reality. Democratic denunciations of McCarthyism were robbed of much of their effect by the serious inroads made on civil liberties in the past four years either by the Administration or with its approval. This was the moment for a vigorous attack on the myth that communism represents a real threat to the American way of life. Instead, some Demo-

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crats even made the tactical blunder of catering to the hysteria which McCarthy was exploiting. For example, the supporters of Senator Benton, in reply to red-baiting opposition ads, ran full-page ads assuring Connecticut voters that Senator Benton was more "anti-Communist" than McCarthy and that he, not Joe, was the man Stalin really fears.

Another important factor in Eisenhower's victory was the machinery and technique of his campaign. No one will ever know how many millions were spent to establish the General's monopoly of television and radio, day and night, and to hammer away at the sales resistance of voters. In addition, a tightly knit organization worked steadily—from the precinct level up—to bring out the vote for Ike.

Contrast this with the Democratic apparatus. Governor Stevenson developed great appeal as a candidate, but the campaign in his behalf was inefficient and even, on the part of some city machines, half-hearted. The Democrats were badly handicapped by lack of funds, but elbow grease was lacking too. There was inadequate liaison between the party and the Volunteers for Stevenson. The latter did a creditable job in some areas but operated in others as if the Governor's chief problem was to carry the fashionable suburbs. Even labor, which had a very large stake in electing Stevenson, made a late start. In key states like California and New York the Democratic Party was seriously divided. The defeat of Representative Richard B. Vail in the Second Illinois Congressional District indicates what good political organization—in this instance by the Independent Voters of Illinois—might have accomplished elsewhere.

But whatever the reasons for Eisenhower's victory, to deny that it was a party as well as a personal triumph is to minimize the extent of reaction's victory. The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition and its allies in the China lobby scored heavily in the election. The close division in Congress conceals the fact that on domestic social issues and many foreign issues Eisenhower can count on a big majority in both houses. Certainly he will have less trouble with Democratic Senators Byrd, George, Eastland, Hoey, Holland, and McClelland than with some Republicans. The defeat of Republicans Cain, Kem, and Ecton is more than offset by other gains scored by the coalition. A glance at the new chairmen of key Senate committees will indicate the extent of the coalition's success: Jenner—Rules; Capehart—Banking and Currency; McCarthy—Expenditures in the Executive Department, the chief investigative committee; Millikin—Finance; Butler (replacing Senator O'Mahoney)—Interior and Insular Affairs; Taft—Labor; Martin—Public Works. Only the possible substitution of Langer for McCarran as chairman of the Judiciary Committee could possibly be scored as a setback for the coalition.

That Eisenhower paced the other Republican nominees in Wisconsin does not mean that he can now be relied upon to keep McCarthy in his place. The General may call for unity, but the right-wing "radicals" are already demanding more purges and inquisitions. The returns were hardly in before David Lawrence, in his column in the New York *Herald Tribune*, scornfully rejected the notion of a political amnesty: the fight must go on, "the guilty must be punished." In these times his insistence that the new majority would not forget the "men of education, men of learning, men who teach in our colleges" who had made charges against McCarthy in supporting Stevenson carries sinister implications.

Liberal Democrats and independents should acknowledge the "why" of Eisenhower's victory, recognize the mistakes made in the campaign and prior to it, and then take heart from the size of the popular vote for Governor Stevenson and the extent to which the election fight set the stage for a basic realignment of the two major parties. The solid South is disintegrating. The coalition is openly in power, not conspiring behind a bipartisan mask. The Dixiecrats, McCarrans, McCarthys, and Tafts now frankly acknowledge the identity of their interests. Given the situation which has emerged, it is much better in the long run for liberals to be in honest opposition than to maintain a precarious hold on political power by opportunistic tactics and discreditable alliances. But the beginning of wisdom, on the morning after reaction's stunning victory, is to face the facts and not to join in magnifying America's new "leader."

The Shape of Things

Labor's Great Loss

The shock of Philip Murray's death will be felt far beyond the confines of the C. I. O. and of the labor movement as a whole. He was that not too common phenomenon, the labor statesman who fought his union battles with unflagging tenacity and still played a vigorous part in the nation's political life. In spite of increasing ill health Mr. Murray led the fifty-three-day steel strike earlier this year, which resulted in a substantial wage increase and other benefits for the workers but also produced the Supreme Court's ruling that the President had no right to seize the industry in peace time. From this struggle he turned to the political field and put in hard weeks campaigning for the election of Adlai Stevenson, as he had in previous elections fought for Roosevelt and, with less enthusiasm, for Truman.

Though he could be blunt and hard-hitting, Phil Murray was essentially a moderate, patient, conciliatory man, skilled at harmonizing differences within the United Steelworkers and the C. I. O. That his death will make way for sharp rivalries in the leadership is almost certain. The election of Eisenhower with all it portends for organized labor makes us hope that the C. I. O. will choose as Mr. Murray's successor a chief who will know how to fight for the workers' rights in the context of the whole national and international situation. In the years to come labor will need leadership which is more than aggressive; it must also be politically conscious and alert.

Rightward in Britain

There have been cheerful tidings for British as well as American conservatives in the past week. At High Wycombe, a marginal constituency which the Labor Party lost narrowly in 1951 and hoped to regain, a Tory candidate won a hotly contested by-election with an increased majority. In another by-election a few days earlier at Cleveland, a Yorkshire industrial district, Labor retained the seat with a considerably reduced majority.

These results suggest that the slump in Tory popularity noticed earlier in the year has been checked, thanks more to dissension in Labor's ranks than to Conservative virtues. The Tories can of course congratulate themselves on a definite improvement in the position of sterling during the past six months, but pride may precede a fall. Signs of a new deterioration in Britain's export trade are accompanied by a decline in over-all production and a rise in unemployment. Yet as the Manchester *Guardian* notes in a critical comment on the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament, the government is proposing to devote most of the new session to denationalizing steel and road transport and apparently has no clear plans for tackling the more urgent problems of expanding production and trade.

It remains to be seen whether the Labor Party can close its ranks sufficiently to take full advantage of the government's errors and omissions. Mr. Attlee's recent victory in the Parliamentary Labor Party caucus achieved its objective—the formal demobilization of the Bevanite group—but it has left sores that will not heal rapidly.

Bolivian Gamble

Thanks to intensive exploitation of their workers and skilful manipulation of governments, the three major Bolivian tin-mining companies—Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo—in which American and other foreign investors have a large interest, have long enjoyed a profitable career. But now the illiterate Indian miners have found in President Victor Paz Estenssoro a champion willing to take the risks of nationalization. "These three companies," he said after he seized power last April, "are bigger than the government. That cannot be."

But nationalization of its chief natural resource will not automatically bring prosperity to Bolivia, which needs both foreign capital and foreign know-how to raise its standard of living. This being the case, President Paz Estenssoro's compensation proposal appears to us unrealistic. Provisionally the companies are being offered about $22,000,000 for properties they value at some $60,000,000. In addition, the government has filed a claim of $520,000,000 against them for alleged evasion of taxes and illegal foreign-exchange deals. This claim may have some basis, but there is little doubt that the amount has been wildly inflated; it looks like a rather transparent device to avoid the legal obligation to pay compensation.

Even from a coldly practical point of view these tactics seem shortsighted. With world production in excess of consumption, there is now a buyers' market for tin. By antagonizing potential customers the Bolivians, like the Iranians, may be throwing away the expected benefits of nationalization.

The Laugh's on Us

It didn't take much imagination to foresee that Charlie Chaplin's visit to England and France would turn into a triumphal tour. On October 20 he was dined by the House of Lords (this is our favorite scene); on October 27 he was presented to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, at a command performance of "Limelight." From England he went to Paris, where he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor and entertained at dinner by President Auriol. In both countries he has been greeted everywhere by crowds of people eager to do honor to a great actor.

It shouldn't have taken much imagination either to foresee that Chaplin's triumphal tour might serve to dissipate some of the anti-American feeling in Europe. But the Senator from Nevada took care of that. Using Mr. McCarran's latest invention for unmaking friends and antagonizing whole peoples, the Department of Immigration was impelled to speed the parting guest by threatening not to let him come back. And the result was inevitable. The crowds that greeted Chaplin were given a golden opportunity not only to do honor to a great actor but to express their anti-American sentiment, and the triumphal tour has been turned, by Mr. Chaplin's admirers, into a variation of that old vaudeville routine known as kidding the (McCarran) act—which would be funny if it were not so grim.

End of the "Compass"

The disappearance of the *Daily Compass* from the New York newsstands has left a gap which for some 30,000 people will not soon be filled. It was a small paper—more features than news—but it spoke for an audience to whom it was the one honest, crusading daily in the city. If tenacity and zeal could have kept the *Compass* alive, it would still be coming off the presses, for its publisher, Ted Thackrey, supplied plenty of both. But capital became increasingly hard to find.

The *Compass* was in a sense a casualty of the cold war. Its generally left-wing position cut it off from most sources of support, financial and otherwise. We regret its going; there should be room in New York for one such daily—especially in a period when the yellow press of the far right fattens on Republicanism and reaction. The death of the *Compass* is an unhappy sign of our times.

President Weizmann

In every generation a few men—a very few—are indispensable. Without them their country, their cause, would not succeed. Chaim Weizmann was such a man. No one else among all the devoted and able chiefs of the Zionist movement possessed such a range of rare and needed qualities: man of his people and man of the world, intellectual and fighter, prophet and statesman. Money-raiser, too—and propagandist! He was the one leader who, even in the earliest days of the movement, could meet with Lord Balfour or General Allenby or Mr. Churchill as co-equal, wearing the assurance that comes not from official rank but from the springs of inner power.

It is Israel's immense good fortune that Dr. Weizmann lived to preside over its founding and to serve as its first President. He put his stamp on the new state, instilling confidence that the years of dream and struggle would not be dishonored in the reality. His death is a personal loss for every man and woman who knew him. It is a national loss for Israel. But above all it is a loss for the democratic forces of the world, of which Chaim Weizmann was one of the most distinguished leaders.

Next Week in *The Nation*

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE ELECTIONS?

A Five-Point Regional Analysis

Just what happened in the election? What subsurface forces were at work? What were the regional variations? The results in five main sections of the country will be analyzed from a regional point of view by a group of informed contributors.

The Southern States
William Carleton of the University of Florida
The Inter-Mountain States
Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University; editor of "Rocky Mountain Politics"
The Middle West
Samuel Eldersveld of the University of Michigan
New England
James Burns of Williams College
The West Coast
David Farrelly, of the University of California

North Africa: A Preview

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE arrival of the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, and of the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden—they had waited for the American election results before making their appearance at the United Nations—has focused interest on Tunisia and Morocco, the most controversial items, after Korea, on the present session's agenda. The personalities of the two ministers are complementary, and on this particular issue a new *entente cordiale* has been established between them. At a Cabinet meeting held in Paris on the eve of his departure M. Schuman was once more instructed to conduct an uncompromising fight in the General Assembly against the Arab nationalists who are trying to enlist support for their demand for home rule for Tunisia and Morocco. Mr. Eden, for his part, will use his very persuasive influence to convince certain delegations—particularly the American—that they should not go beyond a purely formal approval of the attitude the Arab-Asian bloc has taken on this subject.

The voices of the French and the British sound alike. The French voice is perhaps more brusque when the speaker is Marshal Alphonse Pierre Juin, commander of Allied ground forces for Central Europe, who said in a recent interview in the Spanish magazine *Destino*: "In my opinion France should withdraw immediately from the United Nations if the latter attempts to intervene directly in Moroccan and Tunisian questions." But the voice of Mr. Hopkinson, British Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, sharpened by the publicity given to recent events in Kenya, is no less categorical: "Great Britain will not tolerate any interference by the United Nations in the political evolution of her colonies."

The French position is formulated in terms of the Moroccan treaty of 1912, which, like its Tunisian equivalent, was recognized by all the powers. In accordance with those treaties, questions relating to Tunisia and Morocco are held to be purely internal questions, which no country is required to submit to an international body. However, the editor of *Le Monde,* in an article entitled Hard Realities, on October 25 asked whether "the French will ever realize that they have little by little installed in Morocco and Tunisia a de facto regime of direct administration in no way foreseen in the relevant treaties, and that this regime has little by little become, also as a matter of fact, ever more difficult to maintain." The "hard realities" referred to in the title are that the nationalist movement has spread far and penetrated deeply in the last two years. It is no longer confined to the more extreme political parties and groups. It has the full backing of the two sovereigns, the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco. The powerful General Federation of Tunisian Workers, affiliated with the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is supporting Bourguiba's Nationalist Party. In spite of French repression the movement is able to stage all kinds of demonstrations and harassments.

But apart from occasional admissions such as that printed in *Le Monde,* the attitude of France is one of resentment over the indifference of other countries toward the accomplishments of French colonial policy and over the hostility of the North Africans themselves. The reforms offered by France have been turned down by both Tunisia and Morocco. The principal difficulty lies in two different conceptions of sovereignty and in the rejection by the nationalists of any plan that would give French residents a share in the government.

On the other hand, the influence of private colonial interests has for many years prevented the carrying out of measures which, undertaken in time, could have averted the present critical situation. The best land in North Africa has been absorbed by the French settlers. The entire mining industry is owned by the colonizing power. The Second World War stimulated the establishment of industries for military purposes. After the war industrialization was further promoted by big French companies which found in North Africa cheap labor, a very benevolent tax system, and possible sanctuary in case of a Communist coup or a Russian invasion of France. In itself industrialization was a good thing, even indispensable, since agriculture alone no longer offered a sufficient economic base for the population. But North African industry is in the hands of the great French combines—Pont-à-Mousson, Air Liquide, Ales, Froges et Camargue, Saint-Gobain, Solvay, and others. Political influence at home is now exercised not only by the French settlers in North Africa but also by these powerful firms.

Franco-British diplomacy in the U. N. will try to persuade the United States that the French and British views must be taken into account in dealing with all colonial questions. It will try to prevent the dispatching of a United Nations commission to Tunisia and Morocco—the immediate object of the Arab-Asian bloc—and to limit U. N. action in those countries to a recommendation that the French government be as liberal and prompt as possible in granting reforms. The Arab-Asian bloc, the Soviet bloc, and some of the Latin American countries will firmly maintain their stand against the colonizing power. What position will the United States take?

For a large section of foreign opinion the election of General Eisenhower is the victory of ultimatum over diplomacy. But there is still a margin for negotiation, at least among actual and potential allies. The difficulty in this case is to decide which pays better—French loyalty and the airfields of North Africa or the establishment of a united Middle East command with the collaboration of the Arab states.

The Meaning of the Election

[*To get the liberal reaction to the meaning of the election,* The Nation *invited the following comments. The contributors are well known to most of our readers. They represent, we feel, a good cross-section of liberal opinion. Next week we will present a five-point regional analysis of what happened in the election.*]

William T. Evjue

Editor and Publisher of the Madison Capital Times

Madison, Wisconsin

WHAT seems most alarming about the outcome of the election is the apparent eagerness of the American people to turn to a military hero to solve the many problems they face today. General Eisenhower's campaign was plainly designed to appeal to an electorate weary of the long struggle that has continued through the depression, the war, and the post-war effort to win the peace. Eisenhower was presented as the strong man with the easy answers.

He promised tax cuts, he talked glibly of bringing the boys home from Korea and letting "Asians fight Asians." His discussion of the issues that press for solution on the home front was seldom more specific than a promise to do something about them or to bring in the "best brains" to wrestle with them. The eagerness with which people received his demagogic offer to go to Korea was a dismaying indication of how ready they are to surrender their own democratic responsibilities to a man of action. This probably accounts for the considerable appeal the General apparently had for women, who are most worried about the continuation of the Korean war.

On the other hand Governor Stevenson refused to promise any miracles. He lived up to his promise to talk sense, offering nothing but his own unstinting efforts in the common cause of working and thinking our way through the problems that beset us.

The American people seem to be in a mood also for a return to the grand isolation of the twenties. They are enjoying unprecedented prosperity, but they are handicapped in their enjoyment of it by the demands of the struggle to stop communism and build peace. This mood is most concretely expressed in the complaints about taxes and the Korean conflict. Many who voted for the change are worried about communism, but they want to fight it the easy and inexpensive way—the phony way of McCarthy.

The election seems above all to have been an expression of faith in General Eisenhower to do the impossible—to give the nation peace and prosperity, and, very possibly, a chance for another big binge, by merely waving his general's baton. It is quite likely that the Republicans' presentation of Eisenhower as a man who could measure up to that faith will have a devastating reaction before the Congressional elections of 1954. In the second two years of his term President Eisenhower may have to work with a big Democratic majority in Congress.

Hugo Ernst

General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union

Cincinnati

In the first few hours after Ike's victory, two things are clear: (1) the American people saw Eisenhower and a sweeping change as the likeliest means of getting relief from the tensions generated by Korea and the cold war; (2) the time is long overdue for the labor movement to engage in the most searching self-analysis and come up with a practical formula for labor unity.

Not till the closing weeks of the campaign did either candidate begin to deal with the "forgotten issue"—Korea. Stevenson candidly told the people he had no "easy solution"; he felt the conflict was necessary and would have to be continued pretty much along the lines laid down by the present Administration. But the night before the election, perhaps sensing the people's mood more clearly, he was ready to say that an armistice in Korea would be his "first order of business."

Ike began by ignoring Korea, moved on to say it would not have happened but for the Democrats, and wound up with two dramatic vote-winning statements: that he favored pulling American boys out and letting "Asians fight Asians"; and that, if elected, he would "personally go to Korea" to see what could be done to end the fighting.

All observers, including Stevenson in his short talk conceding the election, interpreted the vote as a mandate to Ike to "do something" about Korea and peace. And surely if Ike can reduce the tensions and insure peace he will win the undying gratitude of the American people. All of us will be watching and praying for positive steps to be taken.

From the standpoint of organized labor, the Republican sweep has ominous implications. Those of us who cried out in the past for labor unity can now say "it is later than you think." The new Congress will in all probability be dominated by men who have been waiting ten or twelve years for an opportunity to turn back the clock. Like the Congress of 1946 which produced Taft-Hartley and began scuttling the New Deal, it will be a double-riveted anti-labor Congress.

Labor must reexamine its organization, its methods, its goals. We must put our finger on the reasons for the complacency which has developed to shield us from the realities of the world we live in. We must discover why we have failed to keep strong the militant spirit which built our movement in the 30's and 40's. Obviously, we must subject our whole approach to political education and political action to the most exacting self-criticism.

We can take comfort from this: the political pendulum swings slowly. It is now, I believe, approaching its maximum reactionary swing. In time the electorate will begin the return to the liberal, progressive ideas which were dominant for most of the past twenty years. Our task is to help the pendulum to reverse its direction.

Stringfellow Barr

Professor at the University of Virginia and Author of "Citizens of the World"

Charlottesville, Virginia

Who could do most about corruption, communism, Korea, and the cost of living? The voters say Eisenhower, though more and more of them were wavering when time was called. The Truman Administration had failed to react strongly enough against "friendly deals." Like the Republicans, the Democrats red-baited; but the Republicans out-red-baited them. Democratic foreign policy seemed to misfire. Look at Korea. So the General promised to go to Korea. And if inflation is due to our foreign problem, get another grip on foreign policy and get rid of inflation. Governor Stevenson rose like a meteor; he was so clearly the General's superior. But the four weak points in the Democratic record fatally slowed his rise.

Governor Stevenson says foreign policy is the basic issue. It is. The cold war makes all Democrats look like Socialists, all Socialists look like Communists, and all Communists look like spies. In a cold war Korea seems to prove that our problem is military, not political or economic; money grows flush and morals grow easy; and rearmament spreads inflation over the planet.

We shall get a good foreign policy the moment we discover that the "free world" looks on world poverty as mankind's basic problem—not communism and not the offer of the Communists to solve that problem by force. Now that the Democratic Party must fight with ideas rather than patronage, it is lucky to have a leader better fitted than any other American statesman since Woodrow Wilson to help them find ideas. I await that leader's proposal of a positive, constructive foreign policy, one that appeals to foreigners as well as to those Americans who want their leaders to talk sense. I hope he travels widely abroad, particularly in the hungriest countries, as soon as possible. If he does, I am confident he will know what homework to assign us Democrats. Then a party that has started to repeat itself can offer the country in 1956 the leadership it will need.

James G. Patton

President of the National Farmers' Union

Denver

Undoubtedly the election has set back the cause of American liberal progressivism, whether we are in an interregnum or at the end of an era. I believe this is an interregnum, but obviously we are not yet a mature people, able to face and deal with the world as it is on mature terms. Obviously there is an intellectual lag; perhaps our task now is to cut down that lag as much as possible.

We have given a hostage to fortune by choosing a new leader who was willing to promise anything to get elected, found his promises believed—as is shown by the size of his vote—and is now confronted by the almost insuperable task of making good. When the blank checks are presented for payment, the Eisenhower bank may have to default or go out of business altogether. That will be a good thing, for some of those checks represent the sacrifice of advances that the American people have long fought for and steadily supported.

Under cover of American interest in what is happening abroad we may expect the reactionaries and special interests to make hay at home. There is work for American progressive liberalism—more work, perhaps, than it has faced for twenty years.

Maury Maverick

Former Congressman and Former Mayor of San Antonio

San Antonio, Texas

In the local press the headlines read "Adlai Leaders Swallow Loss with Smile." Unauthorized and unexpected by me, I was also correctly quoted: "Common people done cut their own throats, quipped Maury Maverick, dean of the local Democrats."

We did, and why? All over America the Democratic Administration had made vast millions carefree, prosperous, physically healthy. The Democratic program of high wages and low interest rates went to the building of churches, homes, race tracks, taverns, beer halls. We bought televisions, we looked; and we read trash, comics, and sports. Then we gloated and voted as we lived, and as the headlines read, believing impossible lies—so the Republicans took it all away.

Whoopee! I like Ike! In Germany the people had chanted for another idol, and there was Communist fear. They liked General von Hindenburg. He knew nothing of politics or civil life: then came chaos and Hitler. Same in the United States, but no policy of General Eisenhower's is known; so the result cannot be foreseen.

Here in America it was a trend for a general, a Grand Lama or Buddha, with a grin to make us slap-happy, and a symbol of take-my-trouble-away. And we fell for the clever and sly lie by Nixon, Goebbelsesque character, the most superficial but potentially dangerous national candidate ever elected in our history.

We forgot or never knew of our precarious world position and that we are in serious trouble internationally. (And we overlooked the undisciplined behavior of several generals.) Hurrah and away from Korea; we will furnish the jellied gasoline, the lethal weapons; let Asians kill Asians! We didn't even consider that India will turn against us, that the Mohammedan world moves farther away, England farther left, that France will turn us out; no newspapers told us about the world or even that there is one. We want all we got and don't want no high taxes.

That was it.

James P. Warburg

Author of "Victory Without War"

New York

It is much too soon to attempt an analysis of what General Eisenhower's tremendous victory means. Only a few broad observations seem warranted.

The first is that the country has overwhelmingly repudiated President Truman and what has come to be known as "Trumanism." It is a pity that so fine a man as Adlai Stevenson should have had to take the rap for an Administration in which he had had no part.

The second observation is that General Eisenhower did not have to make the compromises he made in order to win. He could have carried Wisconsin without indorsing McCarthy, Indiana without indorsing Jenner, and the Presidency without the support of the Dixiecrats. Had he not compromised his principles he might have had a Congress more ready to support those principles, though not necessarily on a straight partisan basis.

Finally, the outcome of the election shows that the majority of the people were less interested in a program for solving the major problems of foreign and domestic policy than in electing a leader whom they expected somehow to solve those problems for them. They rejected the candidate who tried to tell them what he would do, if elected, in favor of the candidate who said, "Trust me to do the right thing." It is to be hoped—and hoped fervently—that the people will now do more than sit back and expect President Eisenhower to lead them to peace and prosperity, for unless they do more —unless they pitch in and help the man they have elected —he will not be able to captain his motley "team."

On the optimistic side, we may now see, under Adlai Stevenson's leadership, the emergence of a factor which has been sadly lacking in our democracy for twenty years—that is, a responsible, loyal opposition, which offers not obstruction but constructive criticism. It is to be hoped that we have not seen the last of Adlai Stevenson, for, with all due respect to General Eisenhower, the man from Illinois is the most promising figure that has emerged upon the scene of American politics in this generation.

James Fitzsimmons Gardner

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

Boston

It would seem to me intemperate to read into the results of the Presidential election any far-reaching political implications. The real issues were for the most part ignored by the voters. Stevenson talked sense to the American people, but his sense did not overcome the tremendous popularity of the General. The Eisenhower sweep was not a political victory; it was a personal one. This was fully demonstrated by the failure of the Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates to win in areas where Eisenhower rolled up huge majorities. In Massachusetts two groups seemed most taken with the General—women and young voters.

Unemployment and old-age compensation are difficult goals to sell to a healthy employed worker. Today the voters are not for the party that demands social legislation but for the party that speaks of tax reductions.

Playing politics with the heartbreak of Korea was the low-water mark in the campaign. In Boston the Republican organization passed out cards with the legend, "Stop the killing in Korea; elect Eisenhower." The door is open wide to a great disenchantment when Eisenhower returns from Korea without an effective solution.

Our immediate concern is who is going to advise Eisenhower on the staggering social, economic, and political problems before him. We shall know him by his friends.

Aubrey Williams

Publisher of the Southern Farm and Home

Montgomery, Alabama

The meaning of the election is not different in the South from in other sections except in so far as the voters were told different things. Stevenson was not guilty of this equivocation. Most of the local and state Democratic party leaders, however, took sharp issue with Stevenson on civil rights and the filibuster.

Everybody knew that the Republicans talked one way down South and another way in other places. They assured Southerners that nothing would be done about civil rights or any other issue which conflicted with the South's wishes. That the Democrats carried Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas in the face of unrestrained attempts to arouse Southerners' fear and hate of the Negro can mean only one thing: the South has advanced far toward abolishing the injustice it has practiced against the Negro.

One special significance of the election for the South is that the large Republican vote, while admittedly based on Ike's personal qualities, should go far to establish a second political party in the Southern states. Dixiecrats wish it; many non-Dixiecrats wish it; and many young people would like to show their independence by entering such a party. Much new blood has been brought into the erstwhile "vest-pocket" Southern Republican Party.

In the South as elsewhere underlying factors in the voting were a feeling of frustration over the failure to achieve more results in our struggle with the Russians and communism and a sense of guilt toward those who have borne the suffering in Korea. It may be that in selecting a military leader, with its large implications of wanting a father and burden bearer, we have taken a tragic step toward weakening the rights and responsibilities of the individual and strengthening the central authority. In other words, we may have moved closer to the authoritarian state. Only time and Eisenhower will be able to provide us with the answer to that.

Murray D. Lincoln

President of the Farm Bureau Insurance Company

Chicago

To me the most striking thing that has come out of this election is the proof that our two-party system is as sound as ever and that the people will participate in time of crisis. We need both a strong Administration and a strong opposition, and more especially we need to have the people themselves involved in decisions of government and in world affairs. The pressure of the changing world is unifying mankind beyond the point where an individual or a society can refuse to participate.

General Eisenhower has had wide experience in tackling global problems. Before his return from Europe he had recognized that we can't win with guns alone. He knew and declared that to win the peace we must carry out a program of economic and technical aid to less fortunate countries. He knows the value of cooperation with others. The groups which brought about his nomination and started him on the way to election were certainly committed to that same international point of view.

The crucial question now is whether or not the General will surround himself with men who will strengthen and expand economic aid and world cooperation or whether he will choose for his advisers men who will oppose programs for helping people to help themselves.

Harry S. Ashmore

Editor of the Arkansas Gazette

Little Rock, Arkansas

We still do not know what kind of Republican Dwight Eisenhower really is.

The campaign provided no answer but only compounded the confusion, for the General ranged from passionate indorsement of collective security to the edge of Asia-first isolationism. On his own record he often sounded like a man debating with himself. Nor did the voting pattern provide any real indication, for the General ran far ahead of the Republican Party almost everywhere, and many of those who voted for him believed they were indorsing a great personal crusade above the level of partisan politics.

The domestic side of the debate was always secondary; basic democratic reforms are now so popular as to be impervious to political change. The great hazard is in the area of international relations, and it is too real for any but the blindest partisans to draw automatic comfort from the prospect of a change.

The first real cue to the future will come when the Cabinet appointments are announced. If the General stands by the Dewey-Lodge-Duff internationalist coalition that won the nomination for him, it can be assumed that he still indorses the main elements of existing foreign policy. If, however, the appointments reflect the dominance of the Taft wing of the party, there will be cause for general alarm.

It is fair to say that the majority of those who voted for Eisenhower took him on faith. Those of us who opposed him can only express a fervent hope that their confidence proves justified.

Irving Dilliard

Editor of the Editorial Page, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

St. Louis

A multiplicity of factors was responsible for the outcome of the election. The Korean war, inflation, high taxes, long Democratic tenure, corruption in government, Communist espionage—these and other matters seemingly added up to a general protest, and support for the argument that it was "time for a change." But the foremost factor was the personal popularity of General Eisenhower, who at the time of his nomination had been a world military celebrity for nearly a decade.

As for Adlai E. Stevenson, he was and will continue to be one of the best-qualified men ever nominated for the Presidency. His campaign was unique for candor and for honest and informed discussion of the issues; it was largely above partisanship. Those who say that his kind of campaign cost him the election overlook not only the heavy handicaps he carried but also the fact that many voters responded with profound belief and enthusiasm. His popular vote of approximately 27,000,000 has been exceeded by only two other Presidential candidates—General Eisenhower and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For his memorable contribution to American political thinking Adlai Stevenson has everlasting satisfactions that no victory by itself could possibly have brought.

With Republican control goes Republican responsibility. General Eisenhower and his party are going to find that it is much easier to oppose and condemn than to administer wisely and effectively. The very slender Republican margins in Congress make it clear that the Presidential campaigner who only a few days ago wanted to exterminate all Democrats in Washington will next January be eagerly seeking Democratic cooperation; he will need it if he hopes to make good on his promises to develop a positive foreign policy and to extend the New Deal and Fair Deal social gains.

Senator Wayne Morse, who followed his conscience and supported Governor Stevenson at no little political risk, winds up in the most strategic spot in Congress. Chalk up a point for honesty in a campaign in which honesty was kicked all over the lot by the hucksters.

Saul D. Alinsky

Executive Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation,
Author of "John L. Lewis, a Biography"

Chicago

It is impossible to do more than speculate on the causes of the political earthquake of November 4. Interpretations will include the "revolution of the right," repudiation of Trumanism, an American people beset with fears, anxiety, and insecurity to the point of hysteria, high prices and taxes, a holy crusade against corruption and communism, Korea, mass desperation seeking escape in a "leader."

For some time the existence of the so-called labor vote has been seriously questioned. It has been asked to what extent the labor unions, possessed of their members' economic loyalty, can also claim their political allegiance. In the Roosevelt era it was impossible to determine conclusively whether the workers voted for Roosevelt because their union supported him or whether, as is more probable, they voted for him for reasons of their own rather than because of the indorsement of the union. One dramatic test of this question was provided by the break of John L. Lewis, then president of the C. I. O., with Roosevelt in 1940. His disaffection did not jar the workers' loyalty to the President. It is doubtful that the political results of that year would have been significantly altered if the other titular leaders of labor had joined in the rejection of Roosevelt.

The 1950 landslide victory of Taft in Ohio is another case in point.

Indubitably the labor movement must completely reorient its political strategy and probably its political philosophy. Its ties to the Administration—ties lasting more than a generation—have been summarily severed. This may in the long run have positive benefits for the labor movement.

Walter White

Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

New York

Like other Americans, including Republicans, I do not understand fully the meaning of the election. False statements which created fears regarding the Korean war, charges of corruption and communism in government, rising prices and shrinking savings, along with the conviction that no party should remain in power too long, overshadowed some other factors. Chief of these was the success of the campaign conducted by the Dixiecrats against President Truman because of his uncompromising stand on civil rights. That campaign played into the hands of anti-Democrats, particularly during the last forty-eight hours, when thousands of leaflets dropped from airplanes over Southern cities asserted:

> Negro bosses in the mills if Stevenson is elected. . . . The Democratic platform would force the Negro down your throats. . . . It [F. E. P. C.] would be a law by which every company operating wherever Negroes live would be required and compelled, whether willing or not, to hire Negroes as well as white people and to put Negroes and white people to work together. . . . Eisenhower is against all this. If he is elected, F. E. P. C. law will not pass. In order to save our way of life, to avoid the racial struggle, we the white people of the South must vote for Ike.

Such Nazi-like appeals, which were tragically effective, do not, of course, tell the whole story. But they fitted snugly into the pattern of fear and smear used by men like McCarthy, Byrnes, and Talmadge.

McCarthyism in Germany

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

IF McCARTHYISM were confined to America it would be a purely American concern. But when the McCarthy spirit penetrates into Western Europe, borne by American military and political authorities, and endangers the objectives for which America fought the Second World War, then surely it is time for a European to speak out.

For the past several weeks West Germany has been agitated by the revelations of Dr. Zinn, the Social Democratic Minister-President of Hesse. From the rostrum of the provincial parliament Dr. Zinn declared that Hesse was the headquarters of an organization calling itself the League of German Youth (Bund Deutscher Jugend) which was using the old reliable Nazi methods of violence and intimidation to dominate German political life. The avowed purpose of the league, he said, was to combat the "defeatism" of the West German population in the face of the Soviet Union and communism. To this end it had set up offices with high-paid staffs in many West German cities and put out a vast amount of propaganda. Some of its funds came from the Bonn government and wealthy industrialists, but the largest part was provided by the Americans.

Of course everybody knew that many anti-Russian organizations were operating in West Germany—propaganda against communism and for remilitarization has become one of the surest sources of income. What was sensational in Dr. Zinn's disclosures was that the Youth League had a two-thousand-strong "Technical Service" which was really a band of terrorists, with a secret arsenal and a clubhouse where members were being trained to break up meetings and manhandle political opponents. The birds had flown when the Hesse police entered the building, but they had left behind their lists of persons who were to be liquidated. Eighteen pages of names of German Communists were found. In addition, eighty Social Democratic and trade-union officials were marked for murder—among them Erich Ollenhauer, successor to the late Kurt Schumacher, Hans Fehn, head of the railroad workers' union, and the mayors of Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen, all known anti-Communists. The Hesse Minister of the Interior was proscribed because he had forbidden meetings of fanatical rightists and the Hesse Minister of Religious Affairs because he was a leading Protestant churchman and a friend of Dr. Niemöller. Five Social Democratic deputies in the Hesse Parliament were also on the list.

The pro-Adenauer press tried at first to ridicule Dr. Zinn's revelations and dismiss them as election propaganda. The federal Minister of Justice took the same attitude until he had examined the seized material. Now all the West German papers, whatever their party affiliation, express serious concern. The Hesse government has kept back some of the facts out of a desire not to embarrass the American occupation authorities, for the Technical Service of the Youth League was created by the United States army and its account books show monthly contributions of $12,000 from American sources. In fact, the Americans have officially admitted that they established it after the outbreak of the Korean war in preparation for a possible Russian invasion of West Germany; the members were to organize nests of resistance in Russian-occupied West German areas and conduct partisan warfare. Later, the American official statement said, this policy was abandoned and the or-

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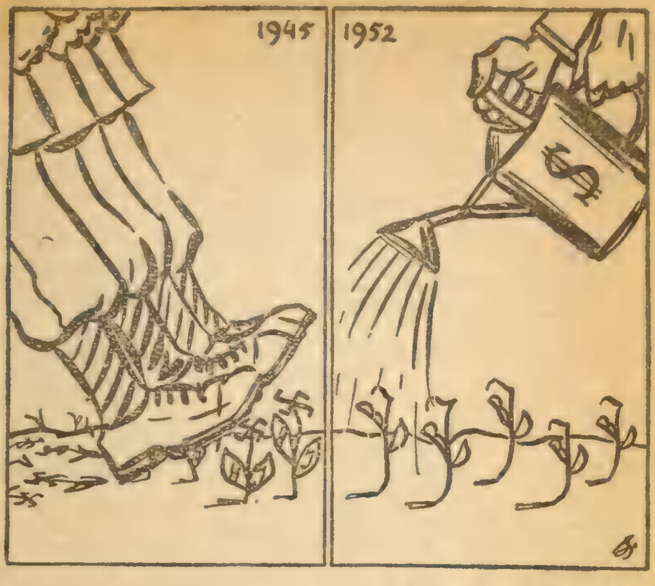
CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

ganization dissolved. The Hesse police, after Dr. Zinn's revelations, arrested some of the leaders but had to release them because they were employees of the American army of occupation and thus outside the competence of a German tribunal.

By this time the Bavarian Minister-President, leader of a middle-class Roman Catholic party, had announced that a similar secret organization equipped with American arms had been discovered in Bavaria, and it has been reported that one exists in Schleswig-Holstein. United States civilian officials attached to the High Commissioner's office were apparently unpleasantly surprised to find that organizations of this kind had been financed with American money and trained by American military. The Moscow radio, on the contrary, must have been overjoyed to be provided with such valuable propaganda material.

THE well-paid leaders of the Youth League, according to Dr. Zinn, were men from thirty-five to fifty years old, veterans of Hitler's Wehrmacht and Himmler's S. S.—the same trained murderers who during the Third Reich liquidated millions in Germany and German-occupied Europe. The newspapers report that the organization has already one murder to its credit, but since its leaders are under the protection of the United States army, they are still enjoying their freedom and even holding press conferences in Bonn.

If the American army officers who founded and financed the Technical Service were not aware of its political aims, that was merely one more example of the almost childlike faith and naivete with which the occupation regards German remilitarization. Erich Ollenhauer used much stronger language about American policy in a recent Berlin speech. "What has now been made public," he said, "is the result of a stupid, brainless anti-Bolshevism which is quite valueless for the cause of democracy." McCarthyism, translated into German, attacks the real enemies of communism because they happen to be Social Democrats. When Schumacher died, the highest praise that the German and foreign press could bestow upon him was to say that in 1945-46 he and his associates had prevented the establishment of a Communist-led Unity Party in West Germany and it was therefore thanks to him that the Russians were not on the banks of the Rhine today. The Social Democrats oppose German rearmament because they believe that a just social order provides the only solid base for a successful defense against communism. But for the fascists, the Social Democrats are the enemy who must be liquidated. Schumacher is dead; so they place his successor on their murder list. A new party in West Germany, the Association of Democratic Socialists, formed for the purpose of splitting the Social Democratic Party, receives an American subsidy of $30,000 a month.



From *Die Tat* of Zurich

A grotesque touch has just been added to Dr. Zinn's account of the League of German Youth. It appears that its all-powerful head, a certain Herr Lüth, was a zealous member of the German Communist Party from 1945 to 1947 and conducted high-level negotiations with the Russian occupation authorities in East Germany. Moreover, he practiced medicine and paraded as a physician although he had had no medical training. Apparently any West German who acts like an anti-Communist can win the confidence of the Americans regardless of his past history. Honest and decent democrats who have fought all their lives against communism and for democracy, and suffered the consequences, get no recognition from the occupation authorities, many of whom show a marked preference for former Nazis, S. S. men, professional soldiers, and even common crooks. To such Americans a Social Democrat is merely a Communist of a slightly different hue. As a matter of fact, Social Democrats and trade unionists would be the first victims of a Communist dictatorship, while Herr Lüth and his companions in the Technical Service would prosper under the Russians just as they do under the Americans. McCarthyism in West Germany can have only one result—the creation of a horde of mercenaries without a shred of character, eager to serve the highest bidder.

Every sincere German democrat and anti-Communist views with deep concern the rising tide of anti-Americanism, for they know it is the Communists who will have the last laugh. The Technical Service and similar secret organizations aim at something more than the elimination of eighty leading Socialists. They intend to get rid of the democracy they hate and to establish a fascist dictatorship. Given the presence of the Soviet army just across the border, the result can only be civil war ending in a Communist dictatorship. This time the millions of organized workers will not march like lambs to the slaughter as they did in 1933. Karl Gerold, editor-in-chief of the *Frankfurter Rundschau,* a pro-American newspaper which supports German rearmament as a protection against the threat of communism, put the matter in a nutshell in a recent editorial:

> If the American military authorities did not know that murder and civil war were being plotted they were both deceivers and deceived. We German democrats must refuse to join forces with fascists in the fight against the Stalinists. People who do not understand what the conflict between freedom and oppression is all about should go home. . . . We must make it clear to the United States that we will not defend Europe in alliance with fascists.

"Ike" and "Mike"—TV and the Election

BY SAUL CARSON

AT 1:23 a. m. Governor Adlai Stevenson was ready to concede. Deftly all television networks switched from their election-night centers in New York to Springfield, Illinois, where for hours two cameras had been kept ready to show the final act of the fourteen-week campaign. At this moment of climax TV fumbled.

One of the cameras at Springfield covered the Stevenson headquarters at the Leland Hotel, and an announcer was there to report the doings. The other camera was on a Springfield street in front of the Executive Mansion so that the country might see the Democratic candidate leaving his home to go to the hotel. No announcer was with this camera. When its image was brought to the TV channels, we saw the Governor's home, owl-like in the gloom, and the scurryings of men who may have been police officers or newspaper photographers; but no one explained the bustle. TV then brought in the voice of the announcer at the hotel, who of course did not know that his remarks had no relevance to the picture being shown. The networks brought in the voices of men in New York to comment on the street scene in Springfield and made matters worse. Coordination between audio and video channels had collapsed.

But the confusion lasted only seconds. NBC-TV and CBS-TV switched quickly into commercials. Until Stevenson was ready to enter the range of the camera in the hotel at Springfield, Philco and Westinghouse plugs were given the air's right-of-way. That was the only slip I detected in the otherwise excellent broadcast coverage of an event of great importance. Yet the solution at which our two leading networks jumped in those seconds of distress seemed symbolic. Certainly it was in character with everything that had gone before in this first big television campaign. For television had become the pitchman's platform, the advertising man's billboard.

"How Ike Did It" was the November 5 headline on a New York tabloid. In the television studios "ike" is the trade term for the iconoscope or "eye" of the TV camera —like "mike" for microphone—and the headline writer of the tabloid was wiser than he knew. The "ike" had, indeed, done wonders to elect our next President. Of course, he is greatly indebted to hundreds of anonymous account executives, air-time buyers, producers, writers, directors, and technicians. The advertising bunch produced the story, but it was "ike" and "mike" that beamed the show into our living-rooms.

The advertising industry was just as willing to work for the Democrats too, and there is little doubt that the defeated candidate would have welcomed heavier reliance on TV. But the Democrats simply did not have the funds.

General Eisenhower opened and closed his campaign on television with great dignity. On his first appearance in mufti at Abilene and when he read Stevenson's admission of defeat at the Commodore Hotel and promised to do his utmost to justify the people's trust, television presented a portrait of healthy candor. As Harriet Van Horne pointed out in the New York *World-Telegram and Sun,* TV projected Eisenhower in the "father image." At the Commodore he spoke just a few words, without script. There was no note of gloating, no anger against the men he had beaten. There was only the humility of a leader aware of the great responsibility for which he had been chosen.

But between Abilene and the softly spoken "good night" from New York, television had brought us another Eisenhower, one that the advertising men had created. Eisenhower on the hustings was a man reading a script, an uninspired, tired announcer bringing the commercials because the kiddies need shoes, a man purposely cast in the homey role to increase sales among the home folk. Now and then the director in the control room threw the cue for a smile, and he smiled. He reacted just as readily when the script called for glare or glower or growl.

Richard Nixon's performance, when he pretended to bare his financial soul, was an astonishing tear-jerker. Both *Variety* and the *Billboard* called the show a faithful take-off on the soap-opera, the writer on the *Billboard* suggesting that it should have been advertised as "Dick's Other Income."

SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critics for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

Senator McCarthy's "exposé" of Stevenson was bad melodrama. In one area—that covered out of Ames, Iowa, by Station WOI-TV—even the technology gagged at McCarthy's act. When General Robert E. Wood introduced McCarthy from Chicago, the viewers tuned to WOI-TV saw the face of Wood but the voice they heard belonged to the actor J. Carroll Naish playing the little immigrant from Italy in a situation comedy called "Life with Luigi." By air WOI-TV had received the TV picture it had ordered, but the sound it expected by land line turned out to be the sound of "Luigi" from another network. Unfortunately this fiasco was confined to the WOI-TV area. But it did last seven wonderful minutes.

Governor Dewey picked out of the TV trash barrel a charity-fund-raising gimmick discarded by Milton Berle and Bob Hope. He used the device of an eighteen-hour "telethon" over a local New York TV outlet on the day before we went to the polls. He appealed to liberal New Yorkers by characterizing Sparkman as "an extreme right-winger" and "reactionary." He answered telephone queries in the best disc-jockey manner, and it was obvious that many of the questions had been planted to provide pegs for the elucidation of standard G. O. P. campaign doctrine. For change of pace, he had the cameras switch to a nearby hotel lounge. There a man known on the air as the maestro of "Happy Felton's Knot-Hole Gang," brought before the cameras the living testimony of "housewives for Eisenhower." Some of these home bodies gave their names as Helen Hayes, Fleur Cowles, and Mrs. Irving Berlin. Finally, Dewey hammered hard at his audience to send "Ike-o-Grams," a twist on the chain-letter idea.

DURING the last ten days of the campaign, when the electorate was presumably weighing basic issues, the Republicans put on a blitz of television and radio spot announcements, using everything learned in the art of selling anything from dog food to deodorants. The Republican National Committee denied that it had any connection with this $1,500,000 project; most of the money was provided by local and state committees and Citizens for Eisenhower.

Finally came the last hour of the last night of the campaign. Eisenhower and Nixon, with their wives, staged an "at home"—in the living-room set of a Boston television studio. Ike and Dick, with Mamie and Pat, were not campaigning. Certainly not. They were just two American couples, and like all American couples they had a TV set in front of them. And what did they see? Reports of the progress of the campaign.

With great skill the "people" had been written into a masterful script. The author had prescribed that at a certain point the director on the spot must "get a genuine Korean veteran." The vet, in uniform, was ready on location. Switch to film, back to live camera, show a supermarket with the clerk changing the price of food (let the authentic brand name show) by reversing the numerals on a 49-cent price tag, making it read 94 cents. Texas—get those Texans, be sure they are Democrats; Philadelphia—stir up that bunch of college students; that's a swell touch having young Sara Delano Roosevelt indorsing Ike, even though she has to admit she isn't old enough to vote; Seattle; San Francisco; Camera No. 1, back to Boston, on Dick, on Pat, on Mamie, on Ike—cut!

From eleven to midnight this show had the clear track on all transcontinental channels. It was a mammoth production. It was done with vast skill. It was a monstrous, patent fraud. It was excellent propaganda. Along with other factors, it worked. Eisenhower *is* the victor.

The cost of all this flummery was stupendous. It is still being computed and may run, for the entire political campaign, up to $20,000,000 for TV and radio alone. But that is only money, and most of it will be reported in due and legal time. We may never know the moral costs of such utter disrespect for a communications tool as sharp and powerful as television.

At a panel on mass communications about four years ago, Clifford J. Durr, ex-member, and conscience, of the Federal Communications Commission, warned that radio and the infant television "can carry an inflection of a voice or a gesture that may convert truth into a lie." He saw them as tools that "have no choice between artistry and banality," tools employed by people, tools that can with equal impact "inform or confuse, educate or degrade, challenge the emotions of people or exploit them." The people who used those tools in this campaign were advertisers. They tied a future President to their products.

The advertisers are going farther. Already sponsors have been signed up for the telecast of the next President's inauguration. The identity of the script writer has not yet been revealed.

It has been suggested, in bitter jest, that the sponsors pick up in 1956 the option on the next-to-closing act, the balloting itself—if we think of the election returns as the final curtain stunt. If we carry through logically, the Presidential ballots four years from now will be cast at home through special plugs (distributed free by retailers) attached to the electric toaster, coffee percolator, or shaver. There is relevance here, since the principal campaign sponsors this year—on ABC, CBS, and NBC, respectively—were Admiral, Westinghouse, and Philco. Under this plan the voting would be computed instantaneously by the very "electronic-brain" calculators used by the major networks this year to compute the election results. Whether such extension of the advertising man's dream would help democracy and intelligent and responsible citizenship is something for the citizens to determine.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

"Big Brother"—The Union of South Africa

THE MISTAKEN LAND. By Michael Ardizzone. British Book Center. $2.

REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. By Basil Davidson. British Book Center. $3.50.

RACIAL SEPARATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Eugene P. Dvorin. The University of Chicago Press. $4.50.

THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Leo Marquard. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA. By E. S. Sachs. Philosophical Library. $5.75.

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. By a Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press. $6.

THE recent publication of six important books dealing in whole or in part with the Union of South Africa attests the gravity of a situation that has grown worse since the books were written. All six are by experienced and competent observers or scholars. The English-born Ardizzone spent several years in the Union as an English newspaper correspondent. Davidson, one-time member of the staff of the *Economist* and the London *Times* and now of the *New Statesman,* recently visited the two Rhodesias, Basutoland, and the Union. The only American in the group, Dvorin, was on duty with the United States Maritime Service in South and West Africa during the war. Born in the Orange Free State and educated at Oxford, Marquard returned home in 1922 and taught school until the outbreak of the war. Under the pseudonym of John Burger he wrote in 1943 "The Black Man's Burden," one of the most penetrating analyses of the subject up to that time. E. S. ("Solly") Sachs, general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa, has recently been arrested for alleged violation of the Suppression of Communism Act, although he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1932 (Davidson, p. 34). Twenty-seven specialists, including J. D. Rheinallt Jones, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1930-1947, constituted the Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

"Africa South of the Sahara" is the best compendium of factual information since Lord Hailey's monumental "An African Survey." Perhaps its greatest value, however, stems from the candid indication of the predominant role that the Union is assuming in the impending crisis in Africa. By far the largest number of European settlers south of the Sahara are in the Union, "where all major political parties are unanimous that the white man must remain dominant. Insistence on this fundamental principle is also the keynote of government policy in Southern Rhodesia. It is strong, too, among the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The 'settler' populations of the British territories to the north of the Union of South Africa think of that country as their 'big brother' in maintaining the ascendancy of the white man on this continent."

Marquard suggests that as British policy seeks to protect the natives in these territories, the European settlers may look to South Africa for leadership in native policy. Davidson develops at greater length the attitudes of Europeans in Basutoland and the two Rhodesias as well as the adamant opposition of African leaders in the two Rhodesias and in Nyasaland to the formation of a Central African federation. And Dvorin quotes the ominous phrase, "'Mason-Dixon' line south of the Sahara," which extends from the Kenya highlands through the highlands of East and South Central Africa and thence westward over South West Africa to the Atlantic. North of the line African nationalism is growing more and more insistent, not only in the Gold Coast and Nigeria but in other British territories.

I learned in France this year that self-government rather than increased representation in the French National Assembly is the goal of some French West African political leaders and students. It is not surprising, then, that Ardizzone is convinced that Malan "is training his *Herrenvolk*" to take the lead in Africa south of the Sahara. I consider unfortunate, therefore, the conclusion of the Study Group of the Brookings Institution in its 1952 edition of "Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy, 1952-1953" that "Africa south of the Sahara . . . does not pose the urgent problems for American foreign policy that the North African–Mediterranean–Middle East area does." In one sense it might be said that the problem is more urgent since there is perhaps still time to prevent a duplication in Africa south of the Sahara of events in the regions enumerated. Moreover, Africans reading this passage must inevitably conclude that they too must resort to arms if they wish the United States to take an active interest in their problems.

As to the major problems within the Union the five individual authors are in substantial agreement. Marquard's book is the most valuable analysis of the historical background, people, government, administration, color bar, political questions, education, religion, and the Union's "colonies." Dvorin has probed most deeply the historical, ideological, religious, demographic, ecological, and political roots of *apartheid.* Part Three of Sachs's volume, The Trade Union and Labor Movement, is its most important contribution. This is all the more true because whatever hope there may be for an equitable solution of the Union's ills seems to lie in the development of trade unions.

Davidson, who spent the least time in the Union, is the most optimistic. By the end of 1949, he points out, there were fifty-six trade unions with mixed memberships and a total of 118,168 members. He recognizes, however, that the picture is quite different in the older craft unions and reminds us that during the bloody strike of 1922 white workers carried banners with the inscription, "Workers of the World, Unite for a White South Africa." Since then members of trade unions have been some of the strongest supporters of the color bar, *apartheid,* and the removal of the Cape colored from a single electoral role. Dvorin and Marquard also see a ray of hope in the spread of industrialization and the growth of unions.

Sir Francis de Guingand, chairman of the Study Group, adds his belief that "the surest way of achieving racial harmony between white and black must be to improve the African's standard of living, which is at present so low. Suppression and segregation can only be short-term answers to the problem." He adds immediately, however, that "whatever solution may be found it should be remembered that it is unreasonable to expect the European, who has made Africa his home and has done so much to assist in its development, to accept a policy which may mean submergence both economically and politically by the more numerous Africans and Asiatics. He would be signing his own death warrant." Ardizzone believes that most white South Africans—Boers and Britons—regardless of party, religion, or economic status, are determined to maintain their dominant position and that the only hope lies in the establishment of a United Nations trusteeship over the Union, with the United States as the administering authority. Let us, therefore, consider the testimony of the man best qualified to evaluate the role of trade unionism in bringing about an equitable solution.

Sachs states that there are three main trends of policy regarding non-Europeans in the trade-union movement. The mining unions and some of the less important craft unions advocate a complete color-bar policy. Some of the unions of workers engaged in secondary industries, such as textiles, foods, and chemicals, oppose any form of color bar or racial disunity. Particularly encouraging is the fact that some Afrikaner women are the most outspoken champions of this policy. In the center is a group of the largest unions, including Sachs's Garment Workers' Union, whose attitude is well set forth in the following passage: "This group of trade unions recognizes the need to organize and uplift the non-European workers, and pursues a policy of 'parallel organization' because of the racialism prevailing amongst its own European members. These unions have no color bar in their constitution, and where, as is usually the case in the Cape, there is no opposition from their membership, the non-European workers are freely admitted to membership and attend the same branch meetings as Europeans. In the Transvaal, however, where racial feeling among European workers is much stronger, Europeans, colored, and Africans are organized into separate branches within the same union."

In brief, the policies of South African trade unions are not unlike those of the American Federation of Labor fifty years ago. Will South African trade unions discard their color bar rapidly enough to prevent an explosion which seems in the making? The chances have not been improved by the role of Big Brother that the Union has assumed, a role that is uncomfortably similar to that of Big Brother in George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four." These six books help to point up the similarity and to warn us that a policy of drift is replete with danger. It is too early to determine whether the combined non-violent resistance movement of Africans and Asians will be more effective than trade unions in stopping the further expansion of what Davidson aptly terms "furor Malanicus."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

The Last Fifty Years

THE BIG CHANGE. America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950. By Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

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Frederick Lewis Allen, who has already written entertainingly of America in the twenties and thirties, takes this big change as his theme. His chronicle is filled with amusing detail and wise observation, and it would be difficult to improve upon its style and its pace.

But "The Big Change" is completely successful only at the level of high-grade journalism. Mr. Allen records the surface phenomena brilliantly, but his account lacks analytical depth and leaves the most vital questions unanswered. He describes the gradual adjustment of the economic structure of this nation to new demands, and correctly notes that the United States government of 1950 is no longer the spectator to the economy that it was in 1900. But we seek in vain for a penetrating analysis of the forces that transformed a crude capitalism into that peculiar system of countervailing power of which J. K. Galbraith has written so persuasively. Nor does "The Big Change" offer a clear insight into the part played in this transformation by individuals and movements. Woodrow Wilson, whose domestic legislative program pioneered in giving an affirmative role to government, is barely mentioned. The New Deal, which, as Mr. Allen admits, "permanently altered the nature of the American economy," is passed off in largely descriptive fashion in a few pages. Yet it was probably the New Deal more than any other series of policies in recent American history that ratified and made permanent the very changes that are the theme of this book.

Again, "The Big Change" is eloquent on the dangers to civil liberties that arise from such domestic terrorists as McCarthy and "Red Channels." The reader can only echo Mr. Allen's sentiments when he writes: "It is time . . . we rid ourselves of the notion that the direction of change at home is toward socialism or communism, and that therefore loyal Americans must stand pat. This notion is a stultifying force in our life. It causes well-meaning people to imagine that anyone with unorthodox ideas must be suspect of subversive intent. It tends to cramp men's imaginations into a timid conformity." But the problem is, of course: Why has this notion taken hold of so many people? Why are the irresponsibles capable of intimidating the well-meaning? We might suppose that the answers to these questions would be found at least partly in the growing monopolization of our mass communications, or in the increasing dependence and insecurity of our white-collar groups, but these vital developments are neglected here.

It might seem carping to criticize "The Big Change" for not being the kind of book that Mr. Allen had not intended to write in the first place. It is worth repeating, therefore, that it is a mellow and thoroughly charming volume which tells the story of the changing American scene with humor and affection. But Mr. Allen's commitment to unreconstructed liberalism obscures his view of those underlying trends that move all modern societies, including our own. "The Big Change" concludes that our country is under a severe strain, but the nature of that strain can be grasped only if the fundamental maladjustments of modern society, which this book slights, are fully discussed.

PETER GAY

Miss Porter's Essays

THE DAYS BEFORE. By Katherine Anne Porter. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

THE way of dissent and the way of orthodoxy are apt to be one and the same. Although Katherine Anne Porter attacks "the military police of orthodoxy" in "The Days Before," she does so not out of a lack of faith but by "compulsion of belief," because she, like Thomas Hardy, is committed to the faith of "the Inquirers." The articles of this faith, which I suppose is what Miss Porter means when she speaks of the "continuous, central interest and preoccupation of [my] lifetime," include insistence that the artist be free of a militant social consciousness, that he be concerned with individual human beings, with the individual's need for recognizing, understanding, and accepting his human responsibilities and opportunities; recognition and acceptance of man's functions and limitations as an animal in nature; emphasis upon the use of reason, tempered by a suspicion that mysterious, irrational forces working in man's unconscious mind may invalidate reason and cause man to rationalize, to delude himself; awareness of the seething internal realities which often are obscured by external appearances; rejection of dogmas which provide easy answers to problems that may, after all, have no solutions; tolerance of the inquisitive spirit in man which enables him to participate with joy in everyday life and which causes him to attempt to see through his illusions, to find out what is "true" for him. Concomitants of Miss Porter's creed are her devotion to truth-telling—that is, the art of fiction—her social awareness, her skepticism of abstract theories, and her exalted view of the devout artist, who, though he is only human, endued with the responsibilities of other men, can be compared to the saint. Because Miss Porter's preoccupation is essentially religious, it is appropriate that such expressions as "saints and artists," the "vocation" of the artist, and the poet's songs to "the greater glory of life" recur in her essays.

While Miss Porter's beliefs are not formulated in any single essay, they underlie the Mexican essays, the personal statements, and the critical studies that make up "The Days Before." These implicit values unify the book, but the subject matter is highly diversified. The Mexican essays, for example, range from an expanded review of D. H. Lawrence's "The Plumed Serpent," to an early letter to the editors of *Century* magazine explaining that she wrote about Mexico because the Southwest is her familiar country, to a brilliant study of the life and times of Fernández de Lizárdi, to a witty, humane sketch of the Mexican peon's changing way of life, to a portrayal of the charmed life of an American archaeologist who probably was the prototype for Givens, the grave-digger in "María Concepción." The personal essays, too, cover a wide variety of subjects: Miss Porter's subtle study of family life in the Southwest (material later used in "The Source"), the popular essays on love and marriage written for the *Mademoiselle* audience, and three critical statements which might better have been grouped with the critical writings. These three statements and the critical essays on Henry James, Thomas Hardy, Gertrude Stein, Eudora Welty, Virginia Woolf, and Edith Sitwell most directly reflect Miss Porter's values. Thus Miss Porter observes in her sensitive biographical sketch of James that "knowledge at the price of utterly 'seeing through' everything" was James's goal. And in her notes on Hardy she attacks the "parochial" criticism of T. S. Eliot, who had denounced Hardy as "diabolic"; she finds that Hardy adheres to "the great tradition of dissent," to "the Inquirers" who object to the dogmas of conventional religion and who conclude that "both malevolence and benevolence originated in the mind of man, and . . . such plan as existed in regard to him he had created for himself."

Readers familiar with Katherine Anne Porter's fiction will not be surprised by the purity and brilliance of her style or the subtlety and complexity of her insights in this collection. Perhaps some readers will be dissatisfied with the grouping of the essays, but that is a minor objection. More serious is the omission of three studies from a work in progress (since 1927) on "The Devil and Cotton Mather." The Mather essays, which appeared in magazines now difficult to obtain, probably should have been reprinted here, since they are an integral part of Miss Porter's critical achievement. EDWARD SCHWARTZ

What Matters in History

AVENUES OF HISTORY. By L. B. Namier. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THE author of this book, professor of modern history at the University of Manchester, has a record of profound research in several historical fields. He is also a scholar who understands that "what matters in history is the great outline and the significant detail: what must be avoided is the deadly morass of irrelevant narrative."

In an age of specialization Namier has developed broad interests ranging from the British Parliament in the eighteenth century through European nationalism in the nineteenth century to the diplomatic history of our own times and Zionism. Aspects of all these subjects are touched on in the present collection of reviews and occasional papers which triumphantly bear the test of republication. In addition there are two introductory essays, the first of which discusses the subject matter of history and its possibilities and limitations as a guide to action. The second, a review of Arnold Toynbee's "Civilization on Trial," pays tribute to the imaginative scope of this work while commenting with dry wit on Toynbee's inability to make up his mind "whether to treat religion as a revealed truth or as an historically conditioned phenomenon."

In dealing with modern Germany Namier writes with acidulous authority. Seldom have I read anything more devastating than his review of the Memoirs of Richard von Kühlmann, imperial state secretary in 1917-18 and chief German delegate at the Brest-Litovsk peace conference. With deadly citations, which prove his own complete grasp of the tangled diplomacy of World War I, Namier exposes Kühlmann as a clumsy liar and braggart. This review is required reading for those among us who tend to take at face value the apologies of ex-Nazis that are beginning to appear. For it is a salutary reminder that the dedicated German nationalist, no less than the dedicated Communist, never hesitates to rewrite history to serve his own ends.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Books in Brief

HERE'S A HOW-DE-DO. My Life in Gilbert and Sullivan. By Martyn Green. Norton. $3.75. A simple, modest, and not too eventful book of reminiscences by the comedian who most pleased American audiences on the various visits of the D'Oyly Carte Company and who is currently apearing in S. M. Chartock's Gilbert and Sullivan Company. As a young man he went from the chorus of a musical troupe into the chorus of the leading Gilbert and Sullivan company and has there spent almost the whole of his later theatrical life. He served abroad in both world wars and tells something of his adventures. More of the book is concerned with theatrical anecdotes—accounts of the contretemps which occurred during years of performance and of the invention of bits of business which audiences here will remember. In view of his unusual agility, perhaps the most surprising fact is that he was so severely wounded in the first war that the doctors told him he would never walk again. Mr. Green is very reserved on the subject of his recent withdrawal from the company, but what he hints offers confirmation of the rumor that none of the successive heads of the D'Oyly Carte dynasty have been especially easy to work for. Perhaps they learned their attitudes from W. S. G.

EDWARD HICKS: PAINTER OF THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM. By Alice Ford. University of Pennsylvania Press. $8.50. A full-length biography of the Quaker man of God whose paintings formed an important part of his religious life. The richly documented text is occasionally marred by attempts to make it read like a novel, but the approach is primarily that of the archivist, genealogist, and social historian. There are elaborate notes, bibliography, and index. The thirty-seven plates and three color plates completely survey the work of this self-taught American painter, born sixty-five years before the Douanier Rousseau. He seems to have painted nearly one hundred variations on the theme of the Peaceable Kingdom. These and a Noah's Ark fantasy helped give his several farm landscapes a touch of whimsy.

OSCAR WILDE. A PRESENT-TIME APPRAISAL. By St. John Ervine. Morrow. $3.50. If there are sensible things still to be said about Oscar Wilde, not many of them get into this garrulous and slap-dash book. Taking his facts

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frankly at second hand Mr. Ervine ruminates at length upon such subjects as poetry, playwriting, and pederasty but does not come to very clear conclusions about any of them. The most sensible things said concern Wilde's plays; the least sensible seem to arise out of dogmatic but hazy notions about the biological origins of perversion. On evidence not given we are told for instance that Sir William Wilde's "pituitary and adrenal glands were overactive" and that Oscar "could not, in terms of biology, hope for happiness unless he had an exceptionally large and powerful inheritance of sanctity, and could, therefore, transcend his own nature"—whatever this may mean. For good measure there are many sweeping unfavorable generalizations about the author's fellow-countrymen. As Dr. Johnson once said, the Irish are a fair people—they never speak well of one another.

DANGEROUS ACQUAINTANCES. By Choderlos de Laclos. Translated by Richard Aldington. New Directions. $3.75. The reissuing of this wicked old book in Richard Aldington's now classic translation, and in a handsome legible format, makes once more available a remarkable social document. The dangerous acquaintances Laclos chattered on about in his epistolary novel were the idle rich who found the social *mores* of their time—mid-eighteenth century—boring to a degree and who enlivened their days by making mischief, but really first-class mischief, which can always precipitate tragedy. Though the idle rich, except for a handful of potentates who weigh more than their elephants, are a thing of the past, the bored and vicious are forever with us. Hence Laclos's indirect moralizing cannot help reminding us of the social movers and shakers in any upper-middle-class group with pretensions to intellectuality. The book is delightful, leisurely reading.

W. B. YEATS: THE TRAGIC PHASE. By Vivienne Koch. The Johns Hopkins Press. $2.25. There is more ill-tempered pedantry in the 148 pages of this dissertation than you would hear in a month of faculty meetings. If you left it all out, there would remain adequate but arid exegeses of thirteen poems from Yeats's last decade. True, anybody who wants to write about Yeats from now on will have to read this book; there are some good ideas in it. But if Miss Koch wants to write reputable criticism, she must acquire a critic's humility, toward her fellows and her subject. She must stop carping. She must—for this is the most pompous condescension—stop overpraising her poet. Yeats's last poems are all flawed by hysterical feelings and careless meters; furthermore, as poems they are somewhat dull. But to hear Miss K., you'd think he hadn't stopped writing "Byzantium." Meanwhile, let us beseech our publishers, even the subsidized ones, to quit putting good cloth and binder's glue on investigations that should be circulated inexpensively in the academic quarterlies.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

NO INSULT intended, but Maurice Evans is extremely well cast as a spiv and would-be killer in "Dial 'M' for Murder" (Plymouth Theater). In the second scene he blackmails another spiv, played by Anthony Dawson, into undertaking his dirty work, and both of them make such effective use of physical appearance and facial expression, of inflection and gesture, that the words are hardly necessary to make it clear that these two are capable of anything. With the result that one accepts what follows even when, in broad daylight so to speak, it wouldn't seem likely.

The first scene is a bit slow, mainly because the spectator must be "filled in" on the situation, but from then on the piece moves with speed and gathers suspense. I never heard the name of the author before—Frederick Knott—but I daresay he is no novice at this sort of thing, for the plot is very cleverly contrived, the dialogue is always passable and often bright, and, more important, consistently relevant, so far as I could make out, to the business in hand.

The business in hand is that perfect crime which always turns out, in fiction at least, to be not quite perfect; but there is an added fillip—when the original plan misses fire the murderer improvises another, out of the ruins of the first, which, again, almost succeeds.

I confess that the final latchkey sequence, in which the villain is tripped up, seemed to me a little weak; but I was sufficiently taken in by the atmosphere and the acting to wonder, when I got to my door, whether my own latchkey would fit.

Gusti Huber, who did so well with a trying part in "Flight into Egypt" last year, plays the part of the wife (and murderee) and plays it expertly; Max Halliday as the young man from America—he writes "whodunits" for the radio and is in love with the wife—has just the right aspect of hearty innocence combined with practicality. I have already paid my respects to Mr. Evans and Anthony Dawson. Yet the best performance of the evening is that of John Williams as Inspector Hubbard. This is partly because the role itself is engagingly written. Still, it is cut to an old pattern—the seemingly obtuse police officer who turns out to be smart after all—and skill is required to bring it off.

"Dial 'M' for Murder" makes no pretensions to artistic or social significance. It is a straight "whodunit" very well done—and I found it rather refreshing after some of the serious "dramas" the season has showed.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VIRGIL THOMSON'S "Four Saints in Three Acts," it was saddening to hear, lasted only a few performances in Paris—for lack, I would guess, of the understanding of the words on which its amusing effect so largely depends. And I have been reliably informed that some of the press criticism over there took the line that it was the work of a music critic who had turned to composing and therefore knew how to use only a few simple chords—which was giving Thomson a dose of his own medicine, for it was as completely unrelated to fact as Thomson's analogous contention that whereas Toscanini had learned the traditions of the operatic repertory in the opera house, he had found himself at the age of fifty having to deal with the symphonic repertory with no knowledge of *its* traditions, and had solved the problem by doing a streamlining job on it. The fact is that like most European conductors—Muck, Nikisch, Strauss, Mahler, Walter, Busch—Toscanini began his career in the opera house, and soon afterward, at the age of twenty-eight, began to conduct the symphonic repertory with the knowledge of it that he had acquired in the same way as his knowledge of the operatic repertory—by hearing it performed and studying the scores. And it is in recent years that there has been the marked change from elasticity to strictness in tempo that might be called "streamlining": you can hear changes of pace at the beginning of the 1930 recorded performance of Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony, expansions of pace for climaxes in the 1939 recorded performance of Beethoven's "Eroica," that you will not hear in the recent versions.

So with Beethoven's Ninth. The recording just issued by RCA Victor gives us Toscanini's performance at the stage it had reached last spring in the development that had been going on since he first conducted it at the age of thirty-five. Which is to say that it gives us the first three movements without the expansiveness—e. g., the broadening out for the first thunderous proclamation of the main theme of the first movement—that the performance had as late as 1938, and instead with the strictness in tempo (with only slight modifications) it has had since then. But otherwise the recorded performance has characteristics I recall in all the performances since 1927—characteristics, probably, of the first performance in 1902, since they are characteristics of Toscanini's way of performing music: the clarity, continuity, and coherence which cause everything on the printed page to be heard in the living sound and to fall easily and inevitably into place in the steady progression that achieves hair-raising cumulative power in the first movement, radiant sublimity in the third. And as wonderful as ever is the way the feeling for continuity and coherence finds tempos which integrate the many sections of the finale into a progression from one dazzling sublimity to the next. This is still, as it has been for twenty-five years, the definitive performance of the work. And the compensations for our having had to wait for a recording of it until now are that we get it with the marvelously beautiful and sensitive playing the NBC Symphony has been doing the last couple of years, with the no less marvelous singing of Robert Shaw's Chorale, with the fine work of Eileen Farrell, Nan Merriman, and Jan Peerce, and of Norman Scott after his recitatives, and with faithful reproduction of the beautiful sound and clear texture (but one notes the fuller sonority of the scherzo when it returns after the trio, and even this time Beethoven's little kettledrum joke in the Ritmo di tre battute section is barely audible). The Ninth is on three sides of two LP records, with a beautiful performance of Beethoven's First Symphony on the fourth side.

On another LP is Toscanini's performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony. For many years the definitive performance of this piece was thought to be Koussevitzky's with the Boston Symphony, which tossed into the air a succession of sonorities of miraculous refinement, radiance, and incorporeal lightness. It was one of the wonders of modern orchestral performance; but I have come to believe that the clear texture of strands wonderfully enlivened by sharp inflection which Toscanini produces with the NBC Symphony is the correct treatment of the music. On the reverse side is the performance of Gershwin's "An American in Paris" previously issued on 45.

A first recording by Vanguard has given me my first hearing of a Symphony in E major (1821) left in sketch form by Schubert, and completed by Weingartner. It has a very beautiful Andante movement, an engaging scherzo and trio, and engaging material in the diffuse finale; but the foreshadowings of the great C major Symphony exist only in Dr. Alfred Einstein's characteristic twitterings (quoted on the record envelope) about the relation of this work to others. The performance by Litschauer with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra is excellent.

Mozart's great Piano Concerto K.467 is on a Haydn Society record, with mediocre playing of the solo part by Folmer Jensen, beautiful playing of the orchestral part by the Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra under Wöldike's direction, and the wonderful Andante movement taken too fast for its proper effect. On the reverse side is the smaller-scale Concerto K.414.

CONTRIBUTORS

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is the author of "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa."

PETER GAY will shortly publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

EDWARD SCHWARTZ is in the English Department at Syracuse University.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Fascism, American Style

Dear Sirs: Never did the reality of the ominous encroachment of fascism hit me as it did a few nights ago. Senator Flanders was speaking to a small group of his constituents and had delivered an amazingly non-partisan speech. I was unhappy, however, over what seemed to be his personal indorsement of McCarthy, and asked him: "Senator, when basic principles of freedom and justice are in direct conflict with one's politics, do not the tenets of true democracy dictate that one give up his politics? . . . How can you stomach McCarthy?"

Up jumped a super-patriot in the audience who lauded McCarthy as being a "fine patriot who is rendering a great service to his country by exposing its enemies." That was not surprising. What stunned me was the fact that the man was wildly cheered by the crowd. . . . It is one thing to criticize our courts, which have turned in verdicts of "guilty" against those who have been indicted for advocating and thinking certain things; it is quite another to criticize a man who flouts the basic principle of our democratic system by wrecking people's lives without any real attempt to establish their guilt or innocence. . . .

We are at this very moment being tossed into the deep and stinking mire of fascism, American style. But most of us don't realize it yet; we are enjoying the thrill of being tossed through the air. . . . One of the principal characteristics of fascism is the use of falsehood and distortion. Since World War II Americans have been subjected to as intense a wave of fairy stories and hate-mongering as perhaps any people in modern times. The fruits of it are bound to be the same here as elsewhere: violent treatment of the objects of the attack—in this case Communists and, to a lesser degree, Negroes.

Right now Americans are enjoying their emotional jag. But the pay-off is not going to be pleasant.

VIRGIL L. MC CARTY

Highgate Center, Vt.

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Life in Lunamerica

Dear Sirs: Among the letters to the editor of *Collier's* about their recent article on a voyage to the moon, was the following. I submit it as a sad sign of the times.

Los Angeles J. OTTMAN

San Franciscograd, Cal.

Mr. Cornelius Ryan, Associate Editor,
COLLIER'S,
640 Fifth Avenue,
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ryan:

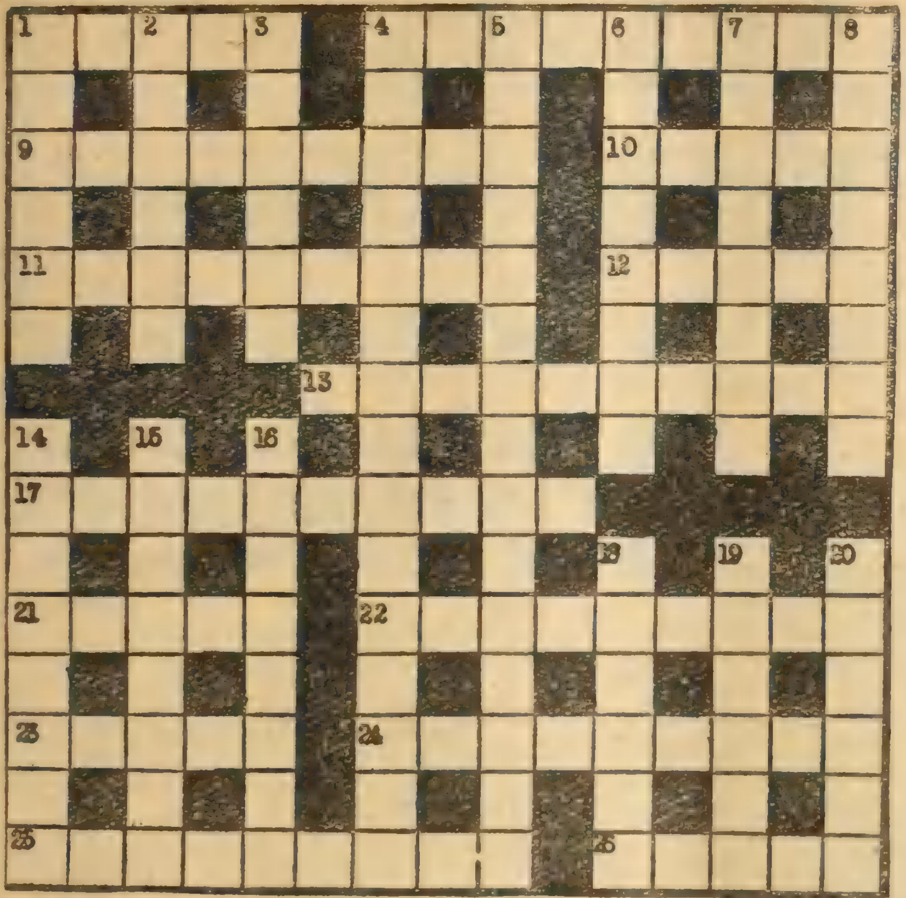
Your "Man on the Moon" is simply amazing. However, I was set back by one serious deficiency in the moonship cabin that may well wreck the whole undertaking. Neither Herr von Braun nor Artist Freeman has provided accommodations for the three most eminent emblems of the American way of living in our age: the F. B. I., the Un-Moon Activities Committee, and the Atom Bomb. How can you trust fifty (count 'em) scientists and technicians, notoriously subversive characters, to escape the security-check area without federal secret police and a Congressional committee keeping an eye on them all the way up? Who will investigate and fingerprint any possible living matter on the dark face of the moon and who will put them through a loyalty quiz? Haven't you realized the danger of Lunamerica being contaminated from the outset by uncontrolled thoughts?

As a loyal American and prospective settler on whatever moon *Collier's* may decide to occupy, I demand that the moonship personnel cabin be equipped with a receptacle for at least one stool pigeon, a secret sound-recording system, a fingerprint machine, an atom bomb, and a roll of barbed wire to bring true Americanism to the cosmos. Otherwise I'll begin to believe that the whole undertaking is a Soviet plot.

VASSILLY SUBVERSOVITCH KREKPOTOFF

Crossword Puzzle No. 490

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 10. Stet—evidently S. A. shouldn't lie. (3, 2, 5)
4 Look in the ministry, perhaps, for a sort of girder. (9)
9 Paul Revere and Cassandra? (9)
10 See 1 across.
11 Is a greased pig? (9)
12 Postilion without employment in the city, according to the Greeks. (5)
13 Art secrets for which some of us have to wait. (10)
17 Where [illegible] gardener might put bottles (or would he be going too far if he does)? (10)
21 Getting shot with this might awaken school memories for [illegible] British officer. (5)
22 and 14. What happens when the spider gets filled with tubers and bulbs? (9, 8)
23 Old pirates were interested in taking less than this to pieces. (5)
24 The kind of cities that gleam in America the Beautiful. (9)
25 It might sting you if you don't, by the sound of it. (3, 6)
26 In diamonds, such a charge can only be made in advance, except in certain instances of foul play. (5)

DOWN

1 Compact distance. (6)
2 Characteristics of the arts, it could be. (6)
3 See 5 down.
4 Pedal model, yet it sounds [illegible] though it must be owned outright! (4, 3, 3, 5)
5 and 3. Evidently the repair of sewers is a 24-hour job. (3, 5, 3, 4, 2, 4)
6 Disingenuous reasoners. (8)
7 No car in a shiftless condition carries them. (8)
8 Are out of the north side to make one of the "happiness boys"? (8)
14 See 22 across.
15 How to dispense with little Henrietta. (Or is this a private war?) (6)
16 To bind together is not exactly [illegible] great sin. (8)
18 A green way to make someone see red! (6)
19 Trash vehicle? (6)
20 Fear of 26 that fits exactly! (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 489

ACROSS:—1 and 11 THE BEGINNING OF THE END; 9 REPORTS; 10 SAWYERS; 12 BUOYANCY; 14 SUBVERT; 17 EMPTY; 19 COUPONS; 21 WOODBINE; 23 RENOIR; 25 DIPTERA; [illegible] TOPSAIL; 27 BRIDGE PARTNERS.

DOWN:—1 TURNTABLE; 2 EXPRESS; 3 ERRAND BOY; 4 and 15 across IPSO FACTO; 5 NASTURTIUM; [illegible] and 21 down NEWLYWEDS; 7 OCEANIC; 8 ASHY; 13 PERCENTAGE; 15 FLOWER POT; 16 OVERRULES; 18 PROSPER; 20 STORAGE; 22 BREED; 24 STOA.

Readers are invited to send for [illegible] free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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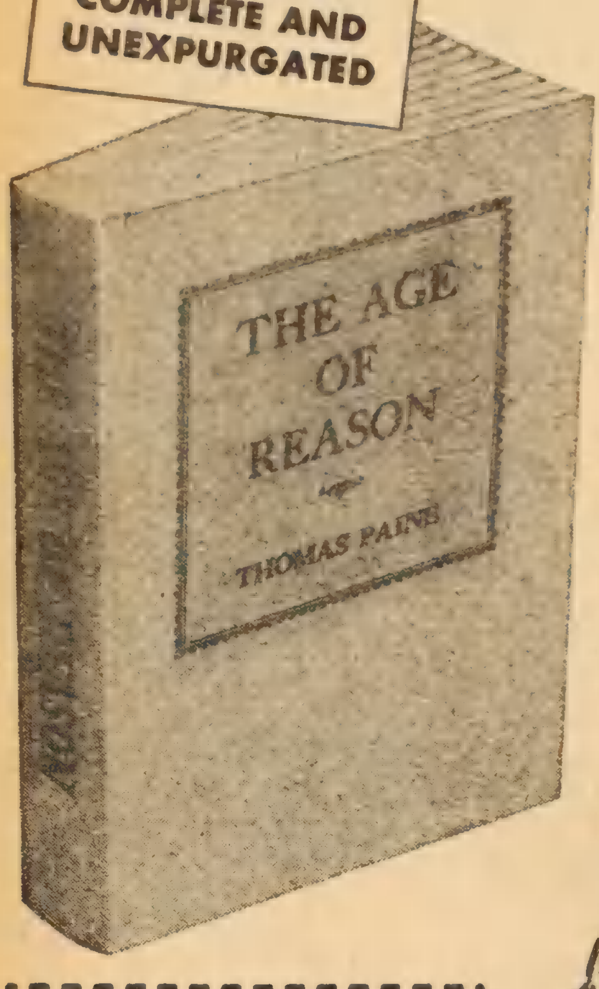

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He [redacted] born in poverty, lived half his days in misery, yet his life is [redacted] monument to the brotherhood of man. For 175 years his works have [redacted] [redacted] afire with magnificent ideas about freedom, courage and reason. We owe our very independence to him, for his first work, *Common Sense*, inflamed the colonies to action and provoked the Revolution.

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Perhaps no other work in the history of the world achieved such direct action [redacted] *Common Sense*. It [redacted] fire, and in that fire the colonies fused into a fighting unit. Independence [redacted] just another "new world" idea before the pamphlet was published—yet six months later hardly an adult in America had not taken action!

During the years that followed, the people faltered again and again, yet each time Paine rallied them with the pamphlets we [redacted] call the *Crisis* writings. The first *Crisis* paper inspired the bitter [redacted] at Valley Forge to hold on; later papers appeared whenever Paine knew the people needed encouragement. These documents [redacted] as breathtakingly alive and meaningful today as they [redacted] then.

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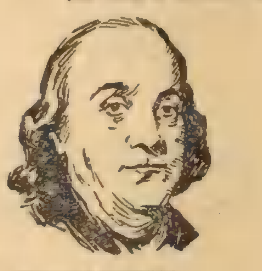
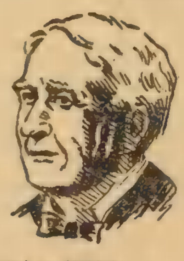


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

[redacted] [redacted] John Adams who said: "Without the pen of Paine, the sword of Washington would have been wielded in vain." Yet—the great Benjamin Franklin long before had recognized the genius of [redacted] Paine, and it was Franklin who urged him to [redacted] to America. Thus began the political history of [redacted] first great international champion of man—Thomas Paine.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The works of Thomas Paine still held men in their grip even [redacted] century after the Revolution. Early in his life Abraham Lincoln [redacted] tremendously impressed by Paine's writings, particularly his essay advocating the abolition of Negro slavery in the United States. Lincoln constantly sought inspiration in Paine's books. He said: "I never tire of reading Paine."



THOMAS A. EDISON

In our own time, Thomas A. Edison was another who early came under the influence of Paine's writings, and fully acknowledged his indebtedness to this profound thinker. He said: "Paine educated me. . . . Never have we had a sounder intelligence in this republic." Perhaps Thomas Paine can do for you what he did for the world's greatest inventor!

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Jim Crow in Oregon

Sutherlin, Oregon

THREE years ago in Los Angeles, Jack Wright, a white man, married Mary Dews, a Negro. Jack developed chest trouble, and late in 1951 the couple moved to Jack's boyhood home, Bandon, Oregon. "There," says Mary, "everybody treated us wonderfully. When we left they showered us with presents. We should have liked to stay forever."

They left because the dampness on the coast was playing havoc with Jack's chest. With no particular destination in mind they drove east, looking for a town with a dry climate. The first night they reached Sutherlin, a town of 3,000, a shopping center for the surrounding farms and sawmills at the southern tip of the Willamette Valley. "We had no intention of settling down there," Wright says. "It was night and we just wanted to stay until morning."

Two motels turned them down. "I had a place engaged," Jack Wright says, "but when the woman manager came out and saw Mary she screamed bloody murder. 'How dare you! You know this is a place for whites only!' " When they tried to buy food, three groceries contemptuously refused them.

"That night," Mrs. Wright recalls, "was the most horrible of my whole life. We drove a little way out of town and parked off the road and made a bed in a ditch. A whole bunch of people started toward us swearing and calling us filthy names. They threatened to run us out of town. They said we couldn't stop in Sutherlin."

Jack Wright was an ironmolder who had been through some of the bloodiest labor struggles in California, but he felt his last hour had come. "When they started to close in, I got my hand ax out and I told Mary, 'I'll die for you, but I'll be damned if they run us out of town.' " "If the people had been halfway decent," he continued, sticking out his determined jaw, "we never would have thought of stopping. I know there are towns in Oregon that don't let a Negro stay overnight. But I was damn' mad. We decided to stay."

The next morning they looked around and found a store willing to sell them groceries. In the afternoon Jack went in search of a job and found one at a small forge. The owner had heart trouble and was glad to get an experienced metalworker.

Unable to rent a house, the Wrights decided to build one. They made a down payment on a lot, but under pressure from some leading citizens the owner canceled the sale. Undaunted, they made a payment on another lot and started construction of a house. Until Jack Wright had laid the floor, he and his wife slept on the ground.

In the meantime a young Negro, Willie Carter, had come to town and found a job at the foundry. "He was the first Negro ever to work in Sutherlin," said Wright. "That showed progress." The Wrights emptied the tiny trailer in which they had carried their belongings and made a place for Carter to sleep.

The sniping from the townspeople continued. When Mary Wright went shopping, women turned to stare at her and muttered about her character. The Wrights' neighbors scolded their children for being friendly to the newcomers. Their closest neighbor still turns his back on them, though his collie romps with their black puppy.

Some people in the town mumble about violence or say that the sheriff ought to "do something," but the united front of prejudice has been broken. A real-estate broker, an elderly woman, told a white railroad worker who had come down from Portland to lend the Wrights a helping hand, "It's nobody's business who marries who. That's between them and God. I wish the troublemakers would keep their noses out of things that don't concern them."

Word of the Wrights' struggle has spread through Oregon. Last Sunday six University of Oregon students and five Negro railroad workers and their wives gathered at the Wrights' house with tools, helped raise the sides and roof, cleaned up the lot, and dug a new trough for the outhouse. The townspeople and farmers who drove past gaped at the sight of whites and Negroes working, laughing, talking, and singing together. Mrs. Wright fought hard to keep the tears back. "This is the most beautiful thing I have ever seen!" she exclaimed. "Oh, how good you've made me feel!"

At lunch time a university student briefly addressed the group. "We have gathered here," he said, "to help build a house for Jack and Mary Wright, an interracial unit of mankind. But in a larger sense we are building a home for all of us. Working together, building together for a common cause, for the best ideals of mankind, we are constructing the foundation for a temple of democracy, a temple to be inhabited by all American mankind."

The long rains will come to Oregon soon, and only a few scattered parties from nearby towns like Roseburg and Grant's Pass and Eugene are expected to go to Sutherlin to help the Wrights. But in the spring there will be a garden to dig and plant, a road to build, a house to paint, and a garage to put up. Longshoremen from Coos Bay, loggers from the fir forests, railroad workers, college professors, students, clerks, and housewives will gather to do what is necessary. And Sutherlin will learn that people like the Wrights have friends everywhere.

If any readers of *The Nation* in western Oregon want to drive a nail into Jim Crow's coffin, there's a hammer handy at Sutherlin.

RALPH FRIEDMAN

[*Ralph Friedman is a West Coast free-lance writer.*]

Watch for
The Nation's
CHRISTMAS
BOOK ISSUE
December 6

Essays, Poems, Reviews,
Art, Drama, Films, Music
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A Selected List

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The War Against the U.N.

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE significance of Abe Feller's suicide is not yet fully realized; its effect has been cushioned and delayed by shock and by a natural desire on the part of his associates to find meanings which can be accepted without too much pain. The statement of Trygve Lie, immediately after Mr. Feller's death, attributed the tragedy to the "prolonged and serious strain" under which he had been placed by his tireless efforts "to uphold due process . . . against indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges." This gave a hint of the truth, while at the same time raising the inevitable question whether if Mr. Lie had spoken as forthrightly weeks or months earlier his general counsel would have fallen into the total despair that alone leads men to take their lives. And it raises the further question whether the most intense effort even under adverse circumstances would have proved insupportable if it had been sustained by hope and a fighting spirit.

Why did these fail in the case of Abe Feller? Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the Trusteeship Department, came closer to the truth when, in a speech at Philadelphia eulogizing his dead colleague, he denounced pressures brought to bear on the United Nations by persons unable to understand that an international body cannot serve the "exclusively national interests" of any member state. "American pressures . . . come from many directions," he said, "the most recent being the investigations into alleged subversive associations of certain American members of the staff." But even this comment misses an important part of the meaning of Abe Feller's death. In our belief the reason that devoted, highly intelligent public servant killed himself is to be found in the corroding combination of big-power domination, external attack, and inner weakness which is fast reducing the United Nations to a condition of permanent stalemate on the great political issues that will decide, in the end, the all-encompassing issue of peace or war. Thus it would be too much—and too little—to say that the savage vendetta led by Senator McCarran was the only cause of the U. N. official's death.

Undoubtedly a profound source of anguish for Feller was the Korean impasse produced by Communist intransigence on the one hand and on the other by the determination of the United States to prevent even the discussion of compromise proposals aimed at breaking the prisoner-of-war deadlock—or at least putting Communist intentions to the test. The basic purpose of the organization, which is to substitute negotiation for a contest of power, has been ground to dust by nationalist and ideological rivalries. And these rivalries in turn have been amplified and broadcast by individuals and groups who have made the United Nations the whipping boy not only for the Communists but, heaven save the mark, for the "soft internationalists" who are supposed to be in charge of the State and Defense departments under Mr. Truman. This campaign, reported week by week in these pages, has recently hit a new high pitch. Though we are convinced it has relatively small popular backing, its momentum has undoubtedly been increased by General Eisenhower's election, little as he may approve of it. Joint product of jingoism and McCarthyism, the war against the U. N. finds in the current McCarran purge only its most spectacularly lawless byproduct.

BUT external attack, no matter how brutal and unjust, would not drive a man to suicide or demoralize a great institution. In fact it might create a reaction of healthy anger and resistance. That it has not done so in the case of the United Nations is due to internal weakness deriving partly from the terrible disbalance of power between the United States and all the other nations and partly from the inadequacy of the Secretary General himself. The failure of Mr. Lie to defend his secretariat against "indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges" was only a single instance of his incapacity to defend the organization against the pressures of big-power—particularly American—interests. Hard as it must be to stand up against the demands of Washington, a strong Secretary General would surely have refused to enter into a secret "pact" with the State Department under which he agreed not to employ any American citizen who was, or ap-

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peared to be, a Communist. Such subservience inevitably lowered the morale of the whole institution, creating a state of affairs in which not one staff member or, for that matter, a single member nation dared expose and denounce this flagrant violation of the U. N. Charter.

We have no doubt that Abe Feller, as general counsel, tried desperately to substitute decent legal procedures for such miserable capitulations. Loyal to the United States and to the United Nations, he rejected as long as possible any imputation that the staff was under threat or surveillance, or that the Administration in Washington would violate the sovereignty of the U. N. He held fast to the belief that proper procedures would themselves afford the safeguards necessary to prevent injustice to persons or the institution. That his faith was ill-founded had been proved long before Senator McCarran appeared on the scene. Summary dismissals by the Secretary General had been contested by the victims, and last August an Administrative Tribunal, sitting in Geneva, rejected Mr. Lie's contention that he had the authority to drop employees without giving reasons. The struggle for independence and the rights of staff members was an old and bitter story. (See For a Free United Nations, by J. A. del Vayo, October 11, 1952.)

The fact is, there never was a chance to resist by legal measures alone the many-sided assault on the independence of the U. N. For the attack is basically political, and resistance to it must also be political if it is to have any hope of success. It can be argued, indeed, that Mr. Lie's abrupt resignation was a tacit acknowledgment of that fact, and so in a different sense was his appointment of three eminent lawyers to look into the problem posed by the current witch hunt. Writing last Saturday in the New York *Times*, Thomas J. Hamilton reported that the Secretary General had asked these men, not for "a mere legal opinion," but for "their advice on broad questions of policy: specifically, should the administration of the United Nations fly in the face of the national opinion of important members [meaning the United States] on important questions."

The assignment is a ticklish one, for it goes to the very heart of the problem symbolized by the death of Abe Feller. No one so far has stated it better than Mr. Feller's friend, Telford Taylor, former brigadier general and Chief Counsel for War Crimes in the Office of Military Government. In an eloquent, angry letter to the *Times* last Sunday Mr. Taylor wrote:

> If, indeed, Mr. Lie rightly diagnosed the disease, Abe Feller was the victim not of his own fears but of the fears of others that kept them silent. The United Nations, which had become the core of his professional life, has been under bitter and ruthless attack for several weeks. During that time what voice has been raised to say that the United Nations is the creature and vehicle of all the nations, not of those alone that share our political heritage? To remind us that employees of the United

> Nations, under the Charter that we ourselves ratified, are not delegates from the countries of their own nationality but are an international staff? To point out that the notion of political conformity within this staff can, and surely will, be applied to the grave disadvantage of the democratic cause? . . . The history of the twentieth century is already studded with the names of republics, regimes, and Reichs that succumbed to a failure of leadership. It is high time that many strong voices be lifted in the name of sanity and dignity. Only thus can Abe Feller's tragic act of self-destruction be redeemed and transfigured.

If the United Nations is to live, the complex meaning of Abe Feller's death must be understood—and acted upon—by the U. N. itself, especially in its choice of a new Secretary General; by the United States; and, perhaps most of all, by the other nations of the world, which have permitted their common institutions to become the helpless victim of power politics.

The Shape of Things

Setback for Malan

Once again, South Africa's highest judicial authority, the Appeal Court, has justified its long-held reputation for integrity and independence. Unanimously, it has condemned the attempt by the Malan government to circumvent the constitution by creating a High Court of Parliament, consisting of Parliament's whole membership, with power to pass on constitutional issues by simple majority vote. As Justice C. P. van den Heever remarked caustically: "No legislative organ can perform an act of levitation and lift itself above its own powers by bootstrap methods."

The government's purpose in essaying this feat was to legalize the Voters' Act, which removes voters of mixed blood from the common electoral roll and segregates them in separate constituencies—a form of gerrymandering calculated to add two or three members to the precarious Malanite majority. Previously the courts had found that this act destroyed one of the "intrenched provisions" of the constitution, which can be changed only by a two-thirds' majority of both houses of Parliament. Now they have again thwarted the government's effort to bypass their authority.

Despite pressure from extremists, the government has decided not to defy the court but to seek a new mandate at a general election held on the basis of the existing franchise. The disadvantage of this course, from the point of view of the Nationalist Party, is that at best the voting will produce less than the two-thirds' majority required to end the deadlock, while at worst, if the opposition puts up a united front, it could lead to the government's defeat.

But Racial Tension Grows

Meanwhile the government is resisting demands for an inquiry into recent riots in four different cities that have caused the death of thirty-four natives and six whites. There is no direct connection between these outbreaks and the campaign against discrimination organized by the National Action Committee on behalf of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. That campaign depends on non-violent methods: its participants deliberately break "Jim Crow" laws, making no attempt to resist arrest.

Yet, inevitably, this passive-resistance movement, and the harsh measures adopted by the government to break it, have greatly increased racial tension and so helped to create an atmosphere in which mob violence occurs. Moreover, as the influential Johannesburg *Star* has pointed out, "there is already some evidence that the government has aggravated the situation." Certainly the police have shown a tendency to use their guns at the first sign of disorder.

In fact, the government's handling of the trouble arouses suspicion that it rather welcomes disturbances, since these afford it an opportunity to solve its electoral dilemma by raising a cry for "white unity." "There have been," notes the London *Times* of November 14, "lamentable whispers of a coalition in a 'white front' to resist African encroachment. Nothing could do the Union more harm in a world where her policies are rapidly isolating her from liberal opinion." And, we might add, nothing would be more likely to insure the ultimate destruction of the white South African minority.

Franco Spain in UNESCO?

The seventh general conference of UNESCO, now in progress in Paris, faces a stormy debate over the admission of Spain. A recommendation that Spain be accepted as a new member of UNESCO was approved by a majority of the Economic and Social Council at its last meeting in New York against the opposition of Uruguay, Mexico, and several other countries. Since then an impressive movement of protest has developed, enlisting many distinguished figures of the literary and artistic world. Albert Camus resigned his post in UNESCO in a letter indignantly condemning the idea. Jean-Paul Sartre has expressed his opposition, and even François Mauriac, the noted Catholic writer, who last week was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, called the proposal "an insult to the mind." In London, Brussels, and Oslo, groups and individuals of all political shades have joined in the protest. A letter to UNESCO by Pablo Casals, the great cellist, announced that if the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council were ratified, he would resign the honorary chairmanship of the Music Section of UNESCO.

In view of this mounting opposition the conference has decided to postpone discussion of the issue until next week. The feeling aroused indicates again how live the Spanish issue remains, fourteen years after the end of the Spanish war, and also how much more difficult it is to carry out decisions contrary to the spirit of the United Nations in Europe than in New York.

Deflation Ahead?

During the past twenty years of Democratic government American business has flourished and expanded as in no other period. Yet deprived by the New Deal of their former sway over the American economy, business men have developed a deep-rooted persecution complex. It was to be expected, therefore, that those temples of private enterprise, the stock exchanges, would celebrate the Eisenhower victory with some kind of demonstration. But the festivities were short-lived. After a fairly hectic opening hour on November 5, it became clear that no great volume of "funk" money was coming out of hiding, and profit-taking wiped out most of the early gains. Since then the market has moved a little higher but has hardly been sufficiently active to cheer those brokers whose earnings depend on a large turnover.

The fact is that, irrespective of Washington changes, a good many investors have been casting doubtful looks at 1953 prospects. Although defense spending promises to remain heavy, it will begin to flatten out next year; besides which the tremendous private-investment program of the post-war period has brought production fairly into line with consumption. As a consequence, business men, fearful of over-capacity, are likely to be chary about further expansion. Finally, for the next few years there will be a decline in the marriage rate and the setting-up of new homes—an important stimulant to business—thanks to the low birth rate during the Hoover depression.

And so today, despite the big play given to the inflation issue by Republican orators, business, in the words of a *Wall Street Journal* market commentator, "is more alive to the possibilities of deflation." Indeed, the Eisenhower Administration may hardly have time to take unearned credit for ending inflation before it has to turn around and prime the pump lest Democratic prophecies of a Republican depression be fulfilled.

McCarran and the Schools

It is unfortunate that the McCarran committee should have conducted its recent investigation of the New York public schools during the final weeks of an exciting Presidential campaign. Neither the hearings nor the subsequent proceedings received the attention they properly merit. Eight teachers were summarily removed from their positions for refusal to answer questions before the committee, and three professors in the city colleges were dropped for the same reason.

In ordering the dismissals the school authorities have relied on a section of the New York city charter which provides that action may be taken against municipal employees who shall "refuse to testify or to answer any question regarding the property, government, or affairs of the city." Had the teachers refused to answer questions related to these matters, the section would have been applicable. But the questioning was not along these lines, nor was it addressed to the classroom conduct or teaching competence of the witnesses; on the contrary, it was directed at their political beliefs and associations.

Discussion of the New York hearings has been largely centered on the behavior and treatment of the teachers rather than on the paramount issue, which is the freedom and autonomy of the public-school system. The real objective of this and similar inquiries will be revealed in due course but by the time the danger is sensed the damage may be irreparable. Already Representative Harold H. Velde, who is slated to become chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has announced that he favors a "broad investigation" of subversive influences in American education and the Hearst press is demanding that the proposed inquiry be extended to include textbooks, teacher-training institutions, and related matters. Inquiries of this kind are certain to play into the hands of the enemies of public education, who are redoubling their efforts to gain control of the schools.

Idaho Likes the U. N.

Mrs. Gracie Pfost's defeat of Representative John T. Wood, in Idaho's First Congressional District, by the narrow margin of 650 votes, was one of several encouraging exceptions to the general pattern of the election. During the campaign Republican bigwigs attempted to dispose of Wood's violent opposition to the United Nations by saying that he merely wanted to have the Charter amended. But this explanation could not be reconciled with Wood's sponsorship of H. R. 5080—to rescind and revoke the membership of this country in the United Nations. In the campaign Mrs. Pfost stressed the need for a stronger U. N. and spoke out for repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, for federal aid to education, against turning tidelands oil over to the states, in favor of the Hell's Canyon project (see *The Nation* of November 1), and for broader social-security coverage. Despite the fact that Eisenhower carried the state by two to one, Mrs. Pfost managed to beat Wood by almost the same narrow margin by which he had beaten her two years ago. The defeat of this arch isolationist in a state which only ten years ago was heavily isolationist is a measure of the support which the United Nations today commands in the West.

Grave Moment for Peace

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THERE have been various indications here during the past week that a serious crisis is developing. The most spectacular was the tragic suicide of Abraham H. Feller, Acting Assistant Secretary General for Legal Affairs of the United Nations and personal counsel to Trygve Lie. Whatever the mixture of motives, and the apparently hopeless stalemate in Korea was certainly one, it is clear, as Mr. Lie charged, that the chief reason for Mr. Feller's act was the McCarran campaign of smears against the U. N. staff. His death, close on the heels of the Secretary General's sudden resignation, dramatized the intolerable situation created by the incoherence of American foreign policy on the issue of the United Nations: on the one hand, warm verbal support; on the other, tolerance of the abuse of the United Nations and the invasion of its sovereignty by a group of reactionary Senators and a section of the press.

Less dramatic than either event but of considerable significance was the warning sounded by Lester Pearson in his speech at a dinner of the United Nations Correspondents' Association on Armistice Day. His final words clearly revealed that he too, from his influential position as president of the Assembly, could see no way to end the Korean war. He warned that the world was threatened with the catastrophe of a new global war and said, "If we go down for a third time we may stay down."

The second part of the Korean debate, both in the Political Committee and in the General Assembly, was highlighted by the presence of Mr. Eden, M. Schuman, and Mr. Vishinsky. None of their speeches gave any support to the rumors circulating during the week-end that a new truce proposal was in the offing. M. Schuman, as had been anticipated, concentrated all his effort on checking the movement in favor of United Nations intervention in the Tunisian-Moroccan issue. Capable as was his presentation of the French case, it had one grave weakness. Basically the problem of Tunisia and Morocco is a political, not a legalistic, one, and it is not to be settled either by a rigid interpretation of treaties or by an enumeration, however exact, of what the colonizing power has accomplished in the way of building schools, improving health conditions, and creating flourishing industries. It is a repetition of the controversy over India of twenty years ago; people prefer to be independent, even if independence brings them difficulties and misery. However, after his intervention in the Assembly, M. Schuman held an hour-long press conference, delighting the correspondents by his humor and sharp intelligence, in which French agility and German thoroughness were subtly mingled with the finesse of Vatican diplomacy.

Mr. Eden's speech indicated that the Kremlin is in for a hard time if its immediate objective really is to split up the West. If the Russians want to try their fortunes in that direction, they certainly have in their hands some cards which they have not yet played. Still, as things are today, it is easier for Britain to veer away from the United States in words than in deeds. Certainly Mr. Eden deviated from the American attitude by suggesting that the last ten minutes of Mr. Vishinsky's second speech on Korea offered a slight chance of approaching the problem of war prisoners from a new angle. Vishinsky did this by presenting a new draft of the resolution of October 29 and naming the members of the proposed commission—the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Communist China, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, and South Korea.

But in the tone and phrasing of his speech Mr. Eden made clear his desire to avoid any concession to the Russian point of view that might weaken the common Anglo-American front. It was a conciliatory discourse, extremely well balanced but without force. Mr. Eden gave proof of his habitual good sense by not mentioning the twenty-one-nations' resolution, originally inspired by the United States, indorsing without qualification the stand taken by the U. N. negotiators at Panmunjom. In order to pass, the resolution will need forty votes; on the day Mr. Eden spoke only thirty-three could be counted on.

Finally the Indian delegation decided to incorporate in a new resolution all previous proposals and to submit it to the General Assembly within the next few days. Since New Delhi had made it a condition for any new attempt by India that both parties should desire its mediation, this Indian plan has received great attention. But if there is any ground for hope it lies mainly in the fact that the American resolution is still seven votes short of the minimum required for adoption.

The few persons who watch the United Nations from the vantage point of direct experience of the League of Nations often sigh nostalgically for the skilled mediators of the old Geneva days: the Rumanian, Titulescu; the Greek, Politis; and a few others. And in spite of the many weaknesses and final failure of the League, it is true that we have since witnessed a devaluation of statesmanship; great diplomats are becoming ever rarer. The first requirement of a diplomat is to have something positive to propose. Today no one seems to have the capacity, or perhaps the courage, to come forward with any creative solution. The General Assembly is dominated by a very different concept of negotiation: to offer no quid pro quo and to stick rigidly to positions already taken. In any case the announcement of the explosion of the hydrogen bomb is hardly a substitute for diplomacy.

ELECTION KALEIDOSCOPE

I. The Midwest: Confused and Quixotic

BY SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD

Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE Presidential election results indicate that the Middle West has reverted to its pre-1932 political form. But the electorate did so many other things with its ballot that the meaning of its preferences, if cumulated, is not clear. Certainly there was no violent Republican landslide from top to bottom of the ballot.

The "Middle West" includes Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, but it may also include Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. These seven states displayed remarkable addiction to Republicanism up to 1932; from 1864 to 1928 only a few shifts to the Democrats occurred—generally in atypical elections such as those of 1892 and 1912.

With the election of 1932 the homogeneity of Republican control disappeared. Even state governorships and United States senatorships fell into Democratic hands. All seven states supported Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, and from three to five were Democratic in 1940, 1944, and 1948. But in 1948 both the Republican and Democratic victories were very narrow in all these states except Minnesota. Michigan and Indiana went Republican with 49.7 per cent and 50.1 per cent of the vote respectively; Ohio went to Truman with 49.5 per cent, Wisconsin with 51.2 per cent, Illinois with 50.4 per cent, and Iowa with 50.8 per cent. Minnesota was 57.5 per cent Democratic. Thus, six states were teetering on the verge of preferring a Republican President in 1948. The actual distribution of the aggregate vote in the four primary Middle Western states in 1948 was 49.6 per cent Republican and 49.5 per cent Democratic. It is in this historical context that the 1952 election results must be viewed.

General Eisenhower's sweep of the Midwest Presidential vote was decisive, but it fell short of previous landslides, Democratic and Republican. All seven states are safely in the Eisenhower column, having given him 55 per cent or more of their vote—at this writing final figures are not available. An extreme shift back to the Republicans occurred in Iowa (64 per cent), Wisconsin (61 per cent), and Ohio (57 per cent). Eisenhower's plurality was above 300,000 in each of the states except Minnesota, where it appears to be about 150,000. But Harding and Hoover in 1920 and 1928 rolled up greater majorities, and in the Democratic landslide of 1936 Roosevelt carried several of these states by larger margins. Sizable as the Eisenhower victory was, the Democrats did not drop to the low percentages of previous Republican "landslides" except in Iowa and Wisconsin, where they reached the low mark of 1928. In a sense Louis Bean's observation that the "Democratic lows are higher" in recent Presidential cycles is borne out by developments in the Middle West.

The general nature of the Republican victory is less decisive when one looks beyond the Presidential results. The House of Representatives will have almost the same party representation from the Middle West as after the 1950 election—seventy-seven Republicans, twenty-six Democrats (before Sabath's death), one Independent. The Republicans actually lost two seats in Illinois but picked one up in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan.

Except for Senator Blair Moody's defeat the verdict of the Senatorial races was much the same. Incumbents were returned to office. The most striking feature of these contests was the Republicans' relatively slim margin of victory. Jenner's plurality was more than 200,000 less than Ike's, Schricker running well ahead of the Democratic ticket. Joe McCarthy, who had won by 240,000 in 1946 and had asked for the same or better, also ran behind Ike, winning by fewer than 150,000 votes. His opponent, Thomas Fairchild, put up an amazing fight, which was not expected in view of McCarthy's overwhelming primary indorsement. And there is no indication that the Democrats will relax. Democratic Chairman Doyle says: "To Senator McCarthy—war to the death." Senators Bricker and Thye will be back from Ohio and Minnesota. Perhaps the outstanding performance was that of Moody in Michigan. He lost to Representative Potter, a legless war veteran with Chicago *Tribune* backing, by only 46,000 votes out of 2,900,000—this despite the fact that it was his first campaign and that he had to contend with the communism issue, the Korean issue, the tremendous rural turnout, and the Ike landslide. He received a Wayne County (Detroit) plurality of 275,000, 63 per cent of its vote.

The Republicans won two governorships in addition to holding those in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Stratton succeeds Stevenson in Illinois, but again with a reduced plurality, almost 300,000 less than Ike's. Stratton lost Cook County and Chicago but won with 63 per cent of the "suburban" vote in Cook County and 58 per cent

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of the downstate vote. Ike's "suburban" vote was larger and he took Cook County, though by less than one per cent. Craig becomes the second Republican governor of Indiana in twenty years.

In Michigan a political myth was exploded when Williams became the first Democrat to win the governorship three times in succession. His margin stands at 7,151. He won only fourteen of the eighty-three counties, and ten of these were in the Upper Peninsula, but his lead in Wayne was a resounding 276,000. His victory can be attributed to many factors—personality, campaign ability, and his aggressive fight with the Republican legislature. Again, in the face of the Ike landslide the result is amazing. Governor Lausche's Democratic victory in Ohio was just as striking. He was asking for a third consecutive term, but his 414,000 plurality compared well with Ike's 487,000. Democratic gubernatorial leadership has not been repudiated in the Middle West.

So far as can be determined, the party complexion of state legislatures and county governments remains about the same. The Eisenhower landslide did not produce a "coat-tail" victory for local Republican machines in traditionally Democratic territory.

IT IS difficult to pinpoint the factors responsible for these paradoxical results. Certainly, voters were personality-conscious; many split their tickets. The Williams-Moody vote attests this, and here the separate Presidential ballot spitefully enacted by the Republicans in 1944 boomeranged. The Lausche victory is further evidence; close to a million Ohio voters skipped discriminatingly from party to party.

The turnout in the whole region was large, up to 3,000,000 more votes being cast than in 1948. Close to 65 per cent of Michigan's voters went to the polls, compared with 53 per cent in 1948. Proportionately more of these 800,000 new voters were in the rural counties than in the metropolis. Only one-fourth were in Wayne County, almost a half upstate. And it was in rural areas that Ike picked up a 500,000 plurality. There seems to be a correlation between the increased turnout and the Eisenhower vote, particularly in rural counties.

The "big city" vote did not shift radically. Ike cut into it in places but many senatorial and gubernatorial candidates did not. The largest cities still gave Stevenson a plurality—151,000 in Chicago, 165,000 in Wayne County (Detroit). Chicago gave Dixon, the Democratic candidate for governor, 75,000 more than Stevenson. Wayne County gave Stevenson practically the same as it had given Truman, but it gave Williams and Moody much larger margins. McCarthy lost to Fairchild the four most populous counties in Wisconsin, including Milwaukee; Lake County (Gary), Indiana, went Democratic. Although some metropolitan votes swung to the Republicans, it cannot be concluded that the "big city" voters deserted the Democratic Party en masse.

The Republicans did win a solid Presidential victory in the Middle West. But there is solace for the Democrats. Stevenson's campaign was not too highbrow, as an audience-reaction study here showed; the Democratic leadership has not been decisively routed; Democratic metropolitan centers of power remain. Sectionalism in Presidential politics may be temporarily reestablished here, but the mandate from the Middle West in state and Congressional politics emerges from the 1952 elections as confused and quixotic.

II. The South: Changing and Rebellious

BY WILLIAM G. CARLETON

Gainesville, Florida

THE Democratic solid South has been split by internal revolt three times in the last quarter-century—in 1928, 1948, and 1952. The revolt of 1952, though devoid of the Catholic and prohibition issues, resembles that of 1928 more than that of 1948.

In 1948 the Dixiecrats carried four old planter states, in part by keeping Truman electors off the ballot in Alabama and by forcing Truman to run in a non-Democratic column in Louisiana. This year the four Dixiecrat states were back in the Democratic column. The "Negro question" did not bulk so large. Gradually the old South is accepting the outlawing of the white primary, becoming accustomed to the gradual increase in Negro voting, and depending on a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress to defeat civil-rights legislation.

This year, as in 1928, the Republican vote shot up sensationally in all the Southern states, and four of the five states that were for Hoover in 1928 were for Eisenhower in 1952—Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, and Florida. These are the most highly urbanized states of the South.

"Democrats for Eisenhower," drawn most heavily from the business and professional classes in uneasy and sometimes troubled alliance with the "rotten borough" Republican organizations, spearheaded the Eisenhower

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drive. In general, Eisenhower ran strongest in the middle-class, chamber-of-commerce, civic-club towns and cities of medium size—the sort of communities in which, in other parts of the country, the Republicans normally are strongest—and in the large cities that are distributing rather than industrial centers. In general, Stevenson ran best in Negro precincts of cities and towns, in wage-earner precincts, in mill towns, and in rural areas, particularly those where small farmers and tenant farmers are numerous. The great strength of the Democrats in rural areas suggests the reason why Governor Herman Talmadge did not join Governors Byrnes, Kennon, and Shivers in revolting from the Democratic Party; Talmadge's power, thanks to the county-unit system, is based almost exclusively on the allegiance of the rural voters.

DUVAL COUNTY, Florida, may be taken as a microcosm of Southern voting in 1952. Stevenson carried Duval by a few thousand votes. In the Negro precincts of Jacksonville he obtained 90 per cent or more of the votes, and he carried the wage-earner precincts of the city and the rural areas of the county by substantial margins. He lost the silk-stocking and middle-class precincts and also the lower-middle-class, moderate-to-low-salaried, white-collar-worker precincts. The break for Eisenhower came in these lower-middle-class districts, which Senator Claude Pepper carried in 1938 and 1944 and lost in 1950, the kind of district Samuel Lubell claims is largely responsible for the shift nationally from the Democrats to the Republicans. Wake County, North Carolina (Raleigh), shows a somewhat similar breakdown. Gainesville, Florida, a quiet middle-class town of moderate size, may be considered fairly typical. It was carried heavily by Eisenhower, but Stevenson ran much stronger in the precincts where Negro voters and white wage-earner voters live in appreciable numbers.

The tenacity of voting patterns based on *real* as distinguished from *nominal* party politics is strikingly reaffirmed by the 1952 election. For instance, in the South Carolina tidewater, in the twenty-two counties of Alabama's black belt (Selma is the spiritual capital of this area), and in the Mississippi Delta, where the pre-Civil War Whigs were strong and where conservative Democracy has been strong, the Eisenhower vote was in general heaviest. Among the small farmers and mill hands of the South Carolina Piedmont and among the hillbillies of northern Alabama and upland Mississippi, where Populist and agrarian radicalism has been strong, the Stevenson vote was in general heaviest.

Here and there over the South, a number of Negroes were elected to local office on November 4. In Richmond County, Georgia (Augusta), in the heart of the black belt, a distinguished Negro was elected to the county school board. This county is the home of Roy Harris, Georgia's leading Dixiecrat, and undoubtedly the Dixiecrat movement of 1948 intensified the Negro tendency to block voting. The truth is that Negroes, white farmers, and white wage-earners of the South more and more are voting together.

The South is still a long way from being a two-party section, although a real beginning has been made. Southern Democrats voted for General Eisenhower the popular military hero, the man above party, indeed, the man whom the Democrats in 1948 and in 1952 would have run if they could have persuaded him. Many Southern editors are saying that the 1952 election in the South shows a "no-party" rather than a two-party tendency, that it is in the American tradition of "the man is more important than the party." This more or less spontaneous voting for Eisenhower required no permanent organization and no real break with the Democratic Party. In voting for Eisenhower, Southern conservatives had a chance to strike at Truman's domestic policies, which they disliked, and apparently to uphold his foreign policies, which they liked.

However, having voted the Republican ticket, people will find it easier to do so again, especially when such voting puts them in contact with natural economic allies in the North. Whether the Southern vote for Eisenhower can be made a basis for a grass-roots Republican Party in the South depends upon the general success of the Eisenhower Administration, its willingness to undertake grass-roots political organization, and its ability to defeat the Taft groups in the South which want to conserve the old rump Republican organizations.

Old Guard Republican leadership in the South resents the Eisenhower Democrats, and at the same time it tends to sacrifice local Republican candidates and local Republican organizations to national Republican success. On several occasions during the campaign the Carroll Reece Republicans of Tennessee ignored and humiliated the independent Eisenhower organizations. In Louisiana the Republican state and Congressional tickets were withdrawn in order to cement the temporary pro-Eisenhower alliance of Kennon Democrats and Louisiana Republicans. Concentration on Presidential politics and patronage and neglect of grass-roots organization can only postpone a real two-party system in the South.

THE election of 1952 in the South was not so much a contest between Republicans and Democrats as a contest for control of the Democratic Party organization in the various Southern states: in Virginia, Byrd against anti-Byrd; in South Carolina, Byrnes and Thurmond against Senator Olin Johnston; in Louisiana, Kennon against Long; in Mississippi, Fielding Wright against Governor White; in Texas, Shivers against Senator Lyndon Johnson. If one would understand the slow and fundamental party realignments today taking place in the South, one will find the key in the amazingly complex factional fights within the Democratic Party.

In every state the Democratic Party of the South is divided into three general groups: conservative Democrats increasingly willing to cooperate with Republicans and on the way ultimately to becoming Republicans, conservative regulars like the Russellites, and New Dealers. The first group is drawn largely from the professional and business classes; the second group, largely from the prosperous rural areas; the third, from small farmers, wage-earners, and Negroes, and it is precariously situated because of the explosive race issue.

When Southern delegations go to the Democratic National Convention in 1956 they must, pursuant to the rule of 1952, be prepared to take the loyalty oath to the national Democratic Party. Perhaps the delegates from North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and a few other Southern states will take this oath. Thus loyalist and national Democratic organizations would control these states, and the conservative minorities would be more or less in alliance with the Republicans. But conservative delegations from Virginia, Florida, Texas, and some other Southern states may refuse to take the oath. What then?

The dominant conservative factions in these states may well call themselves the Democratic Party of Virginia, the Democratic Party of Florida, the Democratic Party of Texas. They would be more or less in alliance with the Republicans. Perhaps the day will come when they will merge with the Republicans. But that day may yet be a decade or so away. In the meantime, in the states where the conservatives were in control, liberal and national Democrats would be found who would take the loyalty oath, and these would receive the recognition of the Democratic National Committee and of the Democratic national Administration, if and when there is one. In this slow, tortuous way a genuine two-party system is developing in the South.

The national Democrats in the South believe that the national party, in the light of the disastrous defeat of the Stevenson-Sparkman middle-of-the-road ticket, will in 1956 veer again to the left. They are prepared for this turn. Former Senator Claude Pepper, writing in the *Georgia Review* last June, suggested that the best way to win against Eisenhower in 1952 would be for the Democrats to nominate an out-and-out New Deal ticket. At the Chicago convention it will be recalled that Senator Kefauver was in alliance with the Minnesota-Michigan-New York axis. New Deal Southerners know that this leftist course would increase their immediate difficulties, for it would drive more Russellites into the ranks of those Democrats who cooperate with the Republicans; but they believe that it would hasten the inevitable realignment and ultimately give them control of the national Democratic Party in the South. Moreover, they believe that this way lies national victory.

III. New England: Mixed Results

BY JAMES M. BURNS and PHILIP K. HASTINGS

Williamstown, Massachusetts

THE six New England states have given a solid vote of confidence to Dwight Eisenhower but not to his party. The General won all their forty electoral votes and carried into office a lot of other Republican candidates on his ample coat tails. But the Democrats, at least in the central, urban areas, seem to have kept their grip on key groups of voters.

The General was expected to win Connecticut and the three northern states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Surprisingly, he carried Massachusetts by more than 200,000 votes and Rhode Island by about 6,000. In 1948 Harry S. Truman won these two states by 240,000 and 54,000 votes, respectively. Massachusetts had not voted for a Republican for President since Calvin Coolidge, a native New Englander, carried it in 1924.

But despite Eisenhower's impressive sweep the results were mixed for other G. O. P. candidates. The Republicans gained a United States Senate seat in Connecticut but lost one in Massachusetts. They picked up a Congressional seat in Connecticut to add to their solid blocks in northern New England, but elected no new Representatives in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. Representative Christian A. Herter beat the Democratic Paul A. Dever for governor of Massachusetts by a narrow margin, but only two other Republicans won state office, and both of them defeated vulnerable Democrats. Representative John F. Kennedy defeated the incumbent Henry Cabot Lodge for United States Senator in the only other statewide race. Three Democrats won major state offices. The Republicans kept control of the state senate and regained

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control of the lower house, but in each case only by narrow margins.

Why did General Eisenhower sweep New England while the rest of his ticket generally lagged far behind? The authors have been directing a field study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, an urban community of 50,000 with varied ethnic, religious, and occupational groups. Scientifically selected samples of the population have been interviewed intensively and repeatedly over a period of eight months. Pittsfield was chosen because it was believed to reflect political attitudes and behavior prevailing in industrial New England. The results of the study suggest these conclusions:

1. Eisenhower won some support from all elements of the voting population. He was able to cut into the traditionally Democratic vote to a greater extent than Dewey did in 1948. But his success in winning Democratic support varied from group to group—and much of the story of the 1952 election is found in these variations.

2. Contrary to the widespread belief, the General did not win over most of the younger voters. As in recent Presidential elections the younger voters showed a marked preference for the Democratic candidate.

3. Eisenhower received more support from Roman Catholics than Dewey did in 1948; but not to a striking extent. Of Pittsfield Catholics, 8 per cent more voted for Eisenhower than for Dewey. It is possible that the Catholic defection was somewhat higher in larger cities like Boston.

4. Reports that housewives threw strong support to the General are borne out by our study. Housewives gave Dewey less than half their vote in 1948, Eisenhower 58 per cent in 1952.

5. Eisenhower made sizable gains among the nonvoters of 1948, especially among women and older people. These groups, whom Dewey and Truman left cold in 1948, flocked to the polls this year for Eisenhower.

Eisenhower's appeal to the voter in Pittsfield had two main aspects: his personality made a strong impact, and he served as a symbol of national security. Asked what they considered to be the chief problem facing the country, Pittsfield voters during the last eight months stressed again and again the threat of total war. The high cost of living was of far less concern to them. They worried some about corruption but felt that the Republicans would or could do little about it. At the same time they saw Eisenhower as a great general and a man deeply experienced in foreign affairs. While they admired Stevenson largely as a Democrat, the fact of Eisenhower's Republicanism was of little importance to them. It is true that Eisenhower "won the popularity contest," but his popularity was closely related to the things voters were worrying about. He served as a symbol of national security much as Roosevelt served as a symbol of economic security in the 1930's.

If Pittsfield reflects New England political behavior, the core of traditional Democratic strength in the region is largely intact. General Eisenhower made dents in the urban, labor, minority, and Catholic vote, but not deep inroads. The future of the Republican Party in New England will rest on its ability to convert pro-Eisenhower sentiment into pro-Republican sentiment. Can it do this? Much will depend in turn on Republican capacity in both the national and the state government to cope with the problems of New England—regional unemployment, Southern competition, high power rates, and the like. Successful Republican politics may call for the progressive type of Republicanism typified by such effective vote-getters as Senators Aiken and Flanders of Vermont, Tobey of New Hampshire, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, and Saltonstall of Massachusetts.

New England Democrats face a challenge too. In most of the big races the Democrats who survived the Republican trend were energetic liberals rather than old-line politicians, and they represented a variety of ethnic groups. Striking examples are Jack Kennedy and Foster Furcolo in Massachusetts, Aime J. Forand in Rhode Island, and Abe Ribicoff in Connecticut—who lost in his try for the Senate but ran far ahead of his ticket. These candidates offered fresh faces and ideas to the voters. Kennedy's victory over Lodge is especially significant. Lodge was a skilful campaigner with a national reputation and a famous Massachusetts name and in past elections had actually won more votes in Boston than his Irish opponents. Kennedy's plurality of about 70,000 votes this year has been variously credited to his ample funds, his colossal tea parties for thousands of women, and the feeling against Lodge among Taft Republicans. These factors played a part, but the main explanation of the outcome was Kennedy's exploitation of the full Democratic vote, plus his political appeal to the housewives. New England Democrats, including those in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, have discovered that the Democratic label in itself is not enough to bring out all the traditional groups in the party; the people are interested in the quality of the candidates too.

Next Week

Our regional analysis of the election results will be continued with articles on

The West Coast

By David Farrelly, assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The Rocky Mountain States

By Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University and editor of the volume "Rocky Mountain Politics."

London and Paris: Second Thoughts

Nye Likes Ike

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

"I HAVE recovered from my gloom of earlier today," admitted a Bevanite M. P. on the evening of November 5, after both Stevenson's defeat in the United States and Labor's defeat in the marginal by-election at High Wycombe had become known. "I personally think Ike's victory is all for the best," declared the somewhat Bevanite editor of a popular Labor Sunday newspaper. "I have always felt that we would never learn to stand on our own feet until we had to. Now we'll have to, and it may do us a lot of good."

The initial dejection of the left-wing Socialists was somewhat alleviated when they realized that the caricature of America with which they had been frightening British audiences had come to be a faithful photograph. An editor of the *New Statesman and Nation,* who had hoped for a Stevenson victory, wrote:

> In recent years it has been fashionable to denounce the British critics of McCarthyism as dyspeptic "anti-Americans." They were told that Joe McCarthy was merely part of the "lunatic fringe," that Senators Knowland, Jenner, Bridges, and Cain did not carry any weight, and that the China lobby had no influence on American policy. It is unfortunately the Cassandras who have been proved right in the event. McCarthyism has won votes, not merely in Wisconsin, but all across the country. The election of Eisenhower, whatever he himself intends, is a triumph for the witch-hunters, for the American Legion and the F. B. I., for McCarthy and McCarran, for Karl Mundt and Richard Nixon.

This was meant primarily as a slap at right-wing Laborites, particularly Denis Healey, M. P., who had said that the Truman Fair Deal was just an American version of Labor's Welfare State. To make the Anglo-American alliance more palatable to British Laborites, Mr. Healey had insisted that American capitalism no longer existed and that attacking the Americans was as reprehensible as attacking the Jews. The United States election returns rather silenced him.

The election furnished a much-needed shot in the arm for the Bevanites. Though their strength among Labor militants had been demonstrated at the party conference at Morecambe, their weakness among Labor M. P.'s enabled the Attlee-Morrison forces to compel them to disband their factional group in the House. The Bevanites then, with other Laborites, threw their full strength into the by-election at High Wycombe. This marginal seat had been won by Labor in 1945 and 1950 and by the Conservatives in 1951. The Bevanites especially wanted to win it back to disprove the right-wing assertion that their immoderate activities, particularly their demands for further socialization and their attacks on the United States, were frightening away Liberal voters, who are particularly numerous in this constituency. When the Conservatives retained the seat, with an increased margin, it seemed to indicate that the shifting voter had not tired of Messrs. Churchill, Eden, and Butler and was apprehensive about Bevan and company.

Little wonder, therefore, that the London *Tribune,* the Bevanite weekly, exploited the Eisenhower victory as proof that it had not been wrong in its suspicions of American policy. Under the front-page headline "U. S. Election Brings Peril of a Slump" it said:

> General Eisenhower's sweeping victory in the American election marks a tragic setback to the cause of human decency and political sanity all over the world. It means the most crushing defeat inflicted on American labor since the unions first acquired political power in the early days of Roosevelt. It means that the retreat of American liberalism, which has been so evident in recent years, is turned, for the moment at least, into a rout.
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> The United States administration will now be taken over by men who . . . have fought almost every project for American cooperation with the other democratic nations on reasonable terms. At the same time they have clamored for more aggressive action in the cold war; they have denounced the idea of negotiation; they have called for some ill-defined showdown with the Soviet regime. . . . Little faith can be placed in General Eisenhower's capacity to resist the demands of the Republican right wing.

The Tories, who first welcomed the Republican victory as a symptom of a resurgent conservatism, have also changed their tune, although they still like and admire General Eisenhower. The Republican victory, warned the Washington correspondent of the *Financial Times,* "could easily mean reduced foreign assistance, despite the President-elect's personal knowledge of how vital it is and despite his deep conviction of the need for effective allies in a collective-security system." In an editorial the *Financial Times* worried about the effect of a "shotgun marriage" with Europe on Britain's economy:

> One matter which may have direct repercussions on this country is Mr. Eisenhower's keen personal interest in fostering the political unification of Europe. He and many other Americans today are impatient about the

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establishment of a European federation. The new Republican Administration . . . will certainly have no hesitations about using American aid funds as a political instrument to support the nascent federal institutions in Europe. . . . Britain's position in relation to these federal plans, even if fully understood, is unlikely to be popular.

But the most typical British reaction was that of Miss J. E. Lynch, who wrote to the *News Chronicle*:

> I feel as if I have had to stand by and watch while a dear friend, whose life is closely bound up with mine, has married the wrong man. I knew I had no right to interfere or give advice, but I hoped very much that she would choose the other suitor. She has made her choice and I sincerely hope everything will turn out all right. But I am apprehensive.

Isolationism the Lesser Evil?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

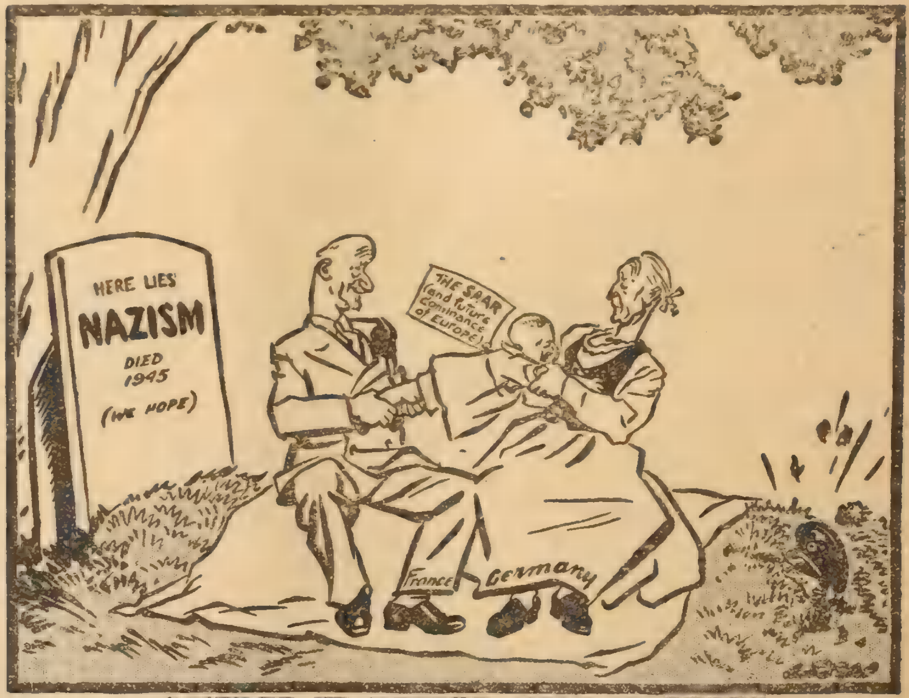
Paris

PEOPLE in Paris are still anxious, though in a reserved fashion, about what to expect from Eisenhower. Their most immediate worry is over Korea, and it has been made worse by an A. P. story from Tokyo that an "all-out war" will soon start, complete with the naval blockade of China, the transfer of Chiang Kai-shek's troops to the Korean theater, and possibly the use of the atom bomb. On top of this came the statement by Lewis Gough, head of the American Legion, insisting that the atom bomb must be used and assuming that Russia would not move. It is all regarded as evidence that the United States is now going to embark on an "adventurous" foreign policy. At the moment there is hope—but only faint hope—that Eisenhower's visit to Korea will not lead to an indorsement of MacArthurism.

The German militarists are delighted with the Republican victory. Defense Commissioner Blank is openly planning to provide 40 German generals and 22,000 "democratic-minded" German officers for the European army—the possibility that France will not ratify the army no longer causes him much concern. Herr Ramcke, a former major general of air-borne troops, glorifies war criminals, and Nazi songs of revenge are resounding more and more loudly throughout Germany. Eisenhower's polite second thoughts about the "gutless" French have not reassured public opinion, despite official expressions of pleasure. To most Frenchmen any intensive drive to rearm Europe today means simply the rearmament of Germany, and many recall Eisenhower's statement to *Match* a year ago that "by the end of 1952" Europe would be ready for a "showdown" with the Russians. The date has been postponed, but the program no doubt remains the same.

Some people have hoped that the new Administration would at least take a less "pedantic" position on North Africa, but M. Schuman's latest talks at the U. N. have not been encouraging. As for Indo-China, about which the French are getting pretty desperate, silence continues to be observed in Washington; and the thought that the United States may now plan to include Indo-China in a total war against China is perhaps even more terrifying than that the French there may be left indefinitely to their own devices. Even so, there is some talk of a bargain being struck—the United States to assume part of the responsibility for Indo-China in return for French ratification of German rearmament. In the belief that it is "inevitable anyway"—and may also bring in some dollars—France may surrender.

Extension of the Korean war, "roll-back" in Europe on the ground that "the Russians are as scared as at Brest-Litovsk" (a remark said to have been made by Eisenhower)—one is as terrifying a prospect as the other. A straw to which a certain number of French intellectuals cling is a possible, if improbable, triumph of Taftist isolationism, with America limiting its military commitments to the so-called peripheral strategy. This means that Europe would not be defended on land if it were attacked by Russia, but that the maximum weight of United States air strength would be set in motion from



"P'RAPS I'D BETTER HOLD IT, DEAR"

Courtesy London Daily Herald

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *correspondent in Paris.*

the peripheral bases. Apart from this American guaranty, Europe could live peacefully in a state of more or less armed neutrality, and the immediate dangers of the roll-back policy and of German provocation would be avoided. But these intellectuals are not very optimistic, since there is little evidence that Eisenhower, however Taftist in his home policy, will also be isolationist in foreign affairs.

Perhaps "Taftist strategy" would have more supporters in France as the lesser evil if more were known about it; at present people are merely bewildered. Everybody is anxiously awaiting the results of Ike's first great test in Korea.

The Case of the Missing Cardinals

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

Rome

FOR more than two years persons close to the Vatican have been predicting that Pope Pius XII would soon call a consistory to fill the vacancies in the Sacred College of Cardinals, the governing body of the Roman Catholic church. The major news agencies reported in November a year ago that a consistory was scheduled, but the date has been repeatedly set back. Three more cardinals have died during the past six months, reducing the number to forty-six, which is twenty-four less than the full complement of seventy as fixed by Pope Sixtus V in 1586. Their death, incidentally, fulfilled an old Roman superstition that cardinals die in three's. Forty-seven cardinals have died since Pius XII was elected Pope in 1939, twenty-three of them since the last consistory in 1946, when thirty-two new cardinals were created, the biggest block ever to be named at one time.

The calling of a consistory is a major event, for the composition of the College of Cardinals strongly influences the international policy of the church. Pope Pius has maintained strict silence about the many postponements. Even the editor of the *Osservatore Romano*, the official Vatican newspaper, has openly expressed his perplexity. The most plausible reason so far given concerns the Vatican's policy of internationalizing the church and its relations with the White House. The international trend was first clearly noticeable in 1946 when only four of Pacelli's thirty-two new cardinals turned out to be Italians. The Italians thus lost their centuries-old majority in the Sacred College and are now in a minority of sixteen to thirty. But only three of the thirty are Americans, and here perhaps is the explanation of Pope Pius's delaying tactics.

Last fall it was strongly rumored that the Pope intended to enlarge the Sacred College to 100 members. This seemed plausible, since the church's adherents have quadrupled in number since 1586, a large part of the increase being in the Americas. By internationalizing the church Pope Pius would undoubtedly solidify its internal political structure, but the plan has its weaknesses. The most obvious, of course, is the possible election of a non-Italian Pope, the first since the Dutchman, Adrian VI, in 1522.

The international policy of the church today is necessitated by its dependence on American support. Its very survival depends upon United States policy. The Vatican cannot ignore the affluent, militant, and vociferous American church. And it knows that American politicians are well aware of the organized voting strength of American Catholics. At the same time it sees that Americans are incapable of understanding that Italians and other Europeans often consider themselves Communists and Catholics at the same time. Thus it finds itself caught in the dilemma of how to cement the necessary closer union with the American Catholic church—that is, include more Americans on the governing bodies of the church—and also keep the reins of church policy firmly in the grasp of the Italians, or at least the Europeans.

I have often heard the American Catholic church described here as "naive" and "puritanical," meaning inflexible in its ideals and ignorant of the subtle problems of the church's dual role in Europe. The church cannot afford to excommunicate its Communists, but it needs America "as the Sahara needs water," to quote an Italian journalist. The failure to obtain the appointment of an ambassador was a serious blow. The power of the church within the United States was overrated, and for this the American leaders must take the blame. Further weakening of European control in the College of Cardinals may be considered inadvisable for the present.

A curious story, however, is making the rounds here. When Pope Pius was Papal Nuncio in Munich after World War I, the famous Bavarian seer, Theresa Neumann, told him he would be Pope and would hold two consistories. She later told Bishop Tkotsch of Berlin that the Pope would die shortly after the second consistory. Both the German and the Italian bishops have been urging Pius not to call it, since "Theresa Neumann's predictions have been fantastically accurate." And, after all, Pope Pius is seventy-six.

WILLIAM MURRAY writes frequently for The Nation *on interesting happenings in Italy.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Lincoln in the War Years

IMPRESSIONS OF LINCOLN AND THE CIVIL WAR. A FOREIGNER'S ACCOUNT. By the Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun. Translated from the French by General Aldebert de Chambrun. Random House. $2.75.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. A BIOGRAPHY. By Benjamin P. Thomas. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.75.

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT. MIDSTREAM. By J. G. Randall. Dodd, Mead and Company. $7.50.

THE Lincoln theme never grows stale. We do not exhaust our capacity to learn from the life of a man whose experiences hold so many clues to our character as a people. And we are still capable of drawing lessons of contemporary significance from the political problems of his career in the Presidency and on the way to it.

Here are three diverse volumes dealing with Lincoln. It would be difficult to say there is much that is "new" in any of them; yet each is useful in its own way. Although a great mass of Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress have only recently been made available to scholars, those papers seem not to have altered our image of the man in any fundamental respect.

The Marquis de Chambrun adds another to the accounts by foreigners who met Lincoln and were impressed by him. Chambrun was the unofficial representative of the French government—which was worried by the American attitude toward its protégé, Maximilian, in Mexico—and had intimate connections in the United States through his marriage to the granddaughter of Lafayette. He was therefore able to penetrate innermost government circles, and his letters to his wife, here translated by his son, contain perceptive descriptions of Lincoln and his entourage. There is nothing startling in these pictures; rather, they add confirmatory detail to what we already know.

Thomas's is the first serious effort in a quarter-century to put the whole of Lincoln's life within the compass of a single volume. Having mastered thoroughly the great mass of Lincoln literature, Thomas has given us a convenient summary of the man and his career. There are a few errors of fact, such as the statement that the Compromise of 1850 rested on the idea of popular sovereignty; and Mr. Thomas is not often inclined toward imaginative interpretation. The writing, furthermore, is not always up to the level of the subject. But the book is in general characterized by a sober reliability and a straightforward, readable style. It will not altogether replace Lord Charnwood's older biography, but it will supply a useful alternative.

Mr. Randall's is the third instalment of a four-volume study of the career of Lincoln as President. "Midstream" deals largely with the critical year of 1863. By means of a topical analysis it examines the President's characteristics as a person and the problems with which he dealt. There are enlightening chapters on Lincoln's humor, on his family, on the constitutional problems of his Administration, as well as on the progress of military events and the fight against disloyalty at home. The end result is a thoughtful and judicious appraisal of Lincoln and of his times.

The problems of greatest interest touched upon in all three volumes are those connected with the experience of a democracy at war. Lincoln encountered such problems at various levels—in his personal life, in his relations with Congress, and in his own broodings over the meaning of the bloody struggle. To an impressive degree men in these years found their actions at significant junctures wrapped up in personal tragedy. The death of a son and of a brother-in-law meant much to the President. General Sherman lost his little boy on the eve of his great campaign. Reaction to these immediate shocks certainly conditioned the behavior of both men.

The understanding of Lincoln's role as party leader has often been blurred by the inclination to regard the Congress as if it were rigidly divided into two altogether separate sectors—the radicals and the conservatives. Mr. Thomas, particularly, goes astray on this score. A more realistic view would start with the recognition of the newness of the Republican Party, new not only in power but also as a party. Among the Republicans were a variety of groups which entered into series of shifting alliances with each other as well as with the various factions of war Democrats, still represented in Congress. Lincoln therefore never faced the necessity of choosing to affiliate with one group or another. He was instead able to pick his way among the various factions, drawing to his support on particular issues a kind of shifting and fluid majority. That accounts for his ability to hold the nation together through its prolonged military crisis. Perhaps more impressive, it accounts also for the great civil achievements of his Administration. While the war went on, the Congress and the President still had the time and energy to evolve far-reaching constructive programs dealing with immigration, land, railroads, education, and agriculture. These were evidence of the internal strength of the nation and of the potentialities of constructive leadership in it.

A masterly politician, Lincoln was of course much more than that. It is impressive to see the extent to which his own views of the conflict changed as it went on. He had reluctantly ventured into battle for very limited objectives. It was the prosecution of the war itself that revealed its fullest meaning to him. Slowly, almost reluctantly, Lincoln gave up his initial insistence that he was fighting simply to preserve the Union and discovered the connection of the struggle with the cause of human freedom in a much larger sense. This was a sign of the greatness of the man.

OSCAR HANDLIN

The Theater of Japan

JAPANESE THEATER. By Faubion Bowers. Foreword by Joshua Logan. Hermitage House. $5.

IN THE welter of reports on Japanese culture which have been appearing in the slick-paper journals since it became permissible to speak kindly of Japan, there have been a few scattered accounts of the marvels of the Japanese theater. Here James Michener and Joshua Logan have taken the lead, preparing the way for the theatrical feast we hope is to come when Mr. Logan clears away State Department red tape and brings to Broadway a full-scale importation of Japan's fantastic dramatic form, *Kabuki.* Meanwhile many of us have felt the need for a new and definitive book on the Japanese theater, and the need has been at least partially filled by Faubion Bowers.

Mr. Bowers, who has unusual linguistic gifts and is also a trained musician, first became interested in the Japanese theater in 1940, when, at twenty-three, he was teaching at Hosei University in Tokyo. In 1945 he went back to Japan, this time as a major with the advance party of MacArthur; and in 1947 and 1948 he was assigned to police the Japanese theater for anti-democratic tendencies. His position as Chief Censor of the Theater—a title right out of "The Mikado"—was neither ideal nor enviable, and it is a tribute to his compassion and his artistic understanding that he made many friends in the theatrical world. He also made the most of his opportunity to increase his knowledge of Japan's theater arts.

His book, the preface tells us, "is a report on the theater in all its forms in Japan . . . a survey of what theater arts exist there today and how they arose." If his survey is limited, we must still be grateful, for it is sufficient to reveal much of the elegance and beauty of the Japanese theatrical tradition. His survey is limited because he devotes the greater part of his discussion to the history and aesthetics of the *Kabuki* stage and relegates the *Nô* drama to a subsidiary position. Mr. Bowers is frank to say that he puts the emphasis on *Kabuki* because it is far more popular, and far more comprehensible to the common folk of Japan, than the often effete and narrow intellectual archaism of the *Nô* plays. But in this reviewer's opinion the *Nô* drama, though it is certainly less spectacular and popular than *Kabuki,* is in the ultimate sense more significant. *Kabuki* shows traditional Japan at play; *Nô* reveals the Japanese mind at work.

The word *Kabuki* is rendered in writing by three *kanji,* or Chinese characters, which, translated into English, mean song-dance-skill. With characteristic brevity and aplomb the name gives the basic elements of an art form that is today perhaps the oldest medium of dramatic expression popularly supported and traditionally performed. This art form has a long and fascinating history going back to the mythological rise of Japanese culture. The theater was born in Japan when the sulky sun goddess, Amaterasu, was wooed from her earth-darkening concealment in a cave by the laughter of the gods at the spectacle of the rival goddess, Uzume, performing a celestial strip-tease outside Amaterasu's retreat. From this mythical origin of *Kabuki* and all Japanese drama, Bowers brings us to historical times, when the substance of the traditional folk and court dance-dramas went into the making of the lyric dramatic form we now call *Nô.* To musical story-telling and some adapted puppet-show techniques, add the impetus of a renowned temple dancer named O-Kuni, and you have a fair picture of the diverse cultural currents at work in *Kabuki.*

In addition to his thorough treatment of the history and aesthetics of *Kabuki,* the author discusses the new directions the Japanese theater has taken since the Meiji Restoration of 1867. He believes that, given the forces at play, the classical theater will fade with the passing of time. Moreover, it is his opinion that unless classical drama is subsidized and thereby rescued from oblivion, left-wing "people's" drama will eclipse the older traditional forms; and he notes that Moscow-trained artists of great ability are at the helm of the modern theater movement in Japan.

"Japanese Theater," though it is rich in material gleaned from Western and Japanese sources, cannot be put in the category of scholarly works. Whether by Mr. Bowers's intent or at the behest of the publishers, there is an almost complete lack of scholarly or critical apparatus. To the scholar, therefore, the book will be frustrating for its lack of footnotes and bibliography. For the interested non-specialist there will arise the problem of the many romanized Japanese names and terms, which, although necessary, frequently impede the reader's progress. There is neither a guide to pronunciation nor a helpful glossary of Japanese theatrical terms. An index, however thorough, is hardly suf-

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ficient for that purpose. The many photographs, gathered from Japanese sources and the files of the United States Signal Corps, satisfactorily illustrate the text; the line drawings—one looks in vain for some *ukioye* prints of the *Kabuki*—are largely irrelevant.

However, if the reader is able to disregard such editorial faults, he will be rewarded by a delicious glimpse of a strange and vast new world of theater art. And Mr. Bowers's book, despite the limitation noted above, is still the most comprehensive volume on the Japanese theater written in the last twenty-five years. EMERSON R. HARRIS

Novel of Florence

THE NAKED STREETS. By Vasco Pratolini. A. A. Wyn. $3.

PRATOLINI'S tranquil, loving treatment of the *piccola gente* of his home town, Florence, has brought him a world-wide audience of discriminating readers. Here is a talent at once fresh and mature which has so little conscious theatricality that the author can convince even the skeptical of the true state of the things he talks about.

No one looking for an exotic foreign novel full of the juicy scenes which, were they not well written, would be banned as pornographic need open Pratolini's books. They are discursive, occasionally profound, and always, as I said above, loving—that is their main quality.

When last a novel by Pratolini was reviewed in these pages (December 15, 1951), the book was described as something less than the author at his best, for "A Hero of Our Time" was a book of hate. It was full of the passionate conviction that marks all of Pratolini's work, but somehow it had a forced, strained quality happily absent from the current more characteristic work.

"The Naked Streets" is a beautiful book—the characters finely limned, the atmosphere exact, the development of the threads of story as inevitable as the course of individual life itself. The Italian title, "Il Quartiere," sets the tone for the whole: the novel is the story of a group of young men and women who live in the Santa Croce quarter of Florence and come to maturity in one another's company. Because these are working-class young people, they show little of the callow adolescent quality we have come to expect in novels dealing with this age group. These are the boys and girls who must start out in their mid-teens to add their share to the family budget, usually by being apprenticed to the same factory or laundry or foundry that employs their fathers and older brothers. They marry young, are beholden to no one, and live on the hope that their future will be a little less economically grim and intellectually confined than that of their elders.

But Pratolini's working-class people are not all upstanding characters. The author has brought from his own youth a fresh tone to proletarian writing: his workers' sons talk and behave and dream as the human beings they are, the variety of their characterization completely removing them from the stock-figure category. (The only American novelist who, for my money, knows to the same degree what he is talking about is James Farrell and for much the same reasons—authentic identification with the subject, an infallible ear, and a loving but unsentimental heart.) Pratolini tells us what we have known all along but what the spate of self-consciously proletarian novels of the thirties helped us to overlook, that in all strata there are those without backbone, easily seduced by a promise of ease; there are others whose need to "belong" causes them to mount the band-wagon of any 'ism handy; and there are those who are poised, reflective, mature, capable of achieving real stature within and beyond, but never *in spite of* their own environment.

"The Naked Streets," like Pratolini's great "Tale of Poor Lovers," is a modest, honest book which for anyone interested in the Europe of today tells more about the character of the vast urban populations than many abstruse tomes or statistical tables. On more than one count this is a book well worth reading

FRANCES KEENE

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE central character of "The Deep Blue Sea" (Morosco Theater) is a woman who at forty has acted out that impulse toward renewal and redress which is common to human beings midway in the path of life. She has fallen in love and gone to live with a young man who represents for her the fulness and beauty of life which she feels she has missed, first as the protected daughter of a professor and then as the cherished wife of a distinguished lawyer. As the play opens, in a dingy furnished flat in the Northwest of London, she has attempted suicide in a final disillusionment with love and life. The immediate provocation is the fact that her young man has forgotten her birthday, but the real reason is that she has demanded the impossible of both love and life.

At least this is the way I understand Terence Rattigan's play, and perhaps that is why I found it more satisfactory than those reviewers who saw it mainly as the story of a middle-aged woman who has abandoned a devoted and suitable husband because of a physical infatuation with a young man. These reviewers, moreover, described the young man in the case as a "bounder," incapable of love. The term, it seems to me, could hardly be less relevant. The young man, Freddie Page, is to be sure endowed with the thoughtlessness as well as the vitality of youth; he is assuredly incapable of the love which Hester Collyer demands; yet it is made clear that he does love her after his fashion. He is characteristically absorbed in his own activities, but they do not include women, and he is genuinely bewildered by Hester's behavior.

Freddie decides to leave when he finds out about the attempt at suicide. The way of a bounder perhaps; but it struck me as the inevitable and healthy reaction of a young man, particularly of a young man who symbolizes as he does here the "life force." Hester sees that the decision is right for her as well as for him, but she summons the strength to accept it only after she is forced to confront reality and herself, for the moment at least, by the "doctor" who lives upstairs and who is called in to administer first aid. In the end she not only lets Freddie go without protest; she also rejects the easy solution of going back to her husband. She has become at last a person in her own right, willing to assume the responsibility for her newfound self.

"The Deep Blue Sea" is an adult play and an interesting one. The situation it presents is universal as well as unique, and its characters are not eccentric. It smacks a bit, nevertheless, of the Freudian case history, partly, I think, because writers are still self-conscious in their use of Freud's findings and partly because Terence Rattigan is more gifted as playwright than as writer.

The role of Hester Collyer is difficult, if only because the representation, long drawn out, of a soul in torment is likely to become monotonous. Margaret Sullavan overcomes this hazard by an intelligent, subtle, and controlled performance that holds one's interest and sympathy to the end. Even her "conversion" to self-respect and recognition is convincing, foreshortened though it must be within the limits of a play.

The supporting cast is excellent. James Hanley's Freddie Page is wonderfully realized both as character and as symbol. It seemed to me that the point of the play would have been as well or better made if the husband had been less stodgy, but Alan Webb does full justice to the part as given. Herbert Berghof makes likely the only unlikely character in the play—the doctor; and John Merivale's turn as the crass "realist" who knows all about life and love and is willing to share his knowledge is very funny.

Charles Elson's set of the dingy flat is right in every detail, even to the soiled upholstery on the nondescript chairs.

Moss Hart's "The Climate of Eden" (Martin Beck Theater) is based on a novel by Edgar Mittelholzer called "Shadows Move Among Them," and it posits a society—the household of a missionary in British Guiana—in which the Christian virtues and primitive attitudes and beliefs have been combined in a curious and charming and amusing amalgam. In this household it is assumed that children are a little mad and must be allowed to act out their fantasies if they are to become mature as adults. Sex is no evil, and the older daughter has taken a lover at sixteen. The missionary, who is a quiet fanatic, preaches that the Kingdom of God is on earth and that happiness is a Christian duty.

To this household comes a psychotic young man from the world outside who has been prevented from killing his wife only because she has committed suicide. The daughter falls in love with him, and by what amounts to analysis he is cured and made whole. Not a very likely story but a pleasant fantasy full of relevant and amusing commentary on the world as it is.

The young man, as played by Lee Montague, is not very sympathetic, but he serves as foil to a group of delightful characters. The star of the piece is the

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"precocious fourteen-year-old" daughter Olivia, played with great effectiveness by Penelope Munday, but the rest of the cast could hardly be better, particularly John Cromwell as the missionary, Isobel Elsom as his wife, Rosemary Harris as the older daughter, and Ken Walker as the kid brother who somehow manages to simulate, from beginning to end, a state of intense excitement as catching as it is convincing.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE PROMOTER" is a good example of an efficient but not very stimulating comedy that gets seen and liked because the critics admire it. The plot is an impudent reworking of the Horatio Alger type of picaresque story, in which an ordinary jerk, eager to help everyone, manages to do it for a fat profit. The idea of a twenty-dollar-a-week solicitor's "clark" moving through the complications and coincidences of a fairly lightweight comedy until he winds up rich, mayor of the city, and favored by all the girls reminds you, in its neatness, of the early Sturges satires. But where the Sturges films moved easily and deftly from one situation to another and took a great delight in making everyone look like a chump with the wild dream of success motoring him through slapstick, "The Promoter" is definitely stiffened by a stodgy novelistic style and made sort of dull by its insistence on "normalcy." One of the hero's money-making activities has to do with collecting rents and a "rake-off" on each collection. The episode is recorded in a staccato series of documentary shots which gives you the bare facts and a glimpse of urban ugliness, but there is no zany movement through the shops, streets, and around the chimney pots in search of fun. When slapstick is employed it is done with a dry crotchetiness, and dropped so quickly that you feel the director was embarrassed about having a donkey go berserk in the market place with the players being buried in lettuce, cabbage, and carrots.

Audiences find good reason for roaring with laughter through Alec Guinness's farces—but I keep hoping that, with his knack for making an ordinary fellow bizarre, those silly little smirks, eccentrically timed expressions, and that unexpected demoniac light in his eye, he will some day fill out a role with more than virtuosity. But then I tell myself that compared to Jerry Lewis, Hope, or Skelton's pebbly characterizations, Guinness's roles are imaginatively conceived and like rocks cast in the sea.

"Park Row" is possibly aspiring to be a sort of poor man's "Citizen Kane," but this story of the street which in the late nineties was the most famous newspaper yard in the world can be put into one sentence: a two-fisted editor didn't like the policy of America's first woman journalist; so he started a rival sheet named the *Globe* and after an hour of misunderstandings they lived happily ever after. It was produced, written, and directed on less than a pursestring by the talented Sam Fuller, who made "Broken Bayonets" last year, but from the opening shot Fuller jams his entire cast of newcomers—Mary Welch, Bela Kovacs, the choleric Gene Evans—into a two-by-four room and has them juggle lines that have to do primarily with listing famous names like Greeley, and defining things like "that's thirty" and "printer's devil." As a director, Fuller tries for epic overtones in every frame. Someone offers the just-fired editor a

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chance to start a new paper, and immediately the screen goes heavy with effects while the editor munches savagely on a cigar and looks off into the distance as though he were visualizing the entire history of man's fight for a free press.

The discouraging thing about this not-unspirited work is that it is another signpost marking how far the easygoing "B" film has back-tracked in recent years—from something which opened windows and let air into the industry, to an arty business full of died-in-the-wood characters and solemn actors who weigh down the floor with their theatricality. With its absence of fluidity—two huge faces usually dominate the screen—and a cast that is all wrong, the only virtue the movie has is a certain brazen rashness.

It's hard for me to dislike an Alan Ladd picture, but "Thunder in the East" is one of the slowest, most gruesome distortions of Asian existence since "Lost Horizon." Since Ladd has to his credit such films as "This Gun for Hire," "The Blue Dahlia," and "Background to Danger," nothing shall be said about the new effort beyond the fact that Deborah Kerr finally manages to turn in a half-human, fairly warm performance and Charles Boyer plays a Nehru type in a way that makes you painfully conscious of his wig, make-up, and stagy personality.

"O. Henry's Full House" offers four meager, tired short stories filled with tenderness for the hapless, and worked out by a few dozen proficient but overconfident artists. Each vignette is introduced by a short talk by John Steinbeck, and as evidence of the movie's high-powered technique, he uses an unctuous bass voice dubbed in by Ward Bond. Of the various rolling stones that bound through the movie, David Wayne is pretty interesting to watch, and Gregory Ratoff shows that he is a subordinate player who can handle any line thrown his way.

CONTRIBUTORS

OSCAR HANDLIN is the author of "This Was America" and "The Uprooted."

EMERSON R. HARRIS, a former staff writer and performer for the Armed Services Network, Japan, is a member of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the year's outstanding events is the first of three groups of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival, with performances of works by Mozart. One record offers the exquisite Symphony K.201 and "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; another the Sinfonia Concertante K.364 for violin and viola, whose wonderful Andante movement still seems to me unmatched by the fast movements; another the beautiful Violin Concerto K.219; another the Divertimento K. 251 for oboe, horns, and strings, with a lovely Andantino movement and some other engaging movements and passages, and the fine Quartet K.370 for oboe and strings. Casals participates in all but the last of these, as conductor of the orchestra; and his powerful inflection creates an exciting life in the orchestral parts which is one of the things that makes these performances outstanding. Another is the fine playing of the soloists—Isaac Stern and William Primrose in the Sinfonia Concertante, Erica Morini in the Violin Concerto, Marcel Tabuteau in the Divertimento. And Tabuteau, Stern, Primrose, and Paul Tortelier give a beautiful performance of the Oboe Quartet. Having said this I feel I should mention two details which I wondered at: the inconsistency in Morini's treatment of appogiaturas; and Tabuteau's ignoring of the indication for a cadenza in the slow movement of the Oboe Quartet.

The performances are well reproduced this time—except that in the Divertimento, which is all crowded onto one record side, the violins become gritty near the center. On the other hand the records with the Sinfonia Concertante and the Violin Concerto have a considerable amount of blank space which makes these LP versions more expensive than previous 78s. And finally: for those who buy the complete set the box offers a bonus record with an arrangement of a slow movement of a Haydn piano sonata played by Casals and Eugene Istomin, and with strange noises that one finally realizes are Casals's grunts as he plays.

The two Bach cantatas issued by the Bach Guild on Vanguard records—No. 31, the Easter Cantata "Der Himmel lacht" (with seven Easter chorales), and No. 63, the Christmas Cantata "Christen, ätzet diesen Tag"—are for the most part uninteresting to my ears. In No. 31 the singing of Anny Felbermayer, soprano, is exquisite, and there is good singing by Waldemar Kmentt, tenor, and Walter Berry, bass, but the women of the Vienna Akademiechor sound poor in the high range of the opening chorus. Prohaska conducts the Vienna Chamber Orchestra. In No. 63 Margit Opawsky, soprano, sings with occasional shrillness and strain, but the other soloists—Hilde Rossl-Majdan, alto, Waldemar Kmentt, and Harald Hermann, bass—are good. Michael Gielen conducts the Vienna Kammerchor and State Opera Orchestra.

On the other hand the Magnificat in D of Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach issued by the Bach Guild has a number of impressive fast movements (e. g., the opening *Magnificat anima* and the *Deposuit potentes*) and beautiful and touching slow movements (e. g., the *Quia respexit*, the *Et misericordia ejus*, the *Suscepit Israel*). Hilde Rossl-Majdan does the most beautiful singing in this work, and there is good singing also by Dorothea Siebert, soprano (though

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with some strain in the taxing *Quia respexit*), Waldemar Kmentt, and Hans Braun, bass. Prohaska conducts the Vienna Akademiechor and State Opera Orchestra. On the fourth side of the two records is the Steinberg arrangement of Bach's K. P. E. Bach's Concerto in D that Koussevitzky used to play, with its engaging fast movements and wonderfully beautiful and deeply affecting slow movement. The pace of the first movement is a little over-deliberate; otherwise Prohaska's performance with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra is excellent.

I have played again on wide-range equipment some of the records I played on a limited-range phonograph in the country last summer, and have found that the Quartetto Italiano sounds a little veiled and edged in Mozart's Clarinet Quintet (London); that the Boyd Neel performances of Handel's Concerti Grossi Opus 6 Nos. 9 and 10 (London) sound veiled; that the Gieseking performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 (Columbia) requires reduction of bass and sounds a little sharp with adequate treble; that the Gieseking performance of Mozart's Concerto K.488 (Columbia) sounds strident near the end, with a hash in addition if the stylus isn't new; that the Schnabel performances of Mozart's Concertos K.466 and 491 (HMV) require stepping up of bass and treble, and that K.491 then has a pronounced surface hiss and the finale of K.466 is gritty; that the Martinon performances of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" and "Beatrice and Benedict" Overtures (Urania), with treble stepped up for adequate brightness, have a surface hiss. In addition I have compared the Cahuzac performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto (Haydn Society) with the older Kell performance (Decca), and found that the Kell is more animated, more beautiful in tone, and more sensitive in phrasing, but its recorded sound needs stepping up of treble and is unclean at the end.

Having waited until now to hear the Columbia record with dubbings of the beautiful pre-war performances of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 and Mozart's K.218 by Szigeti with the London Philharmonic under Beecham, I have found that the Prokofiev needs stepping up of treble which makes the surface audible, and that the Mozart needs drastic reduction of bass and is very noisy.

Accident presented me with an opportunity recently to hear the H. H. Scott power amplifier, which Mr. C. G. Burke's jury of experts judged to be equal in tonal quality with the Brook, the McIntosh, the Leak, and the Bell, and which Mr. Burke chose for his best phonograph regardless of cost because it had an equalization system that some of the others lacked. In side-by-side comparison with a privately made amplifier which, using the same pickup, recording, and speaker, produced sound that was clear and agreeable, the Scott produced sound that was unpleasantly coarse and strident; and a second Scott unit produced sound that was only slightly less so.

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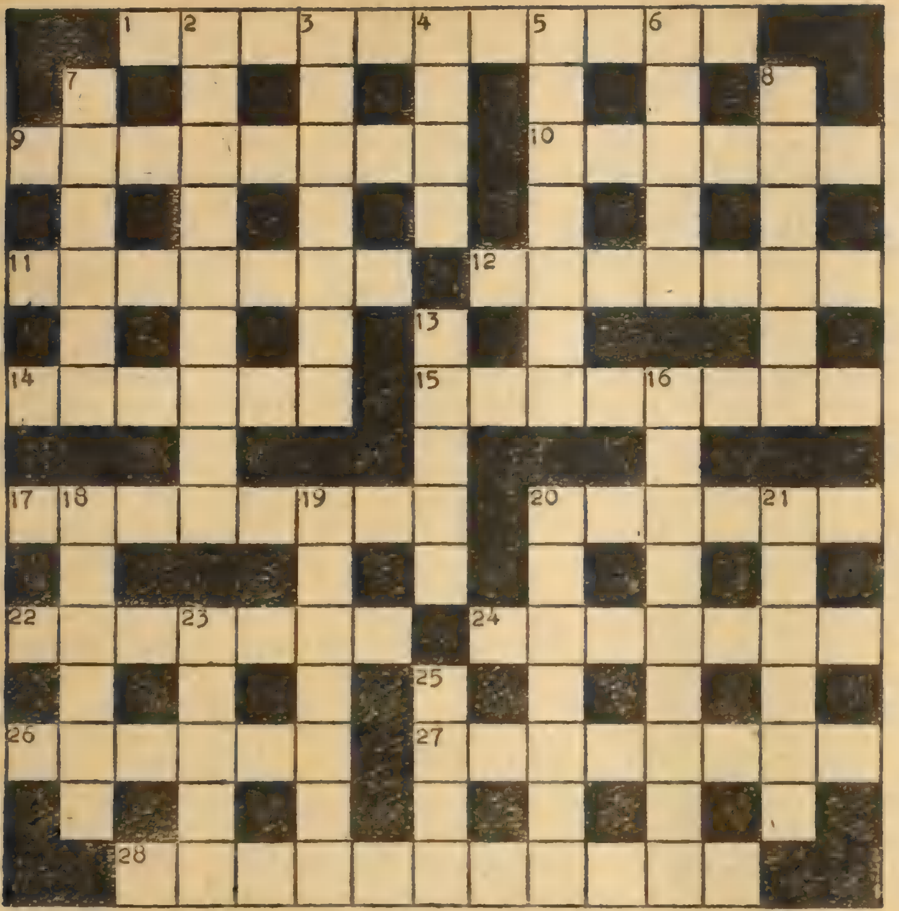

ACROSS

1 Infant prodigy? It's not surprising! (5, 6)

9 Lamb curing directions given by the mother of the Gracchi? (8)

10 See 21 down.

11 Would someone like Burbank be such a fraud? (7)

12 Bank controller? One liar is exposed, at any rate! (7)

14 Against poetry, by the sound of it. (6)

15 and 7 down. Block series? (Some G. I.'s never did get over it!) (8, 6)

17 One's carriage might imply a painful expression in bleak surroundings. (8)

20 It's top has broken, but the chemist still uses it. (6)

22 To study an examination might cause dispute. (7)

24 In the order of a crusade, perhaps. (7)

26 A psalm can be a life-saver at times. (6)

27 With an idée fixe. (8)

28 What Avis does, if this lad annoys her? (5, 3, 3,)

DOWN

2 Declaration that has an anagram of its name. (9)

3 One of these could be leaner, in a loose sort of way. (7)

4 Ineffectual for several days, by the sound of it. (4)

5 Nymphs one is likely to find in reeds. (7)

6 This bird goes a birdie one better. (5)

7 See 15 across.

8 Thoreau said his life was like one on the beach. (6)

13 and 25. Change come by honestly, but without style. (9)

16 What the Italian loves to paint as a matter of course. (9)

18 Sort of call, as around numerous spots in the Pacific. (6)

19 A bag of lettuce for the soldier? (7)

20 Your suit might be in more ways than one. (7)

21 and 10 across. Demands what is due, as a political issue. (6, 6)

23 The condition of 21 is changed, in a sense. (5)

25 See 13 down.

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 490

ACROSS:—1 and 10 LET IT STAND; 4 LOINCLOTH; 9 ALARMISTS; 11 UNTENABLE; 12 ILION; 13 STREETCARS; 17 OVERSHOOTS; 21 ALDER; 22 and 14 LYONNAISE POTATOES; 23 OFTEN; 24 ALABASTER; 25 SEA NETTLE; 26 ERROR.

DOWN:—1 LEAGUE; 2 TRAITS; 4 LAST BUT NOT LEAST; 5 and 3 IT'S NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND; 6 CASUISTS; 7 OCARINAS; 8 HEDONIST; 15 VENDETTA; 16 ASTRINGE; 18 ENRAGE; 19 LITTER; 20 TERROR.

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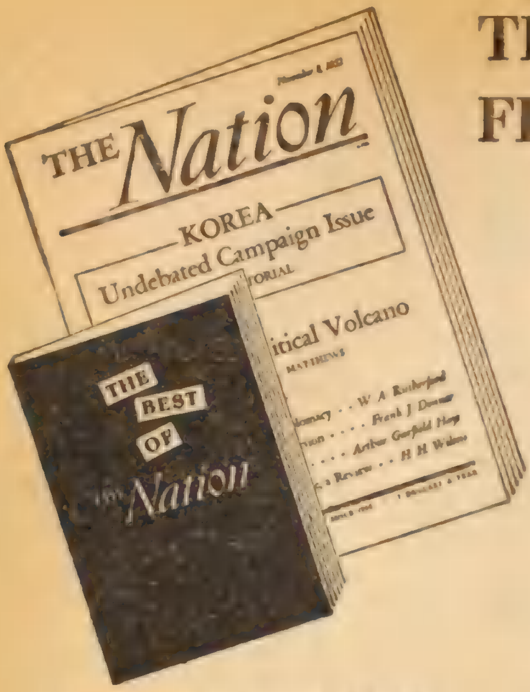

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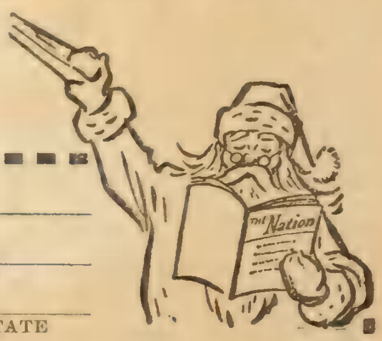

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Thoughts on the H-Bomb—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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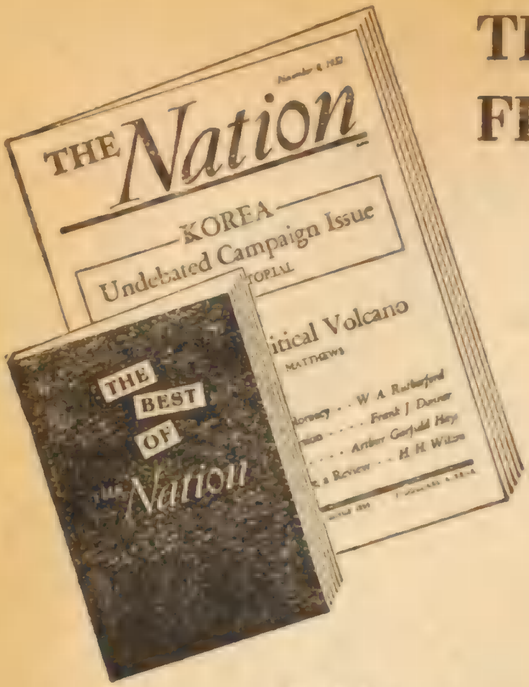

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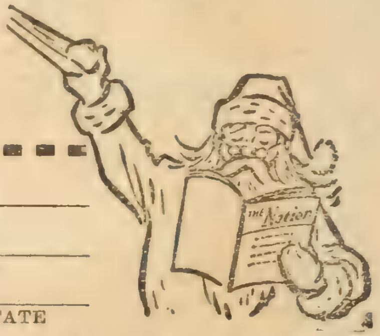

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Thoughts on the H-Bomb

THE announcement that the atomic age has now given birth to the H-bomb, said to be a thousand times more destructive than the 1945 A-bomb, must be considered in the light of several major realizations. On October 26, 1952, John Foster Dulles, President-elect Eisenhower's new Secretary of State, and Dr. Arthur H. Compton, in interviews with Richard G. Baumhoff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* agreed that it is now too late to outlaw or abandon the use of atomic weapons. Doubtless both men spoke in the knowledge that the explosion of the H-bomb would shortly be announced. This was the first time, Mr. Dulles said, that he had expressed himself on the subject of outlawing atomic arms: his position is simply that there is no valid reason to differentiate between atomic and other weapons. On the basis of his personal inspection of war damage in Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, he believes that "the atomic bomb is a much more merciful death" than that caused, say, by the type of fire bombs used in raids on Tokyo. "The whole effort of every military establishment" he said, "is to increase its ability to kill and destroy." Hence the outlawing of nuclear weapons is neither necessary nor practical. Nor can there be any general effective regulation of armament without international control so great as to constitute, in effect, a world government. Since Russia would accept only a Communist world government, armament control becomes impossible. The best hope, he feels, is that the increasing destructiveness of war will operate to discourage war.

Speaking as a scientist, Dr. Compton said that he concluded as early as June, 1950, that it was no longer feasible to exclude the use of atomic weapons even by agreement. Militarily, as he sees it, the abandonment of atomic weapons would place us at a disadvantage in relation to Russia, since in case of war Russia could strike hard close to its borders, while our heavy blows would have to be delivered at "points remote from the home place." From the technical point of view, the situation is simply that possession or even production of atomic weapons can now be so effectively concealed that not even the most careful system of inspection could uncover it. Dr. Compton said that he knew of no way, nor had he ever heard anyone suggest a way, by which hidden stockpiles might be located. Furthermore, work on the use of uranium for the production of atomic industrial power has now gone so far that it would be exceedingly difficult to differentiate between peaceable and potentially warlike uses of atomic energy. "The thought of the Baruch report," he said, "was that one could trace uranium and its use. However, in the years that have elapsed since the report every nation presumably has acquired its stockpile of uranium. It is no longer possible to trace where uranium is mined; it has already been mined, and where it has been put would be impossible to tell." Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips (retired), military analyst for the *Post-Dispatch,* confirms this judgment. "Atomic disarmament is no longer possible—such is the belief of many responsible officials, both civilian and military, in the Pentagon." Fissionable material has become, in the military view, "just another, and tremendously powerful, high explosive. It no longer only powers a weapon of mass destruction but has given birth to a whole family of atomic weapons"—atomic artillery, atomic guided rockets, atomic anti-aircraft.

In the period since the Baruch report was released we seem to have lost the opportunity not only to outlaw atomic warfare and police atomic development but also to keep the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes under civilian control. Michael Amrine, formerly publications editor for the Federation of American Scientists, calls attention to the fact that a curious forty-ninth state has come into being, a state about the size of Delaware, consisting of the various atomic installations. This new state lies behind "high fences, locked gates, and armed guards" and is for all practical purposes not subject to local control; in effect it has even passed out of the control of the civilian federal agencies. In 1953 the Atomic Energy Commission plans to spend, according to Mr. Amrine, almost $4,000,000,000, of which nearly 95 per cent will be for "secret" purposes. How effective is civilian control of atomic energy when the screen of secrecy is so dense that only a few civilians can obtain the information essential to the making of basic policy decisions? "Secrecy," as Mr. Amrine notes, "presents some very strange problems to a democracy."

Scientific advances in the field of atomic energy have

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outpaced political thought in the last five years and greatly complicated the immediate military problem. Our Atlantic allies will insist now more than ever that the scale and tempo of rearmament can be safely reduced. The explosion of the first British atomic bomb on October 3 will encourage this belief. At the same time, the realization that we are more vulnerable than the Soviet Union to atomic attack—since American industry is more concentrated than Russian—will add to our uneasiness, and this uneasiness will become acute indeed when the Russians announce, as they will eventually, that they too have the H-bomb. In the meantime, our possession of the H-bomb will encourage the preventive-war enthusiasts to believe that now is the time to force a showdown. To these enthusiasts, as Ned Russell has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune*, the H-bomb will seem "the pistol on the table" which has finally created the "situation of strength" upon which an ultimatum might be based. If atomic bombs cannot be outlawed—and at the moment there is little ground for optimism on this score—then the only advantage we should gain from using them would be in pressing whatever initial advantage we possess. The experts will say that the Russians cannot be far behind us; therefore the conclusion is likely to be drawn that if war is inevitable in any case, we should take the initiative while we still have the advantage.

All of this rests, however, on the assumption that a negotiated peace is not feasible—an assumption which *The Nation* has steadily refused to accept. Perhaps atomic warfare cannot be outlawed at this time, but that does not mean that limited agreements with the Russians cannot be made or that a general settlement is unthinkable. In a sense, the earlier negotiations over the control of atomic energy may have complicated the problem of reaching a general settlement. On the other hand, each atomic development emphasizes the necessity for reaching political agreements that will reduce the existing tension, since each one heightens the tension.

Aside from a negotiated settlement, however, there is another possibility, and one which permits us to seize the initiative. Paradoxically, the best chance of preventing a general war, in which atomic weapons would surely be used, may now be found in the use of atomic energy as the major key to a world-wide rehabilitation and reconstruction effort, particularly in its use to telescope stages in the economic development of backward areas. Fear of the destructiveness of modern war can only be a temporary deterrent, since fear rules out security. But if a new era of abundance could be ushered in, on a time schedule based not on centuries but on decades, it might be possible to create a feeling of security which would permit nations to discuss world-wide disarmament and world government with some hope of reaching agreement. A partnership in plenty would be the strongest guaranty of collective security against war.

The Shape of Things

Strategy of Suicide

Whether or not the Indian plan for ending the Korean truce deadlock is adopted by the General Assembly, the fact of American opposition has by now been broadcast to the world. If the plan succeeds, it will be a defeat for the United States; if it fails, a bitter victory. Even as strategy within the U. N. the American stand seems all but suicidal, for we have not only ranged ourselves against our chief allies and the whole Asian-Arab bloc; we have relieved the Russians of all responsibility in case the plan fails and given them the chance to shove in their own compromise proposal at the opportune moment.

Indeed it is hard to imagine what responsible purpose has directed Mr. Acheson's course. One might have thought the Administration would snatch at a formula offering an honorable escape from an impasse which, even while the diplomats talk, is producing a fast mounting toll of dead and wounded. For what is the alternative if the Indian resolution should be defeated? It is well understood at the U. N. that the so-called twenty-one-nation resolution sponsored by the United States was intended to clear the way for a new offensive in Korea should the Communists decline to back down. Questions about the "value" of atomic weapons in the Korean fighting, increased calls for the use of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa army, South Korea's official demand that the whole of North Korea be "liberated" before peace is discussed—these indicate to most Europeans and Asians the direction the American wind is blowing. In other words the delegations defending the Indian resolution see it as the one available way of avoiding an expanding and probably uncontrollable war in Asia. It is the realization of what is at stake that has driven our usually deferential allies into desperate resistance to the American position.

A "Fresh Approach"?

Mr. Eisenhower in choosing his Administration, writes the *Wall Street Journal* of November 21, is looking for men with "a fresh approach" and "a business background" who will also "make sense to the politicians of his party." Most of the appointees announced so far certainly appear to meet the second and third of these requirements. Dulles and Brownell are "Dewey men": their choice represents the pay-off to the Governor for his energetic if unscrupulous assistance in the campaign. C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, is credited with swinging the Michigan delegation to the General at Chicago, and he is believed to have contributed heavily to campaign funds. Governor MacKay of Oregon, named as Secretary of the Interior, was also an early rooter for Ike. The Governor is a conservative and an opponent of integrated river valley development.

Nomination of George M. Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Company, as Secretary of the Treasury was apparently a bow in the direction of Taft whom he had strongly supported before the Chicago convention. But the senior Senator from Ohio, it appears, was not consulted on the choice so the desired effect may have been lost.

How "fresh" an approach John Foster Dulles will bring to the State Department remains to be seen. His record as an international thinker is, as Frank Gotham showed in *The Nation*, of October 11, a decidedly spotty one. He has, indeed, distinguished himself by his dexterity in straddling the fence that separates the two wings of the G. O. P., and it seems likely that his agility will be even more severely tested in the future. Our European allies think of him as the architect of the Japanese treaty, which they dislike; the advocate of a shotgun plural marriage for the states of Western Europe; and the exponent of "liberation" of Eastern Europe, an idea which scares them stiff. Thus in "selling" American policy abroad Mr. Dulles starts with three strikes against him.

Political Pay-off

Messrs. Wilson and Humphrey provided the surprises in the present batch of appointments. Both are big-time industrialists associated with supremely successful concerns. Mr. Wilson has got along tolerably well with labor in recent years and has a good reputation as an organizer and production expert. He will have his work cut out in reducing the bureaucratic chaos of the Pentagon to order and in settling the inter-service disputes that add so much to the cost of defense. If the Big Brass begin to call for his scalp, we shall know that he is making headway.

Mr. Humphrey heads one of the least-known but most powerful units of heavy industry, a company with fingers in many pies. He is a thorough conservative, and his appointment will seem a good augury to those innumerable business men who are counting on lower corporation and personal-income taxes. Strangely, it may also be a good augury for the St. Lawrence Seaway, for Humphrey became a strong advocate of that project after the Hanna Company invested heavily in Quebec iron ore.

Herbert Brownell, chief of staff of the Eisenhower forces at Chicago and Dewey's campaign manager in 1948, should not find it hard to improve on the record of the last three Democratic Attorney Generals. Compared to them, he is legally literate and in professional circles has the reputation of being able and highly intelligent.

The most difficult of the appointments to understand, even on political grounds, is that of Harold E. Stassen as head of the Mutual Security Agency. A permanently lame duck, he would appear to have little or no "leverage" in the G. O. P. His ambition is quite out of proportion to his ability, and he is notoriously lacking in tact. Altogether this is a deplorable choice for a vital job.

The Judd Case

When instructor Morris Judd's contract was not renewed for the academic year 1952-53, President Robert Stearns of the University of Colorado informally notified the chairman of the philosophy department, who had recommended renewal, of the reasons: "dulness, failure to achieve academic progress, and intellectual dishonesty because of his failure to answer questions about his past political affiliations." Not satisfied with this explanation, the Colorado branch of the American Civil Liberties Union made an investigation and came up with some additional facts. In May, 1951, Judd was questioned by two former F. B. I. agents who had been retained by the regents to "purge the faculty of subversive elements" and declined to answer questions concerning his political affiliations and beliefs. A few days later he reaffirmed this refusal in an interview with President Stearns, although he did state that he was not a member of the Communist Party. A majority of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure agreed with the president that failure to renew Judd's contract did not constitute a violation of academic freedom, but the members were unanimous that the procedure followed by the administration in this case was not "in the best interest of all concerned"—that is the university.

Since Judd did not have permanent tenure, the administration was probably under no obligation to cite reasons for not renewing his contract, but once it had cited them, the question arose: was Judd's academic freedom violated? In a vigorous dissent from the majority report of the faculty committee Dr. Henry W. Ehrmann and Dr. Morris E. Garnsey found that such a violation had occurred, and the Colorado A. C. L. U. agreed. So far as academic freedom is concerned, they pointed out, there is no difference between the privileges of faculty members on probationary appointment and of those with tenure. At the time that the regents retained the two former F. B. I. agents to screen the faculty, *The Nation* warned that academic freedom was endangered. As the Association of American Law Schools noted in a recent report, the evils of faculty loyalty investigations "cannot be escaped by the existence of benign underlying motives such as a desire to clear the university's name from irresponsible charges of being a 'hotbed of communism'. The very nature of the investigative process itself generates these evils." At Boulder no more than at Berkeley was the need for such an investigation convincingly shown. In the words of Messrs. Ehrmann and Garnsey: "We have been told that the investigation has come to an end, but after the evidence presented to us in this case, nobody can be certain whether it is an end without consequences or whether the consequences will be without end." The consequences will indeed be without end if the university continues to retain the services of outside investigators whose reports to the administration are not open to inspection or challenge.

A Clear and Present Danger

The recent statement of the Roman Catholic bishops on secularism and the schools deserves attention less for its definition of the role of religion in education, which merely reaffirms a position many times announced, than for its smearing of those who oppose this position as atheists, tyrants, totalitarians, and by inference Communists. The bishops contend of course that they are not enemies of public education, but in the context of such recent events as the McCarran committee's investigation of the New York schools, the statement appears to be a direct attack on the public schools. For while the bishops insist that the state has the duty "to help parents fulfil their task of religious instruction and training"—as by using public funds to finance auxiliary services for parochial schools—they obviously want something more. The theory of education they outline cannot be reconciled with the traditional American conception of the public-school system. To modify this system to the bishops' liking would mean to give them a share in its control which could easily grow into that "total monopoly of education" which they accuse those who oppose them of seeking.

Dr. Lawrence A. Cremin of Teachers College, Columbia University, as reported in the New York *Times* of November 20, believes the public schools must counter the charge that they are godless, irreligious, and totalitarian. If there is a lesson to be learned from recent setbacks for public education, it is, he says, that the friends of the public schools were ineffective because they were unorganized and failed to rally to the defense of the system until it was too late. The bishops have put the friends of the public schools on notice; it would be dangerous folly to ignore the warning.

Principles for Bases

UNESCO has disgraced itself by admitting into its fold General Franco, the murderer of Federico Garcia Lorca. Another poet, Jaime Torres Bodet, the Director General of UNESCO, surely finding it very awkward to preside over an organization which by this decision has lost its right to represent the world's free culture, resigned—though the immediate cause was the rejection of his budget. Five other members resigned explicitly on Spain.

Torres Bodet's own country, Mexico, by voting against Franco, maintained the high standard that has marked its dealings with Spain since the end of the Republic.

Mexico was joined by Uruguay, Burma, and Yugoslavia; the Soviet bloc left UNESCO some time ago. The abstentions—Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Israel, India, Netherlands, Luxembourg—were fewer than had been expected. The French Cabinet met on the morning of the vote to decide on its action. While it was obviously painful for France to back Franco in view of the outspoken opposition of eminent French writers and a large segment of the public, in the end it once more followed the lead of the United States. A few days before the vote the French Socialist Party officially declared that it was against Spain's admission, and the International Union of Socialist Youth has threatened to sever its connection with UNESCO.

The decision is shameful not only in itself but as one more illustration of the Western coalition's willingness to sacrifice its principles. To obtain a few military bases, Washington, London, and Paris are prepared to sell out the Four Freedoms. If they feel they must flatter Franco and keep him in power, they should at least have the grace to stop talking about their concern for the survival of the free world.

UNESCO Capitulates

Paris, November 20

After the vote admitting Spain to UNESCO, almost everybody connected with the organization looked crestfallen and ashamed. The majority of the delegates saw the strongest objections to the admission of Franco's domain but sheepishly voted for it as a result of the persistent bullying talk about "democratic solidarity." In vain was the counter-lobbying of the circle around Director General Torres Bodet, whose country was one of the few to hold out against Spain's entry. It is now asked whether the campaign against Torres Bodet, which has just started, will parallel the Trygve Lie affair. The mechanical, speechless balloting in favor of Spain had an ominous drill-room quality.

The atmosphere was poisoned further by a report widely circulated in the lobbies that John W. Taylor, Deputy Director General, had just received a message from Gagliotti, acting head of UNESCO's office in New York, that the McCarran committee had asked the State Department to submit a list of all United States citizens holding responsible positions in the organization. It was also reported that the United States delegation was planning to submit a draft resolution calling on all member states to check on the "suitability," with respect to UNESCO's aims and policies, of their nationals employed there. Torres Bodet strongly opposes this resolution, as he does the dismissal of the Spanish Republicans now employed by UNESCO, but the chances are that he will be overruled on both questions. The vote on Spain is generally regarded as a maneuver against Bodet.

A. W.

Mr. Bradbury Talks Back

Ray Bradbury, dean of American science-fiction writers, began to be annoyed during the campaign when Stevenson-stickered cars were hailed in the streets of Los Angeles with shouts of "Communist!" and Democratic candidates received threatening anonymous telephone calls and unsigned letters. His annoyance boiled over when he read in Hedda Hopper's film column: "Gene Fowler says, 'It's great that Americans have finally won an election.' " So in the best Hollywood tradition he published a full-page advertisement in *Variety* (November 6):

> TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
>
> You have won and the Democrats are now the opposition. And so it is time for someone to remind you of a few words that you yourselves spoke during the campaign concerning your fear of losing the two-party system.
>
> I remind you now that the two-party system exists and will continue to exist for the next four years. Every attempt that you make to identify the Republican Party as the *American* party I will resist. Every attempt that you make to identify the Democratic Party as the party of communism, as the "left-wing" or "subversive" party, I will attack with all my heart and soul.
>
> I have seen too much fear in a country that has no right to be afraid. I have seen too many campaigns in California, as well as in other states, won on the issue of fear itself, and not on the facts. I do not want to hear any more of this claptrap and nonsense from you. . . . I do not want any more lies, any more prejudice, any more smears. I do not want intimations, hearsay, or rumor. I do not want unsigned letters or nameless telephone calls from either side, or from anyone.
>
> I say this to you then: do your work and do it well. We will be watching you, we, the more than 25,000,000 Americans who voted without fear and who voted Democratic. We are not afraid of you, and you will not intimidate us. We will not be sloughed aside and we will continue to be the other half of that wonderful two-party system you wailed so much about losing.
>
> Leave that system alone, then; leave our individual rights alone; protect our Constitution, find us a way to peace, and we will be friends. But God help you if you lay a hand on any one of us again, or try to twist the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to your purposes. . . .
>
> Get to your work now, remember that you have good men in your party if you put them to work. But in the name of all that is right and good and fair, let us send McCarthy and his friends back to Salem and the seventeenth century. And then let us all settle down to the job of moving ahead together, in our own time, without fear one of the other, and with the good of everyone, each lonely individual in our country, firmly held in mind.
>
> [*Signed*] RAY BRADBURY

"Best Chance for an Armistice"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, November 23

THE Indian plan to break the stalemate on repatriation was welcomed by the majority of the delegations as a much-needed initiative, since the Korean debate, already six weeks old, had produced new evidence every day of incapacity and frustration. The plan was introduced by Mr. Krishna Menon in a sober and distinguished speech. From New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru put behind the proposal the whole authority of a foreign policy which has been aimed consistently at preventing an extension of the Korean conflict. He called upon all member nations "to exorcise the spirit of war and raise the banner of peace in the world." The Indian proposal thus acquired the character of a political action, of much greater importance than any previous resolution.

The plan contains seventeen precise proposals for dealing with the prisoners' issue, but it can be conveniently summed up in three: (1) force shall not be used against prisoners "to prevent or effect their return to their homeland"; (2) all prisoners of war shall be released to a Repatriation Commission composed of the four nations already selected as truce supervisors in the draft armistice agreement—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland—plus an umpire appointed by the commission to cast a deciding vote in the event of disagreement; (3) the disposition of any prisoners who have not been repatriated at the end of ninety days will be referred to the over-all political conference provided for in Article 60 of the draft armistice agreement.

The first question that everybody asked himself when Krishna Menon ended his speech was to what extent his plan was the result of soundings in Peking. Undoubtedly New Delhi had informed Peking of its central idea, though not of the details. The Chinese government, without taking a final position, did not discourage the Indian move; a dispatch from Peking substantiated this. In fact, it can safely be stated that India would not have acted without previous assurance of some degree of approval on the part of Communist China. A New Delhi report in the New York *Times* of November 22 described how Prime Minister Nehru's speech in the lower house of Parliament indorsing the Indian resolution "had been loudly cheered by more than 400 legislators representing all parties, *including the Communists*" (italics mine).

The "timely and constructive" character of the Indian move was underlined by British Foreign Secretary Eden when he spoke on Thursday. Mr. Eden used a resolute and convincing tone, very different from that of his first address. The British Commonwealth of Nations, with India assuming publicly the most active part but with Canada lending its full and important aid, was rapidly taking a position that threw American diplomacy off balance. The question now is to what degree will the open split between the United States on the one hand and Britain and Canada on the other remain open, in spite of great American pressure exercised in the last forty-eight hours. Interesting to watch also is the attitude, still undisclosed, of France and the Benelux countries. The Scandinavian and at least three Latin American states—Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico—support the Indian plan, and Argentina may join them. There is no doubt as to the attitude of the Arab-Asian bloc. The new alignment of states in the U. N., on which I have insisted ever since the Assembly opened, is facing its supreme test.

One fact now being weighed by the delegates in all its significance is the appointment of John Foster Dulles as the next American Secretary of State. Nobody challenges his long diplomatic experience; what worries the delegates is that Mr. Dulles has been the principal advocate of the policy of "roll-back," beginning in Asia. His nomination has intensified the belief that an extension of the war rather than a formula for peace will be the most likely result of General Eisenhower's visit to Korea. Anxiety has increased as the names and records of the other Cabinet appointees have become known. A number of delegations which have hitherto been amenable to the arguments of the American delegation now seem to have decided that there is no time to be lost and that they should vote for the Indian resolution.

There remains Russia. The adversaries of the Indian plan have been anxiously waiting for Russia to put an end to their difficulties by rejecting it. Criticisms in the Soviet press have been played up. One thing should not be forgotten: Russia's fixed policy of insisting on the strict textual observance of international agreements. While the Indian proposal formally upholds the principles of the Geneva convention, it makes certain broad concessions in their application. Therefore the position reaffirmed by Mr. Vishinsky in his two principal speeches will probably be maintained on the Indian resolution. But while not voting in favor of the resolution, the Russians can abstain, leaving it to the Chinese and North Koreans to accept Krishna Menon's proposals. And in case the Indian plan should fail, the Russians have seized the initiative by putting forward a new formula calling for an "immediate cease-fire" and the solution of the repatriation issue by the commission provided for in their earlier resolution.

Thus the question reverts to the West. At the moment of writing, India has been persuaded to make some amendments to meet American objections. But apparently the United States delegation is not satisfied. So the essential thing now is to save the Indian plan from further dilutions which would make it wholly unacceptable to the Communist bloc and finally ruin what Mr. Eden today described as the "best chance for an armistice."

After Rearmament, What?

BY PAUL A. BARAN

SWAMPED by campaign oratory that covered a lot of ground without offering anything really substantial, fascinated by the fireworks of a popularity contest that generated plenty of heat without shedding a great deal of light, the American public had little chance during the campaign to orient itself in the formidable economic problems that will confront the nation during the next few years. It may be worth while, therefore, at this juncture to take a fresh look at the hazy contours of our immediate economic future.

To see them in perspective, we must recall the historical background of the present situation. When the United States entered the war, its economy had recovered only incompletely from the great depression. It is true that the "built-in" economic mechanisms, combined with the revitalizing influence of Roosevelt's "we have nothing to fear but fear itself," had turned the tide in 1933, but at no time in the thirties was prosperity actually restored or large-scale unemployment eliminated. In the best year of the decade—1937—7,700,000 people were unable to find work, and even the outbreak of the European war with the resulting increase in American exports could not raise employment by more than 1,800,000. Not until all-out mobilization in 1942-43 did the tremendous expansion of government military procurement cause a rise in production that put to work nearly all our material and human resources.

Capacity output and full employment naturally brought a momentous increase in the nation's money income. A large part of these swollen earnings was siphoned off by higher taxes; the rest created a huge demand for all kinds of civilian goods, only a fraction of which could be met. The total output of the economy, together with such imports as were obtainable, was insufficient to satisfy both the government's gluttonous appetite for military supplies and the public's avidity for consumer goods and services. The discrepancy between the value of the civilian goods and services available and the nation's money income, after taxes, resulted in the accumulation of vast savings.

The magnitude of these savings, which reached the staggering sum of approximately 280 billion dollars by the end of the war, is the measure of the pent-up purchasing power that could be directed to acquiring producers' and consumers' goods as soon as peace released productive resources to civilian uses; it also indicates the extent to which the satisfaction of civilian demand had been deferred in favor of military requirements. This deferred demand was urgent and not merely because of the shortages of war time. It reflected in addition the dozen lean years preceding the war—the privations of those who were unemployed in the thirties and who at long last were financially able to satisfy some of their most pressing needs and the neglect of sorely required expenditures on the part of state and local authorities.

Thus the end of the war was followed by an unprecedented spending spree. Not only were some of the liquid assets accumulated by the population during the war spent on clothing, refrigerators, new houses, and automobiles, but the ratio of current saving to current personal disposable income, which had reached the exceptional height of 24.1 per cent in 1944, dropped to an average of 5.2 per cent in 1946-48. Simultaneously business investment reached tremendous proportions. After declining to as little as 11.2 billion dollars in 1943, it climbed to 42.6 billion in 1946 and to 47.6 billion in 1948 (all measured in 1951 prices).

The extraordinary domestic demand for goods and services of all kinds was supplemented by the relief and reconstruction requirements of the war-ravaged countries of Europe and Asia. Financed partly by American grants and loans, partly by liquidation of foreign-owned assets, foreign purchases in the United States in the years immediately after the war markedly exceeded American buying abroad.

The resulting boom rapidly developed its own momentum. To be sure, demand and output declined from their war-time peaks, and gross national production (measured in real terms) in the years 1946 to 1949 was some 10 per cent below the levels reached in 1944 and 1945. But with the bulk of the national product available to civilian users, the country's productive capacity underwent a prodigious expansion. According to an estimate made by the McGraw-Hill Department of Economics, manufacturing industries in the United States in January, 1946, had developed 131 per cent of their 1939 capacity and in December, 1950, 175 per cent.

Even with the help of hindsight it is difficult to specify the time at which this post-war boom would have "normally" run its course. The turning point might have come earlier but for the large net exports made possible by the Marshall Plan. By the middle of 1949, however, there were ample indications that the forces which had lifted the economy to such towering heights were rapidly losing their strength. The restocking process was coming

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to an end. Consumers' spending and business outlays began to shrink, returning gradually to more "customary" proportions. In the first half of 1949 unemployment had reached 3,200,000. It increased to 3,600,000 in the second half of the year and to 3,900,000 in the first half of 1950. The 1949-50 recession might have yielded to a short "secondary" burst of prosperity or might have haltingly degenerated into a major depression—it marked in any case the close of an exceptional phase in our recent economic past.

BUT then came Korea, and with Korea a new wave of spending that changed overnight the American economic scene. Even before the armament drive had actually affected the level of national income, the war-scared public started a run on the shops that caused a spectacular upturn in sales, profits, prices, and employment. In the second half of 1950 the increase in private buying reduced the number of unemployed by 1,400,000. The government took over where the hysterical consumer left off. Spending on all military procurement items, plus construction, has risen gradually from 1.2 billion dollars per quarter before Korea to approximately 10 billion per quarter at the present time—with all military outlays thus far nearly 100 billion dollars.

Needless to say, an expenditure of this size was a powerful "shot in the arm" to what in the summer of 1950 looked like an ailing prosperity. Accompanied by various measures to induce further expansion of industrial facilities—tax benefits to investing firms, government-guaranteed loans, and long-term purchasing contracts—it brought a new spurt of private investment equaling or even surpassing in intensity the post-war record set in 1948. The productive potential of the economy made giant strides. While total manufacturing capacity is now approximately twice as large as in 1939, some industries (electrical machinery and transport equipment) have more than quadrupled, others (chemicals, machinery) more than trebled, their facilities. And according to the latest survey made by the McGraw-Hill Department of Economics (published in *Business Week* on November 1), business is "planning to spend almost as much for new plant and equipment in 1953 as the record amount they're spending this year."

This investment program, once completed, will have created the industrial base for the realization of the military goals of the Truman Administration. No expansion of that industrial base or further building up of the military establishment would be required. Even a journal as fully committed to Mr. Acheson's policy of developing "situations of strength" as the London *Economist* expressed more than a year ago (October 6, 1951) strong misgivings about the scope and speed of the American armament effort. "In large measure," it said, "the present American program is designed for fighting Russia, not for staying at peace by deterring a Russian aggression. Certainly, when one imagines what expenditure at the rate of 65 billion dollars a year, continued for several years, will bring forth, when one hears talk of an air force of 140 groups, it is difficult to believe that it is not being overdone." In fact, if the armaments targets were not to be further raised, if the military machine that would be constructed by 1955 was to be just *maintained*, a considerable *reduction* of government spending on military procurement and construction would be in order. It may be anyone's guess how much it would cost to maintain in the style to which they have rapidly become accustomed an air force of 143 wings, an army of 21 full-strength divisions, a navy with 408 active combatant ships and 16 carrier groups, and a Marine Corps of 3 divisions—the present "modest" goals of the military establishment. There can hardly be much doubt, however, that it would be considerably less than what is being spent now on *building up* this armed might.

While the government's military spending should thus level off in the next two years and markedly decline thereafter, industry will have developed a productive capacity sufficient not only to maintain its present volume of military output but significantly to increase it. In the words of *Business Week* of October 11, ". . . by early next spring, we'll have enough capacity to keep arms deliveries on present schedules, turn out civilian goods at the top 1952 rates, and still have plant and raw materials to spare." Actually there is already excess capacity in the economy and there will be still more when currently planned investments are carried out.

Under such circumstances there can be little inducement to maintain the present level of business investment. In his latest—seventh—quarterly report the Director of Defense Mobilization complains that business men are growing chary of pushing too far ahead with the expansion program. They will certainly be even more hesitant a year from now when in the wake of a spectacular development in all branches of the economy they are faced with a plethora of new plant and equipment, of freshly overhauled productive facilities. Only under exceptional conditions would private and corporate investors go on sinking their funds in additional investment projects. If major technological innovations suddenly rendered much of our existing productive facilities obsolete, more modern and more efficient plants might have to be built, but large investments for this purpose are not likely to be called for in the near future.

Another chance to utilize our existing and growing excess capacity would be offered by a large expansion of consumer demand. It is frequently suggested that the end of the rearmament period may witness a development similar to that in the first three or four years after the war. Hardly anything is less probable. As *Business Week* correctly observed, "The situation now differs from the war period. Then scarcities of goods created an enormous back log of demand and savings were high. When the war ended and arms production dropped, cash-backed demand and savings were big enough to launch the greatest boom in history. Today, however, consumers can get all they want of practically anything." Of course, consumers' demand could be stimulated by tax reductions. And as the *U. S. News and World Report* (November 11) cheerfully announces, "Tax cuts, when they come, will not all go to those in the lower income brackets." Tax reductions for the top of the income pyramid, however, increase saving more than consumption.

Even a larger increase of consumer demand than could be reasonably expected would not come near the heart of the problem. The industrial capacity created during the last few years is not geared to the satisfaction of peaceful needs; it is designed for purposes of war. No doubt some of it could be converted to civilian production; the bulk of it would have to stand idle or be scrapped if "peace broke out." To quote *Business Week* of September 27: "For the first time in its history the United States is getting a full-time, national-scale arms industry," most companies of which "now treat their war output as a permanent part of their business." What is true of the outright munitions makers is no less true of enterprises less directly or less exclusively concerned with military production.

IT MAY be asked whether the huge capacity of our heavy industry could not be turned to peaceful uses other than the automobiles and dishwashers coveted by consumers; whether the armaments potential could not be diverted to the construction of schools and hospitals, to rural-electrification and slum-clearance programs. Undoubtedly, it could be. But once more, who would expect the Administration and the Congress elected on November 4 to appropriate funds in any other way but the Taber-Bridges way? *U. S. News and World Report* (November 14) provides again all the necessary "reassurance": "Public works will be laid down. 'Fair Deal' plans for river development, health insurance, disability insurance, housing, will be shelved. New ideas for spending will be met with a cold stare." Some of these things may possibly be undertaken by state and local governments, but the prevailing social and political climate is against it.

Thus there seems to be only one way to utilize our swollen industrial capacity and keep returns on investment high; that is to use the munitions-making capacity to construct more munitions-making capacity. Such a "solution" of the "post-armament" problem would obviously please not only the industrial interests involved but also the generals and admirals who clamor for more men, more ships, more "hardware." As *Business Week* of October 11 reported, "Apart from economic considerations [*sic!*], there's considerable sentiment in Washington for upping our mobilization goals." This sentiment is no pipe dream of a "lunatic fringe"; it has found forceful expression in the highest quarters. Henry H. Fowler, Director of Defense Mobilization, minces no words in urging still more armament and still more armament-making capacity: "We cannot attain security if we let success in our current achievements give rise to a false sense of optimism. . . . As the immediate production problems in meeting our military needs are met and overcome one by one, emphasis is shifting to the problem of rounding out the mobilization base—that is, insuring that we are in all respects ready to move rapidly toward full mobilization in the event that enemy aggression were to start an all-out war" (Seventh Quarterly Report to the President, October 1, 1952).

So full preparedness is first to be substituted for defense, and then a "rounded-out," modern preparedness is to succeed merely "full" preparedness. But would not such a policy ride roughshod over all the economy dreams of the Tafts and Bridgeses, of the Tabers and Millikins? Would it not run into their determined opposition? It might. Yet this opposition could be overcome, given the "right" international climate. And "adjusting" the "climate" to suit the makers and users of munitions would not be an altogether unprecedented proceeding. With matches and burning butts in ample supply, little is needed to make total armament culminate in total war. Is there any chance of preventing such a catastrophe before it is too late?

Coming in Early Issues

Politicians, economists, and commentators agree that a new approach to our foreign-aid program is urgently necessary. *The Nation* therefore plans to publish soon four articles on the problem by men who are authorities on its various aspects.

PAUL A. BARAN, author of the foregoing article, argues that Point 4 is not the answer.

PETER WEISS, executive secretary of the International Development Placement Association, describes the sabotage of development and reconstruction schemes in the U. N.

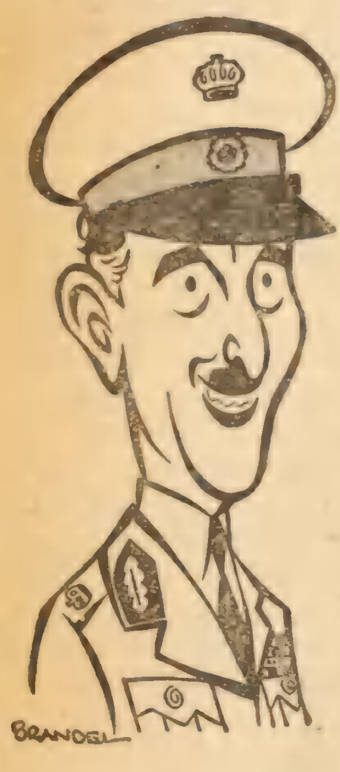
DR. W. ARTHUR LEWIS of the University of Manchester, a member of the commission which prepared the famous U. N. report on "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," presents the case for world economic development under U. N. auspices.

STRINGFELLOW BARR, whose new book, "Citizens of the World," deals with foreign economic policy, states the political problem: how to mobilize American support for a U. N. world reconstruction and development program.

Papagos Wins, Greece Loses

BY ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

MOST Americans were so absorbed by the results of the Presidential election here that they paid little attention to the November 16 election in Greece, in which Marshal Alexander Papagos sharply defeated Premier Nicholas Plastiras. Yet this country is largely responsible for the victory the right has scored in Greece. Writing from Athens, C. E. Sulzberger said in the New York *Times* that although the United States "has sought to avoid any *open* [italics ours] interference in the current political situation, this effort has not been 100 per cent successful." In the opinion of the newspapers supporting Plastiras it was not even 25 per cent successful; they regularly referred to Papagos as the "American candidate."



Greece is a mirror in which we may see how our foreign policy appears to the world, with its naked emphasis on military might and its hypocritical slogans about defending democracy. There is no doubt that we are engaged in a vital struggle with the Soviet Union. The phrase "cold war" is significant. We are waging war. War, by its very nature, causes a belligerent to accept any allies, however alien their ideas may be to his own. That we have done just this in our eagerness to win is only too clear. To Franco, Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Tito—to name but a few anti-democrats whom we support—we have now added General Papagos.

The transformation of Greece into a base of operations for war has been accompanied by execution, torture, and imprisonment for thousands of political prisoners. These things have gone on under the eyes of the representatives of the United States, who have been interested solely in building a "situation of strength." On February 19 of this year the Greek Parliament, with only eight E. D. A. (Communist-front) members dissenting, voted to have Greece join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. John E. Peurifoy, United States ambassador to Greece, who was in Washington at the time for discussions with President Truman, was reported in the press as saying, "The greatest asset of Greece is the fact that she could put ten divisions in the field, not next year but tomorrow if necessary." Mr. Peurifoy did not elaborate on the cost, economic and moral, at which this has been accomplished.

A dry and mountainous country, Greece is forced to maintain the greatest number of men under arms in relation to population of all the Atlantic Pact nations. According to figures compiled by the Mutual Security Agency, the percentage of men of military age in the armed forces is 21.6 in Greece, 21.2 in the United States, 17.8 in France, 15 in Britain, 9.7 in Holland and Norway. Americans generally believe that we are paying the huge costs of the Greek military establishment, and it is true that we have poured some two billion dollars into the country, most of which has gone into armament rather than rehabilitation, but Greece this year out of a total budget of $465,000,000 allocated $250,000,000 to the armed services. For the 200,000 homeless refugees less than a million and a quarter was provided, much less than the amount required to pay the salaries of Mutual Security Agency employees and of foreign "experts," American and British, invited to Greece to advise the government on how to gear the economy to war preparations. For peaceful reconstruction not more than $30,000,000 was allocated.

Instead of trying to build up a sound economy through Marshall Plan and Point Four aid, we have sacrificed Greece to logistics. And just as happened in nationalist China when American influence was dominant, the few wax fat while the masses starve. Sefton Delmar, writing in the London *Daily Express* of September 2, described the situation as follows:

> Close on a thousand million dollars has been spent by the United States since 1947, when it took over from us in Greece. Today much of that money is in the pockets of grafters. . . . The whole economic life of the country is being strangled to give the grafters and job hunters their cuts.

When I talked with Ambassador Peurifoy in Athens, he denied that there had been any widespread graft in the expenditure of American funds, but most of the people I consulted agreed with Mr. Delmar.

Whether or not we have permitted and encouraged graft and patronage in the use of our funds we have the

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reputation of having done so. The pro-government paper *Eleftheria* declared on February 1, 1952, that the big industrialists "have not only doubled their pre-war profits but are virtually evading taxation. . . . The wealthy classes take 45 per cent of the 'national cake' and pay only 7 per cent of the taxes." On April 17 an editorial in the same paper discussed the tragic effect of our economic and military "aid" on the Greek economy:

> To use the worn-out term "economic crisis" would not reflect the tragedy in our country. The whole population is conscious of a progressive asphyxia. It is not just one class or social stratum; everybody suffers, and this shows how dangerous the illness is. There was a time—after liberation—when only certain groups were affected. Now destitution is general—among salaried workers, peasants, and merchants. Unemployment is increasing, business is paralyzed, prices are going up, and the whole country is in despair. . . . Only the government and the American Mission do not seem to have grasped the dimensions of the tragedy.

The economy has been brought to the verge of collapse not merely by the armament burden but by the strangling of foreign trade. The cold war has cut Greece off from its traditional markets in Central and Eastern Europe, and American restrictions have blocked its exports to the United States.

SURELY the country was ripe for a change. General Papagos, leader of the reactionary Greek Rally, the Senator McCarthy of Greece, took advantage of the widespread popular discontent to launch a twofold attack on the government, charging it with being soft in dealing with Communists and incompetent in combating the economic crisis. The weak liberal, Prime Minister Plastiras, despite his pre-election promises to stop political arrests and grant a general amnesty, reacted to the attacks of Papagos the way the Democratic Party did here to McCarthy—by cracking down harder on the Communists. On March 30, 1952, Nikos Beloyannis, the Communist leader, was hastily put to death. When I went to Athens on August 23 of this year to represent several American labor unions at the trial of Antonius Ambatielos and eighteen other members of the Greek Maritime Union, I found that this was only one of a constant stream of political trials. As soon as the seamen were convicted, the trial of Manilos Glesos and another group of Communists started in the same courtroom. Our embassy, instead of urging Plastiras to carry out his promises, supported Papagos in his opposition to any leniency.

The trial I attended was a retrial of a military court martial held nearly five years ago which had condemned Ambatielos and nine of his co-defendants to death and the others to life imprisonment. Ambatielos had been in England during the war and had married a brilliant and attractive English school teacher. That he and his fellow-defendants are alive today is due to her efforts. After gaining the sympathy of British trade-unionists and members of Parliament, she incited a world-wide movement of protest which culminated in a request from Dr. Evatt, then president of the U. N. General Assembly, to the Greek government to spare the lives of the condemned men. As a result, a new trial was ordered.

It was conducted by a military court, with some of the judges in uniform. Three of the five judges had sat in the previous trial. All indicated by voice and gesture their detestation of the defendants and their lack of judicial objectivity. Indeed, they left little for the prosecuting attorney to do beyond interjecting an occasional question. The nominal charge was that the defendants had aided the rebel forces of General Markos during the civil war. Actually none of them had done any fighting, and the evidence that they had lent aid to the guerrillas consisted entirely of hearsay and opinion—they were believed to have done so because they were Communists. They did not deny that they were Communists. Ambatielos faced his judges boldly. He told them that they knew and he knew that he was not being tried for anything he had done but for his trade-union activities and political beliefs. Facing a death sentence, he declared that nothing they could do to him would make him abandon his convictions. One of the nineteen did recant and was let off with a light sentence. Ambatielos and the other nine who had previously been condemned to death were sentenced to life imprisonment, and the remaining eight given twenty years.

When I appealed to Ambassador Peurifoy, he pointed to his record against McCarthyism to prove his liberalism but insisted that in the tense conditions which followed the civil war it would be unwise to let "subversives" loose. In company with Elias Eliou, chief defense lawyer, and Oliver Stocker, an English barrister who represented British trade-unionists at the trial, I then presented to Minister of Justice Papasgyrou a protest against the handing down of life sentences by military courts in which no rules of evidence were observed and the bias of the judges was evident. He agreed with us but said that the government could do nothing about it at that time. The law under which these military trials are held was passed by Parliament, and the coalition's parliamentary majority was too small to risk a showdown on so touchy an issue.

British and American intervention in Greece can be justified only in military terms. Greece is the stopper of an overturned bottle filled with the red forces of the Balkans. If it fell into the hands of Communists or Communist sympathizers, these forces could flow down to threaten British and American interests in the Near East and Africa. With its airfields within striking distance of the Baku oil fields and Russian strategic bases, Greece is the victim of its geographical position.

The Pacific Defense Pact

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

Melbourne

ARE America and Britain moving farther apart in their approach to the problems of East Asia? And if so, are Australia and New Zealand tending to move with America away from Britain? These questions are raised by the recent diplomatic pother over the ANZUS pact. In itself the pact does not seem very important. Its terms were carefully phrased to exclude any firm or specific military commitment. Whereas in the North Atlantic treaty it is declared that an armed attack against any member "shall be considered an attack against them all," in this pact each party only agrees to regard such an attack as "dangerous to its own peace and safety," a nearly self-evident proposition. Each party agrees to "act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes," but the provision in the corresponding part of the NATO pact, that such action may include "the use of armed force," is significantly omitted from the ANZUS treaty. Why, then, does Britain set such store on membership, or at least on having an observer at ANZUS meetings?

The British case, as officially stated, is that if Australia and New Zealand were involved in war, Great Britain would immediately and automatically come to their help, and that therefore it can reasonably claim a share in making plans for their defense. The American reply is that British membership would invite applications from other European powers with interests in the Pacific, and that such an extension of the pact would, at least at present, be unwise. Both statements seem to lack candor and completeness. One must look behind them to get a clue to what Foreign Minister Casey of Australia calls "all this hullabaloo."

It is more than likely that Mr. Churchill's personal outlook and temperament partly explain Britain's persistence. For a long time the military plans of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand have been closely coordinated, with Britain in the leading role. It is true that this coordination broke down rather badly at the end of 1941, when there was sharp conflict between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Curtin on whether Australian forces should serve in the Middle East, in Burma, or at home. Britain was then physically unable to fulfil its defense commitments in the Pacific. But that experience probably left a deeper impression in Australia than in Britain, and now that Japan's power to threaten Australia has, at least temporarily, been removed, Mr. Churchill naturally wishes to make sure that Australia's military resources would again be integrated with those of the British Commonwealth. In the British view the Middle East is today of greater strategic importance than the Far East. Is Australia's first interest to be in defense plans for the Middle East, under British leadership, or in defense plans for the Pacific, under American leadership?

The military issues are of course inseparable from the political. How far is America likely to go in supporting the Chinese Nationalists? If, in giving them aid, American ships were attacked by the Chinese Communists, Australia, by the terms of the pact, would be morally obliged to give American forces military support. The pact stipulates that an armed attack on any of the parties includes an attack on "its armed forces, public vessels, or aircraft in the Pacific." There is a real chance, then, that Australia would be obliged to take part in a conflict resulting from political decisions it had no share in shaping. And the American political line might not coincide with the British.

Economic rivalries complicate the picture. If Japan is to play the military role that America wishes, its first need is a secure economic basis for the rebuilding of its military strength. That means bigger and better markets and assured sources of raw materials in Southeast Asia. But Britain fears the renewal of Japanese export trade, particularly in textiles. America enthusiastically sponsors Japan's participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Britain tries to postpone this evil day for Lancashire.

America's main interest in East Asia is strategic; Britain's is commercial. Britain wants both Australia and the United States to limit their commitments in East Asia so that they can give more attention to the defense of Europe and the Middle East.

This situation creates some delicate problems for Australia. Many Australians are troubled at any suggestion that they are moving away from Britain. In March, 1950, Mr. Spender, then our Minister for External Affairs, addressed Parliament on the urgent need for a military alliance in the Pacific. He was quite clear about the nature of the danger. It was not Japan but Communist imperialism in East Asia. "I would like to think Australia, the United Kingdom, and, I fervently hope, other Commonwealth countries might form a nucleus, and that such other countries as might wish to do so should be

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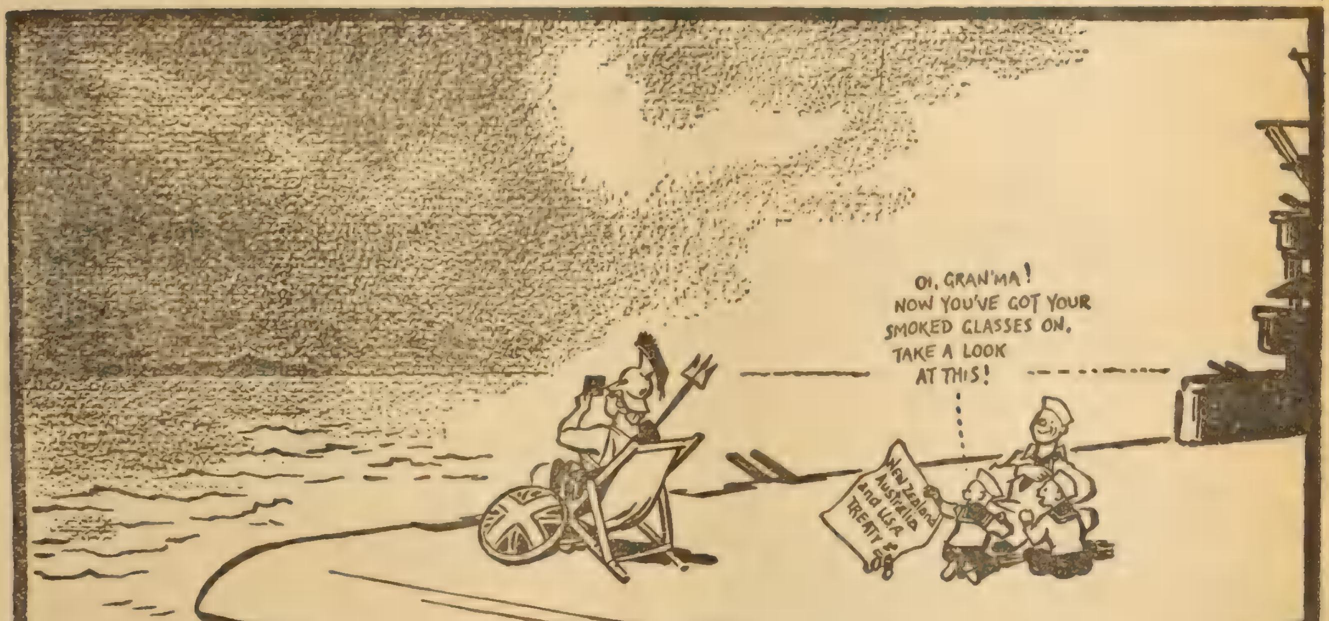
given the opportunity of associating themselves with it. . . . I have in mind particularly the United States of America, whose participation would give such a pact a substance that it would otherwise lack."

Mr. Spender made gallant but fruitless efforts through 1950 to achieve this sort of pact. It is now argued in some quarters here that since the British government showed no interest in Mr. Spender's project, it is acting rather arrogantly in protesting against its exclusion from ANZUS meetings. But in 1950 Mr. Spender probably found it as hard to arouse enthusiasm for his project in Washington, or indeed in Canberra, as in London.

It was Mr. Dulles who really brought the ANZUS pact to life, offering it as an American concession to Australia's fears of a rearmed Japan. But since the ratification of the Japanese peace treaty, giving Japan the right to unlimited rearmament, the ANZUS pact seems to have been reassigned its previous role—protection against communism. At Honolulu in August Mr. Casey said that there must be consultations "both in the political field and also in the military field," since there was "an existing threat" from militant Communist forces. He made no mention of any possible future threat from Japan, though this was the issue on which he and his colleagues a few months before had put the main emphasis. The Australian government is therefore largely responsible for the present confused state of public opinion here. It has given no clear and consistent statement on the nature of the danger against which ANZUS is to give protection, on the sort of measures that will be taken against this danger by the member countries, or on the volume of resources that will be made available to carry them out.

TO ANY small nation a foreign policy is a search for friends. If you have fewer than nine million people and are resolved to hold a country as big as the United States, when neighboring countries excited by new ambitions are nearly bursting with population pressure, then the search for friends is an urgent business. In the past we looked without question to Britain. But since 1941 Britain has been forced to contract its military commitments in this part of the world. Consequently, a growing number of Australians have come to feel that our national interests now demand the closest possible alignment with the United States. "This," they argue, "is America's century in the Pacific. We Australians are of the same race and we have the same political and social values. Let


OI, GRAN'MA! NOW YOU'VE GOT YOUR SMOKED GLASSES ON, TAKE A LOOK AT THIS!
New Zealand Australia and U.S.A. TREATY &c
Low

IN THE PACIFIC— WAITING FOR THE BANG

Courtesy London *Daily Herald*

us continue to honor and love Britain, and work closely with it wherever possible. But if, to our discomfort, Britain and America should take different lines in the Pacific, the strategic realities dictate our course. We should go along with America."

Some people, however, are still uneasy about any automatic or uncritical acceptance of American policy. America may not always be willing or able to deploy the same economic and military strength in East Asia that it has deployed in the last ten years. But the Asians will always be there and, almost certainly, in increasing strength. Moreover, in the event of a general war the existence of the ANZUS pact would hardly increase Australia's rating in America's over-all strategy. And if conflicts of interest should develop between Australia and Japan it is not inevitable that America would support Australia, since Japan is a much more valuable ally. It is again uncertain whether the military and economic policies America is following in East Asia today will be successful. Continued support for the Chinese Nationalists in Formosa and for the French-sponsored regime in Indo-China might deepen the hostility of all Asian nations, Communist or non-Communist, to the West. If this were to happen, the present struggle between the Communist and democratic blocs might become a struggle between East and West, with consequences more serious for Australia and New Zealand than for any other country of European stock. For we cannot, however difficult things become, withdraw from the western Pacific. We must learn to live in peace with our northern neighbors if we want to live at all. No outstretched Western hand, however friendly and strong, can give us lasting protection against a hostile Asia.

The real problem for Australia is not whether it can be friends with both America and Britain, for British and American interests have a basic unity whatever the secondary differences. It is whether we can accept American leadership and also be friends with our Asian neighbors. The maintenance of peace between America and Asia is perhaps Australia's deepest interest. Britain's present policy toward the new nations of Asia is pursued with a patience and calm, a readiness to negotiate and compromise, not always evident in expressed American attitudes. It would seem to be in Australia's interest to have the British view heard and heeded whenever possible in Anglo-American councils.

The Terror That Walks by Day

BY ST. CLAIR DRAKE

ON THE highlands of East Africa Mau Mau is a terror that walks by night. Its members are sworn to intimidate or assassinate all Africans who cooperate too closely with the 30,000 white people who run the country. They have also killed a few Europeans and have maimed the livestock of a good many. In *The Nation* of November 1 fear was expressed that the colonial authorities might use the current disorders as an excuse for cracking down on all native "agitators." This seems to have happened. Repression is a terror that walks by day.

In one week 104 African leaders were arrested, including the very moderate Eliud Mathu, sole Negro in the Governor's Executive Council; the eighty-one-year-old retired senior chief, Koinange, and members of his family; Jomo Kenyatta, head of the Kenya African Union, an organization which Sir Oliver Lyttelton, British Colonial Secretary, assured a questioner in Parliament was not proscribed; teachers, newspapermen, and minor officials of the K. A. U. Truck loads of Africans were picked up in broad daylight for screening. No one can quarrel with an attempt to restore order and wipe out groups of assassins, but repression has gone beyond this in Kenya.

Moreover, it has crossed the Atlantic and struck at African students here. In the middle of September, a month before the Mau Mau clean-up was begun, a United States Department of Justice agent went to Lincoln University in eastern Pennsylvania and asked to see a student called Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, a member of the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya, in which the Mau Mau movement is centered. When Mugo appeared, the agent grilled him for four hours. What do you know about Jomo Kenyatta? About Koinange? What do you think about Korea? How did you get here? What American Negroes have aided you? Mugo was frightened. He had just begun his junior year in college. What did this mean? On November 5 he knew. A letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service asked him to leave the country within thirty days or face deportation. As usual in such cases no reason was given. Mugo is still at Lincoln, and the president of Lincoln is trying to extract the reason for the order from the immigration authorities. Of course his deportation is really a part of the terror that walks by day.

ST. CLAIR DRAKE, co-author with Horace Cayton of "Black Metropolis," is a member of the faculty of Roosevelt College in Chicago. While in England on a Rosenwald fellowship in 1947 and 1948, he shared an apartment with Mbiyu Koinange, London representative of the Kenya African Union, whom he mentions in his article.

Mugo-son-of-Gatheru was born in Kenya in 1925. His father was a shaman, or witch doctor, but some of his relatives were Christians and they sent him to mission schools and to African "independent schools," where he received a smattering of primary education—when he was not tending goats. His family had ambitions for him; they hoped he would become at least a postmaster. When he was fourteen or fifteen the war broke out, and he saw the older boys forcibly drafted to work on the white men's farms. He saw others volunteer to fight in Burma. About this time he became a man and was circumcised and initiated into the "age class of 1940." These are the boys whom Negley Farson referred to in his "Last Chance in Africa" as the "troublemakers" in Kenya. But Mugo was not attracted to hooliganism or direct-action politics. He wanted to go to school. He finally got a chance to learn laboratory techniques at a government hospital in Nairobi. Meanwhile he was taking correspondence courses. He tried out his facility in English by writing letters to the editor of the white paper inquiring when Africans would be allowed to vote and when they would get better schools. He lost his laboratory post for being so presumptuous.

Mugo then took a job in the office of the *African Voice*, the official organ of the Kenya African Union, published in the Swahili language. Here his eyes were really opened; he learned about America, and he began to dream. He had access to exchange copies of the Chicago *Defender* and the Pittsburgh *Courier*. He learned that Kenya's most distinguished educator, Mbiyu Koinange, president of Kenya Teachers College and the idol of all would-be intellectuals, was a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia, Ohio Wesleyan, and Columbia University. He found out, too, that in 1938 there had been a great feast and ceremony in the Kikuyu reserve in honor of an American Negro named Ralph Bunche who was visiting East Africa on a research fellowship. Most amazing of all, he discovered that all the little native churches and schools that dotted the reserve—the African orthodox churches and the African independent schools—were connected with America; in 1925, the year he was born, the elders of the tribe had brought over an American Negro bishop who had stayed with them for fifteen months helping to set up their denomination. Mugo determined to go to America for his education. Among the 5,000,000 Kenya Africans there were six college graduates but not one doctor or lawyer —this after nearly seventy-five years of British tutelage.

Mugo began to correspond with people in America. In 1948 a group in Chicago, the Afro-World Fellowship, whose president was Edith Sampson, now a delegate to the U. N. Assembly, obtained a scholarship at Roosevelt College for him. But Mugo did not arrive when he was expected. Instead came a cablegram saying the Kenya Director of Intelligence and Security had refused to give him the "good-conduct certificate" he needed for a visa. He had his certificate from the chief of police stating that he had never been convicted of a crime, but this was not enough. He was a "bad nigger"—he had written letters to papers saying Africans should vote and have better schools.

THE Kikuyu were angry to hear that Mugo-son-of-Gatheru was barred from the America that had trained their first college graduate, Mbiyu Koinange. Njeri, the strong-willed, completely illiterate head of the women's section of the Independent Schools Association, dictated a sharp letter to the editor of the Nairobi *East African Standard*. "Why," she asked, "should some people in this country be refused permission to accept scholarships offered to them by Americans in the United States?" The editor answered her in a page-long editorial headed "Educating the African Abroad." One paragraph ran:

> There is plenty of evidence to show that African undergraduates abroad have fallen victim to influences which operate neither for their own benefit nor for the ultimate advantage of the countries from which they come. . . . That a few Africans should be deprived for a time of the opportunity these scholarships seem to them to present is less important than that some should be turned into agents of forces abroad which have the express purpose of destroying democracy in general and the British Commonwealth and Empire in particular, and then return to spread evil doctrines and unrest among ignorant elements in the population.

The editor added that if any students were allowed to leave they should be "hand picked." "No young African student," he said, "should be allowed to go abroad for educational purposes in present conditions without government approval of his suitability for such a privilege."

Mugo did not argue. He took a boat for India. As a British subject, he did not need a visa for India. He attended a Catholic high school there for a year, studying to pass the college-entrance examinations set by Cambridge University. Then his hardworking mother, who

UNDER-PRIVILEGED
MASSES OF
THE WORLD

could neither read nor write but who wanted Mugo to be a great man, sent him 500 rupees with the message: "Go to England, son, and try from there to make it across." Mugo went. In England nobody asks for a "good-nigger" certificate. The American embassy gave him a visa for a six months' visit and he went to Chicago. After a summer at Roosevelt College he spent a year in Florida at Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune's school. Everybody liked him there and he made good grades. The Immigration Service gave him a student visa.

Unfortunately Mugo lost his passport in the summer of 1951 and had to get a new one from Kenya. Thus the Kenya government knew where he was. Mugo breathed a sigh of relief when it did not say, "Come home." He was obviously not guilty of any immigration irregularities. His visitor's visa had been changed to a student's visa. He felt secure. He even wrote the Director of Education in Kenya for advice on the courses he should take to qualify as a teacher at home.

Then he accepted an offer from Dr. Horace Mann Bond to go to Lincoln University to complete his education. It is probable that this move led the Kenya police to decide to bring him back, for Lincoln is considered the fountainhead of what is known in Africa as "Gold Coastism." It is usually Gold Coastism that African white settlers mean when they accuse someone of communism.

The Gold Coast—its name changed to Ghana—will soon be a self-governing Commonwealth nation. Gold Coastism in Kenya would mean that 5,000,000 Africans would vote where none vote now and would elect a black legislature. A black Cabinet would be running the country for the benefit of 5,000,000 Africans instead of a white Cabinet running it for the benefit of 30,000 whites. Gold Coastism would mean free compulsory education for blacks as well as for whites. It would mean freedom of speech and assembly. It would mean letting Africans occupy some of the thousands of acres in the fertile, healthy highlands, now reserved for Europeans.

Lincoln University is blamed for Gold Coastism because one of its graduates, Kwami Nkrumah, returned from America to become head of the Convention People's Party in the colony and then Her Majesty's first Negro Prime Minister. Nobody in Kenya bothered Mugo, however, until the beginning of his second year at Lincoln. Was it when the terror began to walk by day that the government decided Mugo should come home?

Mugo does not believe in either communism or secret terrorism, but he hopes for an ever-increasing measure of democracy. I spent many hours talking with him last summer at Lincoln's Summer Conference on African Affairs. His thoughts were on how to pass French; how to enjoy football, which he did not understand too well last year; how to meet some girls—they have none at Lincoln; how to make high grades so that he could enter a graduate school. Now he is worrying over what will happen to him back in Kenya. If he attacks Mau Mau, he may become one of its victims. If he is noncommittal, the settlers will throw him into jail. Even the new McCarran act provides that the Attorney General may suspend an expulsion or deportation order if he believes that the person will return to persecution or physical violence.

The Kenya authorities know that Mugo is neither Mau Mauist nor Communist. Are they simply determined that he shall not graduate from Lincoln? Or could it be that American immigration officials cannot distinguish Gold Coastism from communism and have ordered Mugo deported as a "subversive"? Mugo-son-of-Gatheru is waiting to see whether the Statue of Liberty means what he thought it meant.

What Happened Out West

The Doubting Mountain States

BY THOMAS C. DONNELLY

Las Vegas, New Mexico

THE night before election my wife and I sat with our only son in the bus station of our little home town of Las Vegas, New Mexico. The bus was to take him to Raton, 100 miles north, where he would join two other boys, ending a furlough, bound for Korea. He had had sixteen weeks of training since his graduation from college in June.

As we made light conversation to conceal the heaviness in our hearts, we recalled that at the time the draft law was passed, Congress had talked about guaranteeing every boy at least a year of training in this country before sending him to the front. I thought, too, of the campaign speeches of Truman and Stevenson, with their undertone of despair about the Korean situation. Eisenhower's were more hopeful; he would try to bring the bloody stalemate to a fruitful conclusion. It was the only buoyant thought we could summon as we said our good-bys.

I don't say Korea was the chief factor in the election result in the Rocky Mountain West, but certainly no

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issue moved people more deeply. Americans have a right to expect their leaders to have the vision to conceive of a way out of stalemates. Eisenhower sensed this, and spoke up. The best Stevenson could do was to approve Harry Truman's Korean policy.

The Communist challenge at home and around the globe poses another test for our leaders. Millions of Americans, including us rednecks of the Rocky Mountains, felt Truman had not met the challenge. This feeling of the Administration's inadequacy provided the basis for McCarthyism.

Secretary Acheson had the job of inspiring confidence in the sure-footedness of our foreign policy. He is suave and well-informed, but he lacks the primal force to convince Westerners. Truman's brassy self-confidence, replacing his once becoming modesty, and his tendency to testiness eventually caused us to see him as he is. Somewhere along the path of the past seven years, by quietly adding dozens of little impressions together, we have taken his measure and found him wanting. Could Stevenson fill the role? For all his intellect and gift of words, he was bound to Truman. As President, gentleman that he is, he would have felt a deep obligation to Truman, been surrounded by Truman advisers.

For these reasons we wanted a change—a new will, a new mind to find better solutions for present and future Koreas. Ike may or may not have what is needed; at least he was a hopeful alternative. It is a long way from New York to the mountain-meadow country of Las Vegas, but Ike came through to us as the kind of man Westerners have always found good to have around in a gun fight. No slick pro—but we have had enough of them for a while.

Truman's contentions that the country would lose its social gains under the Republicans, that Eisenhower's election would lead to another depression—arguments which he had used successfully in his 1948 "whistle-stop, give-'em-hell" campaign—fell on unbelieving ears in 1952. Perhaps the long continuance of prosperity in this country had made us insensitive to the danger. But also, deep in the viscera of many, and not only Western ranchers, was a conviction that the nation needs to pause before adopting new welfare programs and learn to administer more efficiently the programs already in force.

Another widespread belief was that the national government was no longer in the hands of first-raters; indeed, some of us wondered whether our officials were good second-raters. Many of them seemed to lack simple honesty and morality, to say nothing of competence. As a people we have become inured to the absence of these qualities in a few high places, but there had been too many Caudles.

The outcome of the election in the Rocky Mountain states was apparently not greatly affected by state and local considerations. A mighty tide was coming in. It surged over the Rockies and the high inter-mountain plains as irresistibly as it rolled over the Middle Western prairies. Although here and there Democratic candidates running for local office or for Congress survived, most of them were carried away by the flood.

Continued federal economic intervention is vital for the future of the Rocky Mountain West. Our economy is semi-colonial. Long-term federal investments are essential to the development of the area. Whether we stay in the Republican column in 1956, even in 1954, will of course depend on Eisenhower's recognition of our legitimate economic aspirations. In 1952, however, we were swayed by other things.

Republicans Sweep the Coast

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

Los Angeles

IN THE eleven states of the Far West, Eisenhower and Nixon made a clean sweep, while four years ago only Oregon went Republican. It is obvious that the national tidal wave for Ike explains his capture of the West's entire electoral vote. In the three Pacific Coast states other Republican candidates benefited from Ike's personal triumph.

In Washington, Eisenhower ran ahead of Stevenson in every county. The vote in Seattle and other industrial areas indicates that labor did not give full support to the political indorsements of its leaders. And apparently the General's queer talk about public power had no adverse effect on his majority.

However, Henry Jackson prevented Harry Cain from rejoining the reactionaries in the United States Senate. Jackson seems to have built an immunity against political landslides in 1946 when he was the only Democratic Congressman to survive the Republican victory in his state. Stressing Korea and foreign affairs as the most important national problems, Jackson was able to present a voting record that paralleled Ike's internationalist views.

Anomalously, Washington will have two Democratic Senators, but its delegation in the House will be Republican six to one. Four Republican Representatives were reelected easily; two newcomers beat their Democratic opponents in rather close contests. Seeking the new post of Congressman-at-large, Don Magnuson, a Democrat, won a close race against Al Canwell, head of the legislature's subversive-activities committee.

Governor Arthur Langlie was elected for an unprecedented third term by a substantial margin over an able Democrat, Hugh Mitchell, who gave up his seat in Con-

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DAVID G. FARRELLY, assistant professor of political science at the University of California in Los Angeles, was co-editor of "The Politics of California."

gress to make the race. For the first time since 1928 Republicans will hold the offices of lieutenant governor, attorney general, and state treasurer. Furthermore, when the final returns are in, the G. O. P. may control both houses of the legislature. In this event there may be a Congressional redistricting which will affect Washington's at-large seat in the 1954 election.

THE Republican margin of victory in Oregon was wide—nearly two to one. Truman carried half the counties four years ago; Eisenhower won them all.

All four Congressional seats were retained by the Republicans, as were also the three state offices on the ballot. Senator Wayne Morse will not come before the voters until 1956, but his "declaration of independence" was an affront to conservative Governor Douglas McKay, whom Eisenhower has selected for Secretary of the Interior.

Richard and Maxine Neuberger were returned to their respective posts in the state senate and house, leading the ticket in Multnomah County (Portland). One of their favored measures won approval by the voters—a proposal for higher weight-mile taxes on trucks.

In California a close race was expected between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but the General amassed a lead of more than 600,000 when he captured 56 per cent of the two-party votes. Southern California voted proportionately heavier for Ike than did the rest of the state. The ratio there was 7.3 votes for Stevenson to every 10 for Ike, while in the central and northern sections it was 8.6 to 10.

Winning all but nine of the fifty-eight counties, the Republicans reached the peak of a gradual climb to success. In the four Presidential elections starting in 1940, their candidates won first seven counties, then twelve, then thirty, and finally forty-nine this year. Over the last dozen years there has been a steady decline of Democratic Presidential voting strength from 58 to 44 per cent.

Of California's twelve largest counties—with more than 100,000 voters each—Eisenhower carried nine and lost three by narrow margins. Eleven of these counties contain a total of 700,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans. Yet these Democratic counties gave Ike nearly a half-million majority on November 4. Los Angeles County contains 40 per cent of the state's electorate. Despite a registration advantage of a third of a million Democrats, this county gave Ike a quarter-million majority.

In two areas in the state, islands in a Republican sea, Stevenson managed to attract more support than Eisenhower. California's capital was the center of a four-county Stevenson area in the Sacramento Valley; Fresno, of a tri-county isle in the San Joaquin Valley. It is significant that the Sacramento *Bee* and the Fresno *Bee,* two McClatchy papers, gave strong backing to the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. They were particularly critical of Vice-President Nixon from the time of his nomination.

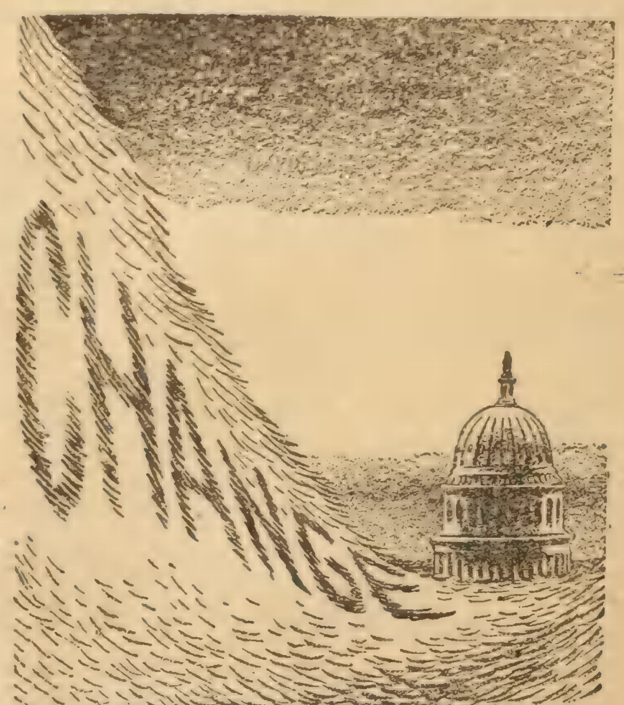
Congressional contests produced mixed results, but there was a net increase of five, possibly six, Republican Representatives. It may be suggested, therefore, that the Golden State is chiefly responsible for the G. O. P.'s slender majority in the House.

The Nixon campaign techniques were used successfully by Joe Holt to defeat liberal Dean McHenry in one of the Los Angeles races. Nixon's shadow, Pat Hillings, won easily over President Woodrow Wilson's grandson, W. W. Sayre. If Nixonism is not restrained, few decent men will run for public office, risking personal smears. There is talk of a libel and slander suit against Joe Holt. Holt and Hillings are easily the least qualified members of the California delegation.

Nominated by both major parties, Senator William Knowland received more than three million courtesy votes. In both houses of the state legislature the Republicans increased their already preponderant majority.

On the twenty-four propositions before the voters of the state, the decision was generally conservative. For example, two anti-subversive measures were passed, and two proposals billboarded as "pension-dictator poison" were defeated. By a good margin California supported a change in its cross-filing law: henceforth a candidate will be required to list his party affiliation in the primary elections. This will obviate some of the confusion that has existed.

The nation-wide factors that produced a Republican victory throughout the country were operative in California. In voting for Eisenhower, California sided with the winner as it has done in every Presidential election in this century except in 1912.



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Promise in the South

BY ELIZABETH STEVENSON

NORTH Georgia has a careless beauty in the fall. I drove north from Atlanta recently and enjoyed again the stubble fields, the broom sage, the red earth. The oaks, the hickories, the maples, and the sweet gums burned somberly in the lower valleys. In the high valleys they flamed into extremes of yellow, crimson, and hard-bitten purple. At Tallulah Gorge the colors reached their peak. The bold rocks and bright leaves of the cliff were a fine exhilaration.

Along the winding road from Atlanta to the mountains were small farms which had a way of melting into the background of the woods and hills. The sign of autumn was on the farms—pockets of dry-rustling corn, fields of cotton picked once but showing white where a second picking was in order, cotton piled on farmhouse porches, baled cotton stacked by cotton-gin houses.

But on the whole there was less cotton than there used to be. The new signs of the time were long, neat chicken houses, newly prepared pastures, kudzu vines reclaiming gullies, beef cattle in green fields, big Hampshire hogs, apple orchards and apple-loading stations by the railroad tracks. More of the farmhouses were painted than not. Many fields showed signs of special care. The consolidated schools looked prosperous; so did the small country churches.

The land has changed. The very look of it is the look of a hopeful South. And change in the South is urban as well as rural. It belongs to the small bright towns as well as to the cities. Twenty years ago the cities and towns were as drab, as dingy, and as hopeless as the farms. Today the ferment of a new promise operates in city streets and country roads at an almost equal pitch.

I took a conscious look again, as I went north, at the small towns of the hill country. Each has its earmark of the old—an ancient hotel, an anachronistic courthouse, or a brave monument to the dead past.

Yet there is new life in these towns. In addition to the bustle of the prosperous farm trade that makes the side walks hum on Saturday afternoons, there is usually, a mile or two outside the town, a new industrial plant. Set back from the road in its own landscaped grounds, designed for function and for beauty, the plant is running full blast. And it is manned by union labor.

THE SOUTH has had two or three revolutions in the last twenty years. None has been more remakable than the unionization of its industry. And nobody has played a more interesting part in this revolution than Lucy Randolph Mason, who for all these years of change was a representative of the C. I. O. in the South. Her low-keyed account of her twenty years' coming and going—in and out of most of the small towns and some of the cities of the South—has just appeared in her book, "To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the C. I. O. in the South" (Harper, $3).

The C. I. O. could have had no better representative than she. In the midst of the labor rough-and-tumble, she had the advantage—immeasurable in this region—of a Southern voice, a Southern background, and an innate understanding of the Southern temperament. She had also a passionate dedication to the legal and moral rights of labor, and the desire to lessen the conflicts between the white and the Negro workers with whom she worked. During these years she valiantly used her own personal advantages to gain these rights for labor and, furthermore, to educate both workers and employers in just what these rights amounted to.

The story is heroic, but it is written without heroics. It is just a sort of log-book of cases. First one plant, then another, is checked off, most of them as success stories. The reader sees the heroism in Miss Lucy, although perhaps she herself did not. There is a note of quiet humor, too, that adds a flavor to her story. The book has no pretensions to literature. But it should be read.

Her example is eloquent in itself. One can see her in the late 1930's—often alone—coming into one hostile town after another, and persuading, standing firm where necessary, but as often as not converting a recalcitrant sheriff to performing his own duty by the gentle pressure of her manner. Her story is an example of the South generating its own change. It is the South, in the person of a Virginia woman of good family and good heart, calmly making a revolution. And the South—after some skirmishing and momentary ugliness and violence—has accepted the revolution as if there had not been one.

Lucy Mason calls to mind other Southern bringers of change, most of them anonymous. How many good men and women have worked in this state to make possible the excellent work of Georgia's health department—one of the best in the country today! How many have labored, as did Margaret Shannon of the Atlanta *Journal*, to raise the standards of the country schools; how many, to build the new city hospital for Atlanta's Negro citizens—perhaps too little and very late, but yet a good in itself! How many have worked to gain such an end as the Negro police of the city, now an accepted and approved part of the Atlanta scene!

IT IS IN THE CITY—in Atlanta—that one can see and hear and feel best the ferment which is changing the South before one's eyes. Here is a city which has yet a lingering trace of the manners and mores of the small staid town it once was but which is every day bursting its bonds by new growth, new inventiveness, and new creativeness.

It has just dawned on its citizens, as they build a new expressway, or push out the city boundaries, or reorganize the city high schools, that the only limit here to opportunity—in business, the professions, labor, or welfare—is the limit set by ambition or conscience. The final results are in doubt. The change may go bad. Yet in the meantime material change brings on a sort of moral ferment.

Remembering the dulness of Atlanta twenty years ago, it is pardonable in the Atlanta citizen to be proud of a symphony orchestra created out of nothing and now strong, exuberant, and enduring. It is pardonable—with the underdog, family pride of a Southerner—to call attention to the city's arena theater, its civic opera company, its two ballet groups, and its excellent concerts.

The Library downtown has a new look, and we have several new branches. The Bookmobile carries books down all the remote roads of Fulton County. We read separately as yet, but the new Negro Branch has a vitality that some of the white ones lack: it is filling two or three functions, being a community and social center as well as a book lender.

Our colleges and our universities prosper, and in the fashion of good schools raise new questions and new questioners. They are leaveners, in both our white and our Negro community.

White and black—the words make one draw up short from the easy plunge into enthusiasm. There are so many obvious inequalities and injustices. Any short ride on a city trolley will display them: in housing, schooling, and in the visible ugliness of segregation. One rages at injustice. Yet one does not rage alone; in that there is hope—hope that the South can creatively solve its own greatest problem.

The mold has cracked. The situation is fluid. Most Southerners, whatever their prejudices, expect change. And the expectation aids the new thing. Laws do something, but the disposition to accept the law, or to accept the new and precarious custom, accomplishes much more. The influence of all real education, all true religion, all honest reform, in the South urges constructive change.

We have with us still—and we cannot dismiss or dispose of the fact—ugly prejudice, hypocritical and unfair legislation, and, at least in Georgia, a state administration which is trying to put the brakes on change.

Yet when he was up for office last, Governor Herman Talmadge lost in the popular vote; Representative James C. Davis of the Fifth District lost in the popular vote; the late Eugene Talmadge, the last time he ran, lost in the popular vote. They won, all three, only because the antiquated and unfair county-unit system of counting votes in the Democratic primary, as if in some miniature and stacked electoral-college system, was in effect. In the recent election the Talmadge administration attempted to extend this system to general elections by means of a constitutional amendment. It used smears, fabrication, and prejudice to gain its end. But it failed. And the failure is significant. The desperation of the demagogues betrays their fear. They are on their way out. They are beginning to look like mastodons in a world that has no proper place for them.

The South needs an infusion of competitiveness. But in bringing in the methods of the Northern industrial society, it is to be hoped that the South can temper some of these elements. The wrong of the South has been widely trumpeted. Not so well known is the good of the South. One native good is a sort of lazy savoring of life—a trait which could easily be crowded out by a too highly geared industrialism. Another native good is the normal Southern informality and sociability, which is rare in the abstracted, neatly patterned, progressive rabbit warrens of the North, where the machine has for so long been dominant.

And what seems most valuable to a Southerner weighing the good of the past against the good of the future, is the stubborn way a Southerner has—white or black, it makes no difference—of looking at people and events. It is a personal way. We are not statistical. We are not abstract. When we hate or when we love, it is a personal hate or love. You can respect a personal enemy in a way that you can never love an abstract neighbor. It would be a pity in the big change to lose that quality. If it is kept, it may give a different direction, or at least a slightly different flavor, to contemporary American industrialism. In its own re-creation, the South may contribute something of value to the national whole.

Thin Gruel

IDEAS OF THE GREAT ECONOMISTS. By George Soule. Viking Press. $3.50.

ECONOMIC ideas are important in the formulation of public policy. A minute fraction of the voting population reads the difficult books economists write. Stimulated by these two facts, Mr. Soule, author of many previous works, popular and learned, has produced a handbook of economic ideas. In some ways the product is appealing. Although Mr. Soule's style is by no means innocent of several varieties of cliché, it is on the whole simple and direct. The dominating conceptions of economists from Aristotle to John Maynard Keynes are quickly summarized in just over two hundred pages. Snippets of biography and bits of economic history garnish the dish. If the book is really addressed, as the dust cover claims, or rather admits, to the "intelligent layman who has neither the time nor the desire to read the great source works on economic theory," it will at least leave him a little the wiser for reading it.

The sources of my dissatisfaction with this small essay on large ideas are popularization in general and economic popularization in particular. Anyone who purports to explain another person's ideas, though his heart be pure, his head clear, and his skill great, inevitably interposes his own mind between those of the reader and the writer. Try as he may, he cannot reproduce the proportions, emphases, and effects of the original. When a considerable span of time separates the original writer and his popularizer, changes in language and idiom add to the difficulties of accurate exposition. Even when approximate justice is otherwise rendered, the reader misses the sense of struggle with refractory materials, the occasional obscurities and even contradictions which help to distinguish the man with the new idea. Finally, the reader is cheated of the literary style of a personality locked in combat with the thought and problems of his time. For this the clear, unruffled, impersonal prose of the good expositor is no adequate compensation.

Mr. Soule's book illustrates these difficulties. He conveys to the reader little idea of the divergent intellectual tempers of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Marx. The label "classical economists" glued to all three completely conceals Smith's urbanity, Ricardo's intense intellectual fire and passion for abstraction, and Marx's odd mixture of metaphysics and revelation. In justice to Mr. Soule, be it said that this task is impossible. To appreciate the ideas of great economists, to savor their complexity, and to tell them apart, one must read them. A score card is no substitute.

The popularizer in economics faces two additional hazards. The terms of his charter, the contents of his implicit promise to his public, compel him to simplify, abridge, and make easy. Even momentary difficulty is a breach of faith. Yet a great deal of economics is abstruse. Understanding demands command of diagrammatic, statistical, and mathematical techniques. Mr. Soule's pre-masticated prose, quite adequate to a summary of Mun and Adam Smith, cannot cope with the mathematical economists. Neither are they omitted. We are told simply that the mathematical economists use mathematics. For this the author may be excused: few economists are really at home in mathematics. It is less easy to excuse a treatment of Ricardo which must make any intelligent reader wonder what Ricardo really added to economic theory, a summary of Marx which makes of his theories of value and economic development two apparently unrelated pieces of doctrine, and a chapter on Keynes which pretends to but never achieves clarity. Yet the obligation to make economics easy is so overriding that it is hard to see how Mr. Soule could have avoided these and similar errors.

The second hazard a controversial subject encounters is that the writer's prejudices will distort his narrative. His space is limited and his materials varied. Can he fail to favor his own opinions? Mr. Soule's biases are clear to the economists. Are they equally plain to non-economists? His treatment of monopolistic competition and price theory in general is curt and unfair. On the other hand his respect for Veblen and the institutionalists is evident. In these opinions, be it noted, he is in a minority among economists. Yet even though he regards favorably the National Bureau of Economic Research as an extension of institutional methods, his need to simplify prevents him from explaining the statistical technique which lies at the heart of the bureau's business-cycle research.

These critical remarks are addressed less at Mr. Soule's quite adequate specimen of a dubious product than at popularization as it is practiced. Simplified texts are no substitute for living prose. In economics popular writing cannot teach specialized methods.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Political Parable

THE DEVIL THAT FAILED. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

AN INTELLIGENT and inoffensive although somewhat inhuman young college professor named Alan Cleaver wakes up one day in a bewilderingly strange sanitarium, to be informed that during the period of his unconsciousness he has become thirteen feet tall and now weighs some twenty-two hundred pounds.

His attendants—whom he comes to look upon as his captors, since they told him incomunicado and apparently intend to use him as a subject for mysterious scientific experiments—are an odd group of Hungarians led by the irascible and magnetic Dr. Sertorus. The doctor's assistants include Dr. Bethlen, a dandified little erotomaniac whose conversation is built on his conquests, and the two nurses Miss Arkol, frenziedly eager to copulate with a "giant," and Miss Dirack, anxious for reasons of her own to mother the patient.

A trivial incident leads Cleaver to suspect that he is more Sertorus's victim than his patient, but it is not until he comes upon a copy of "Gulliver's Travels" that he hits upon the idea of conducting a series of experiments of his own to enable him to verify his suspicions.

In the meantime the interplay of argument between Sertorus and Cleaver and the unusual relations that come into being between Cleaver and the attendants who are less than half his size combine to create an atmosphere that is at once suspenseful and intellectually intriguing. One is of course tempted to describe the book as Kafkaesque, but I hesitate to do so for several reasons.

In the first place, the mention of Kafka seems to suggest an atmosphere of gloom and helplessness, whereas Mr. Samuel is essentially an optimist, as the title of this novel indicates. In the second place, the bracketing of a contemporary novelist with such a formidable name as Kafka carries with it an invidious connotation which in this case would be unfair to Mr. Samuel, whose supple prose and wry wit are nicely blended with a story-telling gift that is all his own.

As for his parable, which it is difficult

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BOOKS OF 1952
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to discuss adequately without revealing the tricky ending, I have the feeling that it is essentially political. Sertorus, the devil who fails, can never really conquer Cleaver the intellectual; and his dominion over his subjects, maintained by a shrewd combination of hypnotism and bribery, is constantly threatened by the danger that the captive intellectual, his own eyes opened, will succeed in opening the minds and hearts of the devil's subjects.

I am perfectly willing to admit that my interpretation of the parable may be wide of the mark and that other readers may come up with explanations that are either narrower or broader. But this is only proof of the large audience to which Mr. Samuel is entitled, and it constitutes one more reason why he should not be coupled with Kafka, who has unfortunately himself become in a sense the captive of the critics who explicate him to pieces and forewarn the reading public of his profundity and portentousness. For "The Devil That Failed," despite a few arid spots and an ending that is not fully satisfactory in relation to the expectations that have been aroused, is good fun and good reading, and not the least of its merits is the lightness and ease with which it treats symbolically of some very important matters. HARVEY SWADOS

The Uses of Mediation

MEETING OF MINDS. By Elmore Jackson. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.50.

HERE is a book which should be within easy reach of everyone, statesman or plain citizen, who is seeking guide lines to world sanity and world peace. "Meeting of Minds" is a study of the use of mediation in the settlement of international disputes. Growing out of the deliberations of a group of people brought together by the American Friends Service Committee, it is the quiet, competent, and persuasive type of statement we have come to expect from the Quakers.

Mr. Jackson, who has recently become associated with Frank Graham, United Nations mediator in the Kashmir dispute, undertook major responsibility for the study. He points out that while a great deal of attention is currently being given to ways in which the legal and political powers of the United Nations can be strengthened, there has been little systematic examination of an equally important and not unrelated activity of the United Nations—the peaceful settlement of disputes—even though the U. N. has registered a fair amount of success over the past four years in this field. He points out further, that in addition to its own and the League's experience in this area, the U. N. has a much larger body of experience to draw upon. The development of vigorous labor movements, at least in the West, in recent decades, has brought about conflict between strongly organized groups whose relationships, like those of nations, are not fully settled by law or contract, and who are unwilling to have their interests subjected to the final and authoritative rulings of some third party. Because of its vital interest in the terms of settlement, each side vigorously protects its freedom of action, even though such action may at times be painful to others. "It is thus that disputes in the two fields are appropriate for the processes of mediation," observes Jackson, "for it is of the essence of a mediated settlement that the parties in conflict, after appraising the available and practicable alternatives, are brought eventually to voluntary agreement."

Mediation of labor disputes, in furtherance of the public interest, has developed along remarkably similar lines in many countries, and a good third of the book is devoted to an analysis of the experience in the United States, Great Britain, and Sweden. There follows a parallel examination of the nature and handling of international disputes and, finally, comparisons and tentative conclusions.

With respect to arrangements, both the type of machinery and the personnel need to be adapted to the particular case, preferably in consultation with the parties concerned. Extended public debate by the parties in conflict tends to increase the difficulty of settlement. The effort must come when both sides are least rigid in their positions. In general, it is desirable to have uninstructed, single mediators, although where a public report is anticipated, a commission may carry more weight.

Given suitable arrangements, the techniques for obtaining agreement are very similar—getting the parties together, building confidence in the mediator, the factual deflation of rival claims, the gradual elimination of exaggeration and misunderstanding, widening the perspective in which issues are considered, and finally, expanding the area of agreement until a conclusion is reached, carefully formulated, and registered.

How to proceed with the development of the United Nations mediation machinery? Here, Mr. Jackson and his colleagues hesitate. They would like to see standing agencies there, similar to those now in the labor field, empowered to offer their facilities in disputes even on an informal basis, without the necessity for the prior legislative consideration presently required. But they are not convinced that the time is ripe. More member governments must become committed to the principle and practice of United Nations mediation to assure the success of such an undertaking.

Likewise, they raise serious question as to how far measures of restraint are useful in the settlement of conflicts. Experience in the labor field suggests that, while forceful means may be useful at times in maintaining production, ultimate settlement of even these disputes has had to rely on voluntary agreement. Men cannot be made to work against their will, save by drafting or imprisonment, neither of which is acceptable in a democracy. As the contributors to this volume point out, here is a lesson not to be ignored by the United Nations, and that conclusion is certainly shared by this reviewer. SCOTT KEYES

Time, Space and Poetry

A KEY TO MODERN BRITISH POETRY. By Lawrence Durrell. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.

MR. DURRELL believes that the key to the understanding of modern poetry lies in two scientific ideas which are characteristic of modern thought —the new conceptions of time and of the ego. These contributions, which may be attributed to Einstein and Freud respectively, are far from being universally understood or accepted; they are still doggedly working their way against powerful counter-currents of tradition and misconception. That is why Mr. Durrell devotes so large a portion of a book which is supposed to be about poetry to a lucid and provocative exposition of them. The new conception of time, he explains, posits a combined space-time which is continually in existence. It does not come and go. It endures. Under these conditions nothing is changed when an event occurs, because the event has always been. All periods are simultaneously present, and things continue to exist side by side, even contradictions. Just as Einstein has enlarged the physical world, so have Freud and his followers enlarged the world within. In revealing the nature of the mind's symbolic activity and the jungle of associations which have sprung up about language and tradition, they have offered poets both new authority and new difficulties. Further, the theories of Groddeck, a psychologist who was an associate of Freud, suggest that individual personalities are really parts of a larger whole, the mere functions of a sort of general force which acts through them.

Mr. Durrell's perception of the ways in which poetry reflects these ideas is profound, exciting, and sensitive. The amassing of scraps of history in Eliot's "Waste Land" is a perfectly clear expression of the simultaneity of all time, and a corollary of this idea, the cyclical nature of time, underlies the despair of characters like Prufrock and Gerontion. However, most of Mr. Durrell's insights into the work of such authors as Joyce, Proust, and Rilke are rather sketchily indicated, for it is not his purpose to explain poetry. He has far too much love and respect for it to do that. He simply wants to enable the reader to think about poetry better for himself, and he prefers to pose rather than to solve the interesting problems of sensibility created by the new science.

Mr. Durrell's book suggests that modern poetry is difficult for the same reasons that have caused scientists to abandon the opinions about the universe held by their mid-Victorian forerunners. The more we learn about the world, the fainter grows our hope of absolute knowledge. We are beginning to understand that we shall have to be content with truths rather than truth. Our conception of reality, it seems, will always be provisional, and the indirection, ambiguity, and complexity of poetry in these days are due to the acceptance of this as a fact by poets and scientists alike. JACOB KORG

CONGRESS:
Corruption & Compromise
By H. H. WILSON, *Princeton.*

More timely than ever, this book sets forth the conviction that neither Congress nor the American people can afford to ignore practices which contribute to contempt for democratic institutions. Two sections are devoted to a discussion of the political transgressions of various senators and representatives; a final section serves as a dynamic analysis of government's function in an industrial capitalist society.

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STOLEN JOURNEY. By Oliver Philpot. Dutton. $4.50. Oliver Philpot is one of the R. A. F. men who designed the famous "Trojan Horse" which enabled them to escape from a German P. O. W. camp and make their way to neutral Sweden. The first part of Mr. Philpot's reminiscence, from his crash and capture to the building of the Wooden Horse, covers ground already traversed; but the descriptions of his tense and lonely journey from Sagan Camp to Danzig in the middle of the war, and of his desperate attempt to cross the Baltic Sea in the hold of a Swedish collier, are as gripping as any spy thriller, with the added advantage of being veracious in every detail. The book has interesting maps and line drawings.

THE CRYSTAL YEARS. By Daniel Doan. Abelard Press. $2.95. The simply told story of a boy who moves from Boston to a New Hampshire village and must make his adjustments over the opposition of a snobbish mother and a frosty father. Although he recounts the incidents of puberty episodically in a series of brief discrete chapters and although his subject matter is as old as boyhood, Mr. Doan achieves a degree of individuality by sticking to what he knows best and by avoiding the obviously sentimental.

THE REVOLT OF AMERICAN WOMEN. By Oliver Jensen. Harcourt, Brace. $6. An amusing pictorial hodgepodge highlighting the changing status of women during the last century. Outstanding are a selection of the recently discovered pictures taken during the eighties and nineties by Alice Austen, certainly one of the most extraordinary of American photographers.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

HAVING seen two of the productions of the company of Madeleine Renaud and Jean-Louis Barrault (Ziegfeld Theater) I could wish that it would stay indefinitely. Even if one's French is rusty, one understands quite well enough. After all, pantomime is Barrault's forte, and Madeleine Renaud accomplishes as much by expression and gesture as by the words she speaks. For the rest, the cadence of the language, the finished acting, the stagecraft, and the esprit de corps provide rare pleasures for the ear, the eye—and the spirit.

The first production included "Les Fausses Confidences" and the pantomime "Baptiste." The performance of the sparkling, brittle—and so easily breakable—comedy seemed to me as nearly perfect as possible, though I did feel that Barrault as Dubois was perhaps a shade too much the clown. Mme Renaud as Araminte, it seemed to me, observed more scrupulously the spirit of the piece. I thought also that there was a bit too much caricature in the portrayal of Madame Argante. The style otherwise was impeccable and the "affair" as a whole delightful.

The pantomime "Baptiste" struck me as a little shop-worn; and it seemed to me also that its mood shifted from ironic to serious romantic and back again, with the result that one did not quite know whether to take it as period piece or as timeless commentary on man's fate.

The second presentation was the play by André Gide and M. Barrault based on Kafka's "The Trial." And given the nature of the subject and the difficulties of adapting it to the stage, this is an extraordinary production. The stagecraft here actually takes part in the performance. It is wonderfully imaginative; it sets the mood irrevocably at the first rise of the curtain; it contributes movement as well as mood. (And it is interesting to observe that the "matériel" of these sets must have cost next to nothing. The main expense was the expense of ingenuity and talent.)

The first part of "The Trial" is swift-moving, dramatic, and utterly convincing. Barrault as K plays the part as if he were indeed the characterless "hero" of the story. One never questions the logic or inevitability or hopelessness of his involvement with the law. The second part is less persuasive. The difficulties inherent in the story take their toll. This part seems over long, confusion enters in, and the tension sags a bit. Moreover, K in rebellion suggests the defiance of the tragic hero rather than the reflex of an organism caught in the toils of a ubiquitous and enveloping system. But I may be mis-remembering the book.

Mme Renaud has only a small part in "The Trial"—that of the advocate's mistress. And she plays, again, with such perfection that I look forward to seeing her in some of her major roles.

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11/29/52

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE argument for opera in English is that one must understand the dramatic action from word to word as one listens to the music. In the past I have pointed out that the straining to hear the English words in the opera house draws one's attention away from the music; but now that there is televised opera in which one can hear them clearly without effort, the thing to point out is that in most instances the less one understands of the words the better. The fact is that we wouldn't dream of going to a theater to see the plays that are set to music in most of the operatic repertory; that when we accept in the opera house what we would not accept in the theater it is for the sake of the music; and that when this is so a continuing awareness of word after word of, say, "La Forza del Destino" is disturbing to our musical experience as a mere general idea of the dramatic situation is not.

But NBC's televised performance of an abridgement of Britten's "Billy Budd" presented an opera in which the words were not a mere scaffolding for beautiful and expressive melodic structures, but instead the recitative-like vocal line carried and pointed up the words. In this case, therefore, they had to be understood; and they promised to be worth understanding since the libretto was an adaptation of the Melville story made by no less a writer than E. M. Forster in collaboration with Eric Crozier. Actually, however, the adaptation gave us a sequence of mere happenings without the context in the original story which I would suppose provides the sufficient motivation for credibility that it doesn't have in the opera. As a result I watched and listened disturbed by disbelief, and sometimes even by embarrassment. Thus, it is my understanding that Billy in the original story is the embodiment of good; but the Billy in the opera who carolled happily about being impressed into His Majesty's Navy or about his doglike devotion to Captain Vere impressed me as an embodiment of insufficient sense; and this in turn meant that there was no motivation for the evil Claggert.

As for Britten's music, it was impressive at first, and for some time, by its characteristic resourcefulness; but it seemed to me that exuberant resourcefulness unrestrained by a sense of fitness produced Billy's florid singing in his duet with the old sailor; and the resourcefulness proved inadequate to the musical requirements of some of the later dramatic situations—*e. g.*, Captain Vere's thoughts after the killing of Claggert.

The musical performance conducted by Peter Herman Adler was excellent, with fine singing by Theodor Uppman, Andrew McKinley, and Leon Lishner in the leading roles. The dramatic performance too was effective, with only Mr. McKinley, at the close range of television, not commanding my belief. And I might add that I found the confining of the action to the small space disturbing after a while.

The New York City Opera informed us that Bela Balasz's libretto in "Bluebeard's Castle," which it performed for the first time in this country, made of the Bluebeard story something on the high philosophical and psychological level of what Shaw made of the Don Juan legend. If this was achieved in the original Hungarian text it didn't survive translation into the English that could be heard intermittently: mostly "Give me the key" answered by "Judith, do not ask me," with—each time one of the doors was opened—an attempt at high-flown language that fell flat on its face. The words, then, created no dramatic interest in the hour-long opening of the seven doors; nor did Bartok's vocal writing impart to them any musical interest. What *was* interesting was the orchestral part—interesting, for one thing, in its unexpected luxuriance, but also in the dramatic effectiveness of its masterfully contrived sonorities. It was the effectiveness of an orchestral sound-track for a drama that was not created by the singers on the stage; and what the production did was to use this sound-track for an interpolated mimed drama performed by dancers in parallel with the singers. To me the production was an example of the illegitimate use of stagecraft—a razzle-dazzle of dancing (devised by John Butler), scenery and costumes (Rouben Ter-Arutunian), and lighting (Jean Rosenthal)—to create an illusion which would keep the audience from perceiving the absence of the real thing that alone would have justified producing the work. As for performance, the singing of James Pease and Anne Ayars, the dancing of Mary Hinkson and the others, and the orchestra's playing under Rosenstock's direction were all good.

Some of the platforms and steps from "Bluebeard's Castle" were more profitably employed (unless my eye deceived me) in the repetition of "Wozzeck," in

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which, lighted by Jean Rosenthal, they were much more satisfying than the realistic scenery of last year's performances. And the musical performance was the better for the singing that Patricia Neway did this time instead of last year's screaming. But Pease was miscast and ineffective in the title role.

The Little Orchestra Society's opening concert provided me with my first hearing of Mozart's "La Clemenza di Tito," most of which gave me the impression of craftsmanship operating without creative impulse that I get from so much of Bach's music. The outstanding exception was the first-act terzetto *Vengo! aspettate!*, which was made exciting by the singing of Heidi Krall, soprano; Rawn Spearman, tenor; and Norman Farrow, baritone. As a matter of fact the work served as the occasion for excellent singing by all the soloists, who included in addition Shirley Russell, soprano; Frances Bible, mezzo-soprano; and Leopold Simoneau, tenor; and Mr. Spearman's refinement of vocal style and sensitive musical phrasing were a sheer delight. The New Choral Group of Sam Morgenstern sounded raucous to me in loud passages; the playing of the orchestra under Thomas Scherman's direction was an acceptable production of the notes.

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Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

BACH: Partita No. 6, and Preludes and Fugues in G Major and Minor from "The Well Tempered Clavier"; Demus (Remington); steady, clear performances; piano sound cold and thin; noisy surfaces.

Sonatas for violin and piano, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Menuhin and Kentner (HMV); Kentner is very weak, Menuhin more powerful but faulty in taste.

Beethoven: "The Creatures of Prometheus"; Van Beinum with the London Philharmonic (London); what ballet music would sound like if it were written by Beethoven—highly enjoyable; superb performance.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 47 ("Kreutzer"); Rostal and Osborn (London); good performance except for a fussily arch slow movement.

Violin Concerto; Ricci with London Philharmonic under Boult (London); slack, sugary performance, orchestra poor throughout.

Brahms: Intermezzi, Op. 117; Gieseking (Columbia); very beautiful performance.

Sonata for 'Cello and piano, No. 1; Cassado and Schulhof (Remington); excellent performance; noisy surfaces.

Variations on a theme of Handel; Kilenyi (Remington); Katchen (London); Katchen's mild competence much preferable to Kilenyi's senseless crudity, and much better recorded; Remington surfaces very noisy.

Debussy: Children's Corner Suite; Preludes (Books 1 and 2); Suite Bergamasque; Gieseking (Columbia); all very beautifully performed; somewhat noisy surfaces.

Dvorak: Symphony No. 5 ("From the New World"); Szell with the Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia); good performance.

Hindemith: Sonata for two pianos, four hands; Sonata for one piano, four hands; Karl and Margaret Kohn (Claremont); there are rich passages in both pieces, but both have too their share of dull manipulation; the performances are neat to a fault, lack breadth and power, unfortunately in the best passages; piano sound thin.

Liszt: Mephisto Waltz; Consolation No. 3; Spanish Rhapsody; Sandor (Columbia); effective performances; piano sound glassy.

Schumann: Scenes of Childhood; Gieseking (Columbia); very beautiful performance.

"Carnaval" and Fantasia in C, Op. 17; Brailowsky (Victor); indifferent performances, rhythmically imperceptive.

Symphonic Etudes: Kilenyi (Remington); poor performance.

Sibelius: Symphony No. 1; Collins with London Symphony (London); effective, fairly lurid performance.

Tchaikovsky: "Hamlet" and "1812" Overture; Boult with London Philharmonic (London); good performances.

Weber: Overtures to "Der Freischutz" and "Oberon"; Szell with N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); good performances.

Operatic Recital: Baritone arias by Bellini, Donizetti, Leoncavallo, Rossini, Verdi; Petroff with the orchestra of the Maggio Fiorentino under Ghiglia (Remington); poor singing with an execrable orchestra; badly recorded.

Recital by William Warfield (Columbia); works by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, Perotin, and Monteverdi with Tietjen (organ); five ballads by Loewe with Herz (piano); the old music is gloriously rich in rhetoric, the Loewe ballads highly attractive minor genre pieces; Warfield's singing is superb when he isn't tempted to shout.

CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH STEVENSON is now at work on a biography of Henry Adams.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

HARVEY SWADOS has published stories and reviews in various magazines.

SCOTT KEYES is the editor of "Economics: Trends and Issues."

JACOB KORG is in the English Department of the City College.

Letters to the Editors

The Chauvinists Take Over

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that General Eisenhower was elected in an atmosphere of emotionalism and greed. Our "wonderful" American advertising methods put him over. Even so, some 27,000,000 people voted for Governor Stevenson, thus showing their decency and intelligence. The majority fell for the "corn" and the demagoguery, for authoritarianism in preference to humanism. . . .

I believe that the corruption in Washington under this Administration—a sort of personal corruption with men seeking privileges to satisfy their personal greed—will be replaced by an infinitely more dangerous form: corruption for the sake of power. . . . The McCarthys and the Jenners are not so much against communism as they are against a true, liberal democracy. They represent a chauvinistic brand of Americanism that may completely alienate the rest of the free world and throw us into an American fascism no less vicious than its foreign prototype. Of course I do not think General Eisenhower wants this sort of thing, but he represents the powerful elements that do, and I do not believe he will be able to control them. . . . It is the old, old story—humanism versus authoritarianism, individualism versus mass-mindedness. Our hope lies in the millions who voted for Governor Stevenson. ACHSAH VAN SICKLE

San Antonio

Just Deserts

Dear Sirs: Although this was quite a year for campaign buttons, I suppose the Willkie-button parade of 1940 will stand as the high-water mark for years to come. One of those Willkie buttons read, "Perhaps Roosevelt is all you deserve." Shaw once remarked that democracy is that form of government which assures the people of getting just the kind of government they deserve. Perhaps, then, the American people deserve nothing better than Eisenhower, Nixon, Jenner, McCarthy, Potter, Dies, *et al.*

In this age of the "common man," when the electorate was confronted with the uncommon man, a man of astounding capabilities, they rejected him; they did not deserve him. . . . It was not that Stevenson talked over their heads; they could understand the ideas but not the man. To accept greatness a people must have the courage and insight to see their own desires and needs and to recognize the possibility of their fulfilment when they see it. The American people showed everything but greatness in this election.

The defeat of Adlai Stevenson may reveal the level of venality to which Americans have temporarily descended, but the groundwork has been laid for a movement of decency and liberalism which will be brought to fruition faster than most people now realize. It is ironic that the man who tried hardest to unite his party, and whose proponents at the national convention voted to seat the reluctant dragons, should have inadvertently sounded a clarion call for the break-up of the old, meaningless coalitions into a new and meaningful realignment of the political parties. . . .

H. CARL MARKLE, JR

Rochester, Mich.

The Rosenberg Case

Dear Sirs: With genuine gratitude to *The Nation* and Arthur Garfield Hays for lending their prestige to serious discussion of the Rosenberg case (November 8), may I make these two points:

1. Judge Frank's statement—quoted by Mr. Hays—that the Rosenbergs contended that "at the most out of idealistic motives they gave secret information to Soviet Russia when it was our war-time ally" was a gross distortion. From first to last the Rosenbergs' contention was total innocence—a fact Mr. Hays never mentions.

2. Mr. Hays writes: ". . . the fact that they were Communists naturally prejudiced the jury." But this is an assumption, not a fact. No proof was adduced that they were party members; but even if it had been—and supposing that it is, as alleged, the Communist Party's policy to spy for the U. S. S. R. —there was still no proof that the Rosenbergs adhered to this policy or even knew of it. This is "guilt by association" to the *n*th degree—a point I need not labor since your article on the Baltimore Smith act trials in the same issue deals with it so admirably.

No less appalling are the implications of the fact that, while the Rosenbergs were in effect—as words used by judge and prosecutor showed—sentenced to death for treason, they were denied the constitutional safeguards mandatory in treason trials by the trick of calling the charge something else.

Tens of thousands of Americans feel as I do that the measure of justice to be expected by any political nonconformist brought before the courts depends ominously on the fate of the Rosenbergs.

New York CEDRIC BELFRAGE

A Future Course for Liberals

Dear Sirs: The overwhelming defeat of Governor Stevenson should not blind progressives to the role which they can still play in local and national politics.

Their main problem as a political group—unless General Eisenhower surprises them by turning out to be a genuinely liberal leader and thus deserving of their political support—will be to stave off absorption by the recrudescent and vengeful conservative wing of the Democratic Party. The only way they can retain a significant share in the councils of the party is to establish throughout most of the nation a political party parallel to the Democratic Party, like the Liberal Party in New York. The Liberal Party usually indorses Democratic candidates for important offices, but it does not always do so, and its independence must command the respect of even the most practical politician.

This is not a suggestion for a third party as such, or for independent voting. It is a practical proposal for progressives who continue to believe that the Democratic Party is most likely to be sensitive to their requests but that it needs an added incentive in a time of defeat. At the same time it does not preclude their independent political behavior if the Republican Party does become modern.

Boston RUSH WELTER

To Help Malan's Victims

Dear Sirs: It is obvious that a revolution is taking place in South Africa. As one of the younger leaders of the African National Congress, who was recently arrested, wrote: "There has been a transformation in the way of thinking of the Africans. . . . [They] are on the march, and whatever the result of the present defiance campaign, even if it ends in total defeat at the hands of the government, the country will never be the same again."

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resisters against the unjust racial laws of the Malan government have been arrested. This means not only suffering in the overcrowded jails but even greater economic hardships for an impoverished people. The African National Congress is raising a fund to help the families of the men now in jail.

To aid in this work we have formed a committee, Americans for South African Resistance. The Reverend Donald Harrington and the Reverend Charles Y. Trigg are co-chairmen, and the sponsors include Roger Baldwin, Mordecai Johnson, Norman Thomas, and A. J. Muste. The committee's address is 513 West 166th Street, New York 32.

GEORGE M. HOUSER, Secretary,
Americans for South African Resistance
New York

Last Class

Dear Sirs: Dr. Harry Slochower is one of three professors recently dismissed from the tax-supported municipal colleges of New York—in this instance Brooklyn College—for their refusal to answer questions before the McCarran committee bearing on their political beliefs and associations. The following "farewell note" to his students was originally published in the Brooklyn College paper, the *Kingsman,* of October 10.

My sudden dismissal will be a shock to the thousands of students I have had in some twenty-seven years of teaching. It has come unexpectedly to me as well, and I am still at a loss to understand wherein I was considered to be a danger to my students. This much is clear: I was not dismissed for anything I had done. I was not even charged with having held un-American views. I was sacrificed to a formula—the fact that I invoked the Fifth Amendment for the period of the 1930's.

Yet behind the formula stand sinister powers busily exploiting the apathy or the delirium of the hour. As I view the whole procedure, including the board's perfunctory "hearing," I cannot but conclude that neither President Gideonse nor the board members are the active agents. For behind it all I recognize a great fear, the fear that they might be regarded as standing left of Chiang Kai-shek or Rabbi Schultz, that is to say, of being "reds." . . .

Of course, I could have saved my job. I was advised by people who value comfort above human dignity to answer all questions, that is, to "name names," and thus become one of the heroes of our time. This I could not do, even if I were in position to have certain knowledge of "Who's Who" back in the thirties. I could not contribute to wrecking the lives of people who may be innocent and decent. Such an action would have indeed incriminated me—I could not have looked you, my students, or any decent person, in the face. I was advised to recant any opinions I ever held that are today out of vogue. This I could not do, for it would have meant the repudiation of the anti-fascist stand I took during the thirties. I still believe that fascism was then a menace. And the menace is still with us. . . .

This is not a farewell. I am not thinking of the possibility that the courts will reverse the present outrageous ruling. I have something more basic in mind. The critical and spiritual approach which I tried to communicate to you is not merely mine. It springs up wherever there is a genuine search for what may liberate the powers which slumber in man. They lie hidden in all, particularly in those who are young of spirit. It has ever been the despair of the dark forces that no matter how much they destroy, there ever circulates new, fresh blood, as Mephistopheles puts it in Goethe's "Faust." The more rawly, the more monstrously or the more formalistically these forces operate, the more they help to awaken the living conscience and power of man. This ever-renewed conscience of the young is guaranty that such outrage, whether manifested in open terror or hidden behind a rigidly applied formula, will not remain victorious. I am fifty-two, but somehow I feel much younger now, after what has happened. In this sense as well, I shall stay with you.

I hope you can publish the letter or portions of it, as I am sure many of your readers will be interested.

Brooklyn JOHN A. FOSTER

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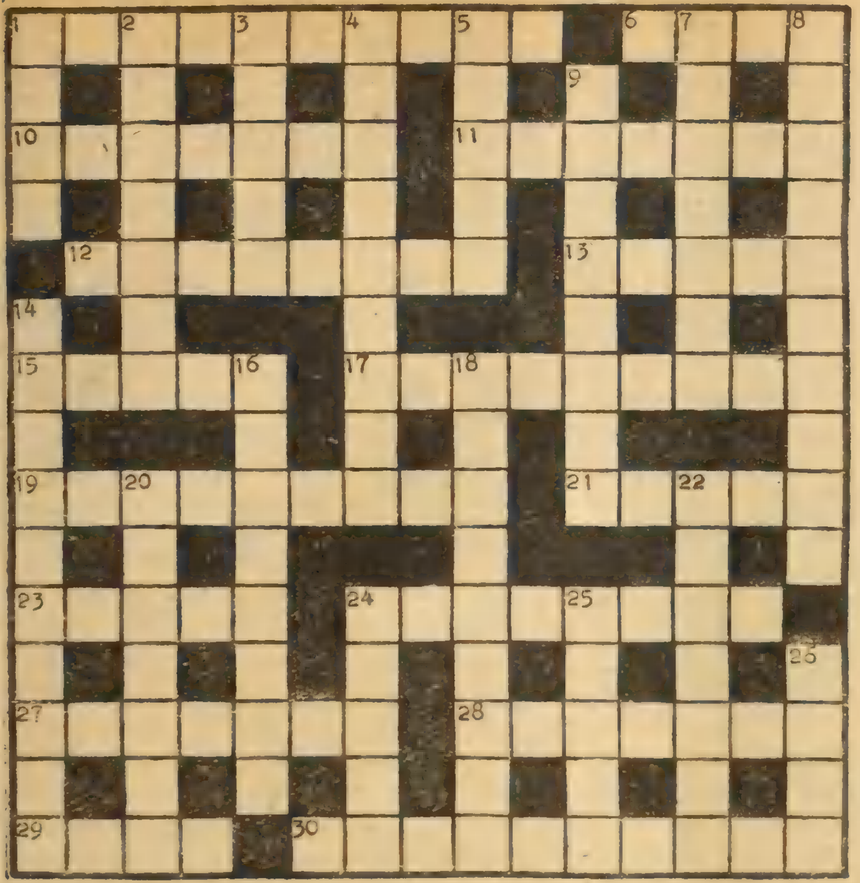
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Such a pursuit doesn't allow for much relaxation! (But at least you can look forward to a wake!) (5, 5)
6 From a distance, if not involved in an affair. (4)
10 A bull is seldom so taken to hold back. (7)
11 Draw out, evidently, like a sizeable portion of Louisiana. (7)
12 Explains why some are mad when the dime ante is changed. (8)
13 An arch way to ask for donations! (5)
15 Green players take more than one of these occasionally—as do players not so green! (5)
17 Fancies Mary's dead, perhaps. (9)
19 Sounds like good advice for one whose suit should be pressed, for a sailor who knows all the dodges. (3, 6)
21 Chuck this race as part of a 23, perhaps. (5)
23 See 21. (5)
24 Good material for what Koussevitzky played? Linden, rather. (8)
27 The rotation of a crop is commonplace. (7)
28 One or two, perhaps, might make it green. (7)
29 Indeed if you break it, you haven't lost anything! (4)
30 One might so swear the donkey always dined out of it! (10)

DOWN

1 Found in parts of antique furniture. (4)
2 One might take the pledge to be sober! (7)
3 Sounds like the pronunciation of the city is relative. (5)
4, 20 and 9. Ephemeral? Make the army dodge another one or two. (4, 5, 3, 4, 8)
5 To get such a coloring is easy as pie. (5)
7 Showy and in conclusion a state some of us might be in. (7)
8 Back-sliding, perhaps. (10)
9 See 4.
14 A personal address might imply an omission. (10)
16 Periodical, on sale as something different. (8)
18 A Lancastrian's enemy might be in this, if mercenary. (9)
20 See 4 down.
22 The tail of a midge or the head of a giant touches 7. (7)
24 Starts violently (because someone frightened them?) (5)
25 How 1 across, or just plain one ends? (The answer is flexible.) (5)
26 24 across, for example. (4)

⁂

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Anti-Semitism and Power Politics—*an Editorial*

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Letter to America

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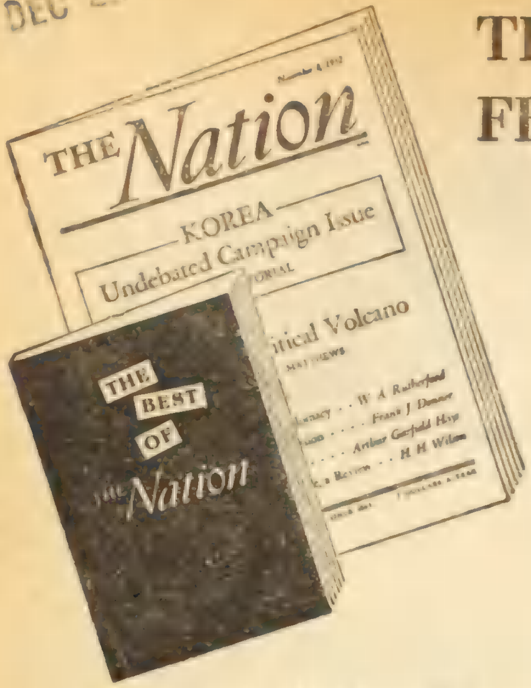

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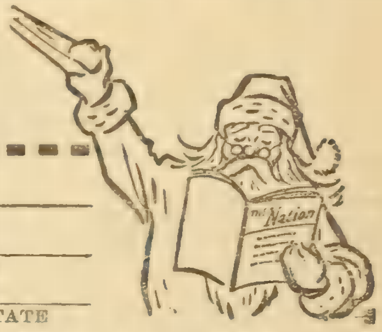

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Anti-Semitism and Power Politics

THE purge trial of fourteen former leaders of the Czech Communist Party, eleven of whom were Jews, took place in Prague and was conducted by a government which was Czech in name. But the trial might just as well have been held in Moscow under the Czars. As Solomon F. Bloom once pointed out, anti-Semitism under the Czars became "a settled policy of the state, a policy implemented by 'spontaneous' outbursts of suborned mobs." The Soviets are not likely to indulge in anti-Semitism in this open form or permit official anti-Semitism to "get out of bounds"; but the use made of anti-Semitism in the Prague trial as a gambit in power politics shows a cynicism no less than that of czarist foreign policy.

To be sure, the objectives of Zionism and communism have never been compatible. But since the creation of the state of Israel, with Russian help, and its recognition by the entire Soviet bloc, one might have assumed that Zionism would cease to be an inadmissible heresy in the Communist states. The moment it became opportune, however, the Czech regime showed as little compunction about using anti-Semitism as an ingredient of foreign policy as did the Czar's foreign ministers. In this instance, the Kremlin is obviously seeking to curry favor with the governments of the Arab world, where poverty is a close and effective ally of communism. In that context the official anti-Semitism of the Prague purge is of course intended to remove from Arab minds the recollection of the vote which the Soviet bloc cast for partition and the establishment of the Jewish state in 1947.

When this vote was cast, it came as a great surprise to the satellite delegations themselves, as well as to the Jewish world, which remembered the unremitting campaign that had been carried on against Zionism within the Soviet Union for so many years, not to mention the imprisonment of Zionist leaders. But sympathy for the Jews formed no part of Moscow's purpose in backing partition. This decision, like all Soviet decisions in the field of foreign policy, was determined by Russian self-interest as conceived by those who direct Soviet policy. The objective then was to push Great Britain out of the Middle East.

Now a vacuum is developing in that strategic area. Britain is losing its hold in Egypt; Iraq and Syria are bubbling with discontent; and the Soviets are trying to move in. As part of this reorientation of Soviet policy—an announcement, as it were, of Moscow's intentions—the Czech government has been indulging in anti-Semitic slander reminiscent of Hitler and Goebbels. The moral implications of such a policy are evidently of no more concern to the Soviets than the consequences measured in terms of the security and well-being of 3,500,000 Jews still in Eastern Europe.

AGAINST this background it would be absurd to analyze the "substance" of the charges against the defendants in the Prague trials. The guilt or innocence of the accused would be impossible for any outsider to gauge on the basis of the evidence reported abroad. It should be pointed out, however, that there was certainly nothing covert or conspiratorial about the fact that Czechoslovakia supplied arms to the Israelis during the Palestine war. As long as the basic interest of the Soviet bloc was to smash British power in the Middle East, the partition resolution and the Palestine war both served this end. And even so, the Israelis paid in cash for whatever assistance or arms were received. It is also, of course, quite possible that the use of anti-Semitism in the trial may have been intended to divert attention from mistakes of the Czech Communist government or to offer the Czech people a scapegoat. The motivation was doubtless multiple; but however devious or clever, it could not possibly justify the use of anti-Semitism as part of the current struggle for power—either inside the Soviet structure or in its relations with other countries.

The injection of anti-Semitism at Prague merits passing comparison with the manner in which the American Communist Party has sought to exploit anti-Semitism as an issue in the Rosenberg case. The contention has been advanced, for example, that the Jewish judge and prosecutor in this trial leaned over backward so far, in an effort to avoid the appearance of favoritism, that a kind of anti-Semitism in reverse figured as an element in the trial. While "anti-anti-Semitism" may have been a factor in the conviction and sentencing of the Rosenbergs, it should be noted that they had a public trial, that the

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world press was not excluded, and that the case was conducted under established rules of law.

The execution of the Rosenbergs has now been set for the week of January 12. For reasons pointed out by Arthur Garfield Hays in a recent issue (November 8), *The Nation* feels that the sentence of the defendants should be commuted. The Rosenbergs were found guilty of espionage, not treason, and the offense was committed at a time when Russia was our ally in World War II. Even in treason cases the death penalty has been imposed only twice by our civilian courts; it has never been imposed in espionage cases. The Rosenbergs are entitled to mercy as individuals, upon the merits, and not because an exhibition of clemency might help this nation in its global struggle for power with the Soviet Union. But none of these considerations justifies in any way the attempt of the Communist Party to exploit the issue of anti-Semitism in the Rosenberg trial while remaining silent about its use as an instrument of Soviet policy at Prague. For such tactics we have only contempt. The "Great Zionist Conspiracy" unveiled at Prague will not find many takers in this country, unless it be among the more gullible followers of Gerald L. K. Smith.

NOR is the use of anti-Semitism the only revolting feature of the Prague trial. Consider, for example, the petition of Lisa Londonova, wife of the accused Deputy Foreign Minister Arthur London, who asked the "court" to find her husband guilty and in doing so said that she had told their two older children what their father had done and that they in turn had promised her they would remain good Communists all their lives. A regime that would exhibit a petition of this kind as evidence of the "guilt" of a defendant displays a disdain for intelligence and world opinion that is as shocking as the general conduct of the case of which it was a part.

Americans should read the accounts of this trial with care, and having read them, should then reread the testimony of the professional informers and denouncers, the ex-traitors, the self-confessed perjurers and espionage agents who have testified before the various Congressional committees in this country to see if they can find a parallel or any similarity between the two witch hunts. Soviet criminal procedure has never excited our admiration; hence we were neither surprised nor disappointed—although we were dismayed—by the brutal cynicism of the Prague purge. We are disappointed, however, and will not cease to protest, when American Congressional committees reproduce, even in milder form, procedures and pressure techniques that have become an established part of the Soviet sacrifice of individual rights in the struggle for power. Hatred of such procedures could best be exhibited through denunciations, not only of Soviet justice, but of witch hunts wherever they take place.

The Shape of Things

Totalitarian Suppression in Kenya

In the Kenya highlands some 15,000 European settlers occupy 12,000 square miles in close proximity to over a million Kikuyu tribesmen for whom a mere 2,000 square miles is "reserved." Consciousness of their minority position, together perhaps with some unconscious feeling of guilt, tends to keep European nerves taut, and it is not surprising that the settlers, faced with a situation like the current Mau Mau crime wave, should become panicky and demand extraordinary measures for their protection. Moreover, many of the Kenya whites are retired military men, Tories of the "whiff-of-grape" school. Thus we have Colonel E. S. Grogan, oldest member of the Kenya legislature, urging that "about 100 of the rascals" should be charged with treason and 25 per cent of them hung in front of the others, who should then be sent back to the reserves "to tell the joyful news."

What is surprising is that the British Colonial Office, which acts as trustee for Kenya's African millions, should allow itself to be affected by this panic. In addition to rushing troops to the spot and authorizing the local administration to suspend civil rights, make mass arrests, and employ unlimited force to disperse Kikuyu meetings, it has now sanctioned use of the totalitarian method of collective punishment. District officers have been empowered to make wholesale seizures of cattle—the chief form of native wealth—and to remove entire communities to concentration camps.

Last week Sir Oliver Lyttelton, British Colonial Secretary, admitted in the House of Commons that such methods might turn the whole tribe against the government but insisted that there was no alternative to "ruthlessness." As long as no attempt is made to alleviate the genuine economic grievances of the Kikuyu, other than by appointment of a Royal Commission which may not report for two or three years, this policy appears to us the negation of statesmanship.

The T Is for Taft

Ezra T. Benson—the T is for Taft—may well turn out to be one of the best of President-elect Eisenhower's Cabinet appointments. Those who have known and worked with him over a period of years are impressively agreed that he is intelligent, honest, forthright, deeply religious (a member of the twelve-man governing body of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, Mr. Benson is the first active Mormon to be appointed to the Cabinet), quiet, sweet-tempered, and considerate. All in all, the reports on Mr. Benson as a person seem almost too good to be true.

On policy questions, he is known to have deep convictions about the social value of the family-size farm. A strong supporter of cooperatives, he served as secretary of the National Council of Farm Cooperatives from 1939 to 1943. Although critical of many New Deal farm policies, he was respected by both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. President Roosevelt made him an adviser to the Department of Agriculture and to the National Industrial Conference Board. His social philosophy reflects the emphasis on self-help through cooperation which the Mormon church has always stressed. As an administrator he will probably favor placing responsibility for the carrying out of agricultural programs with the land-grant colleges, the extension service, and the state agricultural councils. A very conservative man, he is said to fear "big" unions and "big" business in about equal measure.

The new Secretary of Agriculture has a good background in European affairs: he spent two years in Great Britain on a mission for his church after leaving college, and he was in charge of the Mormons' famine-relief program in Europe in the post-war period. In general, Mr. Benson would seem to represent the best in the social tradition of the Mormon church, which is of course high commendation.

Upset in Venezuela?

Colonel Marco Pérez Jiménez and his associates in the military junta that has ruled Venezuela since the coup d'état in 1948 publicly boasted about the exemplary freedom in which the general elections on November 30 were going to be held. But even when the boasts were uttered the facts denied them. The voting itself was orderly and apparently free from fraud, but the campaign was conducted in an atmosphere of terror. The liberal Acción Democrática, party of the last legitimate government, is outlawed, as is the Communist Party. The conservative opposition parties, the Democratic Republican Union and the Catholic Copei, were not permitted to hold public meetings. According to Antonio Martín Araujo, former Venezuelan ambassador to the United States, nearly four thousand of his fellow-countrymen are today in jails or concentration camps waiting for trials that never take place. Dr. Araujo represented the junta in Washington until last May, when he resigned after a visit to Venezuela made with the purpose of investigating personally the reports of mounting persecution.

Best known of Venezuelan concentration camps is the island of Guasina, a tropical inferno which was used as a detention station for illegal immigrants until a commission of doctors visited it in 1942 and ordered it closed on sanitary grounds. One of the "constructive works" carried out by the junta was the reopening of Guasina as a prison camp for members of the opposition who could no longer be jammed into Venezuelan jails. Doctors, lawyers, newspapermen, students, business men form the bulk of the camp's population. But the astonishing fact is that, in spite of the repression, the Nationalist Democratic Union headed by Jovito Villalba, an independent with a long progressive record, is leading the field as this issue goes to press. Obviously its vote has been augmented by supporters of the outlawed opposition parties.

That Separate but Equal Doctrine

On December 9, 10, and 11 the Supreme Court will hear arguments on five cases concerning the constitutionality of segregated public schools. Three of them—from South Carolina, Virginia, and Kansas—were heard by three-judge federal courts which held such schools constitutional. The fourth case comes from the District of Columbia. The fifth—from Delaware—is unique in that the state Supreme Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment's "equal protection" clause required the admission of Negroes to white schools despite a state constitutional provision requiring segregated public schools.

By agreeing to hear arguments on all five cases at the same time the Supreme Court has indicated that it intends to decide them together. The court's action also suggests that it is now prepared to pass directly on the proposition that segregation *per se* is discriminatory, since the issue can hardly be avoided in the Delaware and Kansas cases. The Department of Justice has announced that it will file a brief in the cases in which it will argue that segregation is itself unconstitutional. The brief will doubtless follow the line adopted in the 1949 dining-car segregation case, in which it was argued that the "separate but equal" doctrine is "a constitutional anachronism which no longer deserves a place in our law."

The Bourbons Sound Off

The court's decision in these five cases will have far-reaching effects. South Carolina and Georgia have already passed laws providing for the abolition of the public-school system should segregation be held unconstitutional. In a recent speech, in which he doubtless voiced the sentiments of the bourbon South, Virginia's Attorney General, J. Linsay Almond, said that "no greater catastrophe could befall the public-school system of Virginia" than a decision outlawing segregation. "No power under the sun could compel a legislative body . . . to appropriate funds or levy taxes against the will of an overwhelming majority of a sovereign people. . . . The public-school system would wither and die." Should "subsequent events" strike down the present system of segregation, the South must not fall prey to the "insidious wiles and blandishments of subversive forces which will move among us to arouse and inflame base prejudices into a deplorable conflagration of civil strife." If the Supreme Court rules—as it seems to us it must rule—that segregation is merely another name for discrimination, and if "deplorable conflagrations" then occur, the blame will surely rest with the Southern bourbons who by word and legislative actions have invited disobedience to the mandate of the Supreme Court even before it has been issued.

National Security vs. National Conceit

Dr. Karl T. Compton, in a recent address to the Society of Naval Architects, took a timely poke at the complacent assumption that the important scientific discoveries of the future will be made in this country. We need, he suggested, to keep American accomplishment in science in its true perspective. Every time the public is told that some new gadget, or textile fiber, or medical development is the product of an American laboratory when in fact the basic discovery was made abroad, the illusion of our scientific superiority is dangerously inflated. The outstanding American genius thus far has not been in scientific discovery but in a combination of Yankee ingenuity with mass production and distribution techniques.

Unfortunately this perspective is not reflected in current national-security policies. The Atomic Energy Act, Dr. Compton feels, now cuts American scientists off "from any possibility of exchanging information in the field of nuclear science" even with colleagues in friendly and allied nations, and in some instances has denied them access to information freely available to scientists in other nations. Similarly the McCarran act now prevents many distinguished foreign scientists from attending scientific conferences in this country. "The thing which the United States has preeminently," Dr. Compton concludes, "and which is its greatest asset is the ability quickly and on a large scale to transform valuable new ideas from whatever source into useful products." By shutting out new ideas, from which we stand to benefit to a greater degree than any other nation, we are not only handicapping our country; we are denying the American genius in science. In the name of security we deprive ourselves of access to information and ideas vital to national security in much the same way, as Claude Bourdet points out in this issue, that we reject the facts and accurate intelligence vital to a sound foreign policy. Is the source of the trouble to be found, perhaps, in a national conceit which has been nourished for so long on the myths of the American "free-enterprise system" that it has begun to assume the inflated proportions we find so ludicrous in the Russians?

Coming Next Week

Margaret Sanger, honorary president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, recently visited the Far East. In the issue of December 13, *The Nation* will publish an article by Miss Sanger on the serious population problem facing Japan.

Peace in Korea?

BY GERALD BAILEY

United Nations

IN VIRTUALLY disregarded committees and amid relative calm the delegates debate economic development, definitions of aggression, trust-territory reports, and the like. But the spotlight is on Korea. Can the United Nations—its initial military aims achieved—honorably disengage itself from this war "for the sake of peace"? Can the fighting stop by agreement and the momentous search for a settlement begin?

These questions are still undecided, though the prospect of favorable answers is hardly encouraging. There have been elements of drama if not of tragedy in the proceedings of the Assembly's First Committee in these past weeks: the patient effort of India to win support for a compromise formula, its earnest presentation by Krishna Menon in one of the key speeches in U. N. history, the precipitate critical reaction of the United States delegation, the Anglo-American "split," the uncompromising rejection by the Russians and apparently the Chinese, the restoration, temporarily at least, of Western solidarity, the overwhelming vote for giving priority to the discussion of the Indian plan, and probably, before this is read, its adoption by majority vote of the Assembly.

Russian and also Chinese rejection of the Indian proposals seems to have been foreordained. The plan was skilfully conceived and eloquently presented. It recognized the formidable legal strength of the Communist case for the unconditional repatriation of all prisoners; it established respect for the Geneva Convention as the necessary norm for the handling of this problem. But since it sought the consent of a United Nations committed in the main to oppose "forcible repatriation," it recognized no less the right of the individual prisoner to choose ultimately and freely not to go home. Though I must add—and this might have been expected to encourage the Communists—it assumed that under the procedures proposed the number of prisoners ultimately refusing to be repatriated would be small.

Even allowing for the uncertainties of the American political situation and the vagaries of the United States military command, it can be said that, given any flexibility in the Communist attitude, this Indian plan would have won general assent and have produced, as it could still produce, an end to the fighting. In this as in other fields the rigidity of the Communists' position restricts negotiation severely if not absolutely. It may well be true that they want to end this war, but there has been no sign yet that they will consent to end it on anything but their own strictly interpreted terms. Those terms may be reasonable or unreasonable, but, so far at any rate, they do not appear open to amendment.

Would they become open to amendment if the Russian resolution for an immediate cease-fire on the basis of the armistice terms already agreed on were to be accepted? The proposal to stop the killing forthwith has obvious justification and certainly has strong—some would say imperative—appeal for us as Friends. And no one should underrate the moral and psychological effects of an immediate truce. It might sensibly change if it did not completely transform the whole situation. But can a United Nations, and especially a United States, deeply skeptical of Communist "good faith" be expected to take the risks involved? If there were an immediate cease-fire and the eleven-power commission envisaged by the Russians were assembled, would the Communists on that commission move even one step, along the lines of the Indian plan, to meet Western and U. N. views on prisoner repatriation? And if they did not, could or should the U. N. abandon its stand on the issue?

Each must judge for himself the validity of these questions and indulge his own speculation as to the answers. As regards the next stage in the United Nations, the best hope is that the Indian plan—not so much amended as to remove all its flexibility—will be adopted by the Assembly and utilized for further efforts to reach a negotiated agreement. The event may show that no armistice is at present negotiable—or negotiable at any time in isolation from the wider issues of a general political settlement in the Far East. But in any case the conscientious search for a way out of this deadlock will not have been in vain, and the cause of patient conciliation, which is the preeminent purpose of the United Nations, will remain deeply indebted to Indian vision and Indian statesmanship.

GERALD BAILEY is secretary of the East-West Relations Group of the British Society of Friends, and in 1951 visited Russia with a British Quaker mission, which he described in The Nation *of August 25 of that year. As a member of the Quaker team attending the present General Assembly he has had exceptional opportunities to consult with delegates from East as well as West.*

Next week Mr. del Vayo will resume his regular comment on the Assembly, analyzing the vote on the Indian plan for an armistice in Korea.

Letter to America

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris

THIS letter is not addressed to my friends in America, liberals who think and feel as I do, who are not blinded by a fear turned aggressive, who do not believe in fighting hatred with hatred, and who have not forgotten Roosevelt and his powerful optimism. I am writing to "official" America, which tomorrow, under the leadership of General Eisenhower, will follow and reaffirm the foreign policy of President Truman.

Yet it is with little hope that I address that "official" America, and not only because I am aware of the limited influence of a journalist like myself—the history of nations is made by an enormous number of small gestures, and perhaps this one, added to many others, could help to bring a change. It is rather that I do not know exactly how to talk to you, how to reach you—Congressmen, Cabinet members, administrators—through the great wall of panic and suspicion which you yourselves have constructed. It is easier for me to address the Communist leaders. I do not care when they answer me with insults, with cold silence, or with designing compliments. I know that these reactions are but masks donned by excellent actors for the benefit of the spectators, and that behind them cold, cerebral machines dispassionately evaluate my own views and the popular opinions I reflect. Some day, perhaps tomorrow, perhaps later, one of their decisions may be affected by the articles I have written.

Will anyone in America take note of my remarks? Will your governmental agencies make any use of them? Nothing, really, should be overlooked, not one fact, however insignificant it may seem; therein lies the key to good strategy. But it is not your neglect that I deplore; it is your fear.

That you have a total misconception of world communism and obstinately pursue a course which strengthens rather than weakens it is not due to stupidity. Your policies stem from a sort of terror of actions and individuals that you feel can be inspired only by the devil; you dare not analyze them scientifically for fear of a mysterious contagion. In some Americans this feeling is sincere—it is native to the Middle Western small-town middle class. In others it is an affectation: conformists feign horror to avoid being accused of leftist leanings.

Today, however, your hatred of the Communists, those stereotyped demons, is almost surpassed by your hatred of us who do not want to join either the Russian or the American camp—avowed "neutralists" and others who are hostile to the inevitable regimentation of a crusade. Wolves in sheep's clothing, unconscious bait, mealy-mouthed fanatics, shrewd mercenaries, naive fools—we are all those things and worse, and good Americans are beginning to avoid us. Europeans have been hated for so many different reasons in the last fifteen years that your hostility, taken by itself, would not worry us, even if we should suffer physical consequences from it in the future. But in your interest as well as in ours we regret to see it obscure one of your most honest and worthy traits—your love of plain facts.

We are the only ones who still talk to you without insult or flattery. Damn us if you wish, but *please* hear us out!

You have closed your ears to every expression of opinion from Communists or leftists, forgetting apparently that it is possible to judge impassioned or erroneous utterances objectively. You have also refused to listen to anything said by those who, though non-Communist, criticize and attack you. You have thus created a comfortable unreal universe for yourselves, one half completely white, the other completely black. The only criticism you welcome is that which respects and reinforces the basis of your social order and your opinion of yourselves. When, for example, Daniel Guérin, an anti-Stalinist writer who truly loves your country and believes in its future, describes your greatness and denounces your faults, you refuse to admit him to the United States, where his family is living.

This situation becomes worse every day because, thanks to the billions that you spend here, you have thousands of hirelings to tell you the things that are pleasing to you. And as you drag our countries along in your wake, they develop the same natural or feigned fanaticism that is dominant in your country, so that it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a means of making the truth known. Soon you will be like the ancient princes who sank to their ruin because their followers did not dare serve them truly for fear of displeasing them.

Before it is too late, I intend to try once more to break up this conspiracy. I may only succeed in becoming even more suspect to you than before, but the end is so important that the attempt is worth making. My liberty, my life, and the lives of many people dear to me are at stake.

You are unhappy and worried over not being "liked" by those whom you help. You complain of the ingratitude of Europeans, especially the French. Encouraged by the sycophants that you maintain here, you attribute this

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ugly mood of ours to our wicked character. I do not know whether General Eisenhower really said that 50 per cent of Frenchmen are atheistic and decadent, but many Americans are of that opinion. You would hold that it is confirmed by the results of the recent poll taken by the French Institute of Public Opinion—your friends tried to smother it—which showed that from 60 to 70 per cent of the French are neutralist, at any rate in feeling. You must know how difficult it would be to transform these neutralists into fervent soldiers of the Atlantic Pact.

DO YOU think you will have better luck with Germany? With almost no Communists there it must seem strange to you that more than half the population—almost all the young people and workers—do not want the arms you offer them. You will undoubtedly overlook this humiliating ingratitude. You will return this population to its old leaders, who, at least, will be delighted to accept your arms. And what will they do with them? You sometimes wonder yourselves; you are not too sure of their loyalty as allies.

You know you can rely on Great Britain, which profits more and risks less than the Continent by being your ally. But even so you can no longer ignore the mounting criticism, the muffled voices of disillusionment, in England. Do you find comfort in the fidelity of Franco's Spain and of the Japan whose "monopolies" were recreated by MacArthur? I hope your intelligence agencies have reported the internal frailty of these outposts of liberty, their unreliability in the event of war.

Europe does not believe in your promises. It trembles at your every move. Asia and Africa do not trust you, for you have allied yourselves with their exploiters. Is this all your wealth and generosity have done for you?

Undoubtedly, you can go on in the same way. As you become stronger and stronger, you will receive ever more adulation from the governments that you maintain and from the moneyed press—your money or just "money." At the same time the United States will be increasingly separated from the people of Europe. Your intransigence and isolation will split the world more irreparably into two armed camps. Some day we shall all pay the penalty together. Then perhaps you will believe that friends are worth more than flatterers.

Look back a little way. Not so long ago the whole world, East and West, loved you. Because the solidarity and spirit of sacrifice that animated all your actions during and right after the war obscured the egoism natural to a large nation, we were inclined to see nothing but generosity in all your acts. And the real generosity of the American people in permitting the Marshall Plan also blurred, in Europe as in America, some aspects of that plan. You were helped even more by the anger and fear engendered by the capitulation of Eastern Europe to Stalinism. But as your generosity turned into political scheming, as you were compelled, in order to maintain your policies' momentum, to emphasize the threat of war—that is, our complete destruction—our gratitude turned into dismay and resentment. And resentment fills the hearts of most Frenchmen when they look at your policy in Germany. It resounds throughout Europe every time you ruin the chances for peace in Korea.

You have carried things to such an extreme that it would no longer be realistic to propose that you go back to Marshall's original plan—or even better, to Roosevelt's policies. Yesterday your idealism was supported by your dollars. Today, whether by some initial error or by a fatal progression, your dollars have become the essential ingredient of your foreign policy.

Because with your dollars and your arms you are stifling the very soul of the peoples who were once your friends, I ask you, simply, to leave us alone; it would be better. Leave us alone, for your own sake as well as ours. Are you not struck by the fact that the only countries really capable of defending themselves against aggression are Sweden and Switzerland, which are independent of you and materially neutral, and to a lesser degree Yugoslavia, which is willing to accept your aid but will have nothing to do with your pacts?

Leave us alone; we know that you must maintain your power, and that the Soviet Union will thus be kept in check as it was before the Atlantic Pact.

Leave us alone so that we can get rid of a press that is not your friend but only your mouthpiece, and of governments that detest you for all their servility. What you need most of all is to know the truth about Europe.

You want us to be strong: leave us alone so that we can wind up the war in Indo-China and build an army again. You want us to be as united as possible: leave us alone so that the "dollar" governments will disappear, governments which are inevitably reactionary, which oppress the worker for the benefit of the speculator. You want to avoid uprisings of colonial peoples: leave us alone so that we can have moderate governments which will solve Africa's problems according to the will of its people and of all liberal and democratic Frenchmen.

Be yourselves, with your splendid qualities and your immense faults, a people as extreme in everything as is your Soviet enemy; be yourself—but at home. It is the only way you will find friends among us again and, if it should be necessary, allies.

You have just changed Presidents and governments. What their predecessors refused to recognize, the newcomers will not see unless goaded to it by the irritation of the American people, surprised that their money should have lost them so many friends. Will not some American statesman admit that this irritation among your people and the growing hostility of Europeans are the signs of a grave mistake, a mistake which must be set right as soon as possible?

Inner Asia: Sino-Soviet Bridge

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

A CHARACTERISTIC feature of the political life of Communist countries and their satellites is the lively traffic in visiting party leaders and cultural missions. Until quite recently, however, there was a striking lack of such exchanges between China and Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic). It was Chiang Kai-shek, not the Chinese Communists, who in 1945 recognized Outer Mongolia's independence of China—an independence that had existed in fact since the last Chinese war-lord army was driven out in 1920-21. After the Communists brought the whole of mainland China under their control in 1950, their diplomatic relations with Outer Mongolia remained lethargic.

But in the last two months a great stirring of activity has been noted. Tsedenbal, the new Mongol Premier, went to Moscow to join the Chinese-Russian discussions in August and September. On his way back from the conference Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, stopped at Ulan Batur, capital of Outer Mongolia. Soon afterward Tsedenbal went to Peking, accompanied by other high officials, and this visit was followed by the announcement of the dispatch of a large Chinese cultural mission to Mongolia and of a ten-year pact of cooperation between Mongolia and China.

Good reasons exist both for the slow development of relations between Chinese and Mongol Communists and for the present acceleration. Mongol nationalism confronts Chinese and Russian Marxists with problems that are unusual in their doctrinal aspects and not easy to handle administratively or politically.

In the first place, there is the continuing division between Outer and Inner Mongolia. Outer Mongolia is a satellite state. It was as much a satellite of czarist Russia from 1911 to 1918 as it has been a Soviet satellite since the Russian Revolution. But while it functions as a satellite it is in form and structure a sovereign state. Inner Mongolia is not sovereign even on paper. For a long time it was divided into a number of segments, each attached to a Chinese province. Under the Chinese Communists a "pro-Mongol" policy has been initiated of detaching Mongol areas from Chinese provinces and putting them together again in an "autonomous" Mongol region. The process is not, however, and never can be complete. Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia has gone so far that it is now impossible to draw the frontiers of an Inner Mongolian area large enough to have an economic base of its own without including Chinese colonists to a number probably exceeding that of the Mongols.

In the second place, the juxtaposition of Outer and Inner Mongolia inevitably suggests a "pan-Mongol" movement to unite in a "Greater Mongolia" all areas contiguous to each other that are still inhabited by Mongols. This could be done "ambitiously" by including Buryat Mongolia—a part of the Soviet Union—and outlying Mongol areas in Sinkiang Province, and perhaps even by demanding the withdrawal of Chinese colonists from some of the marginal settled areas of Inner Mongolia. Or it could be done "conservatively" by abandoning outlying Mongols and uniting simply those parts of Outer and Inner Mongolia that are still unmistakably Mongol in population, language, and other cultural characteristics, and pastoral rather than agricultural in economy.

Pan-Mongolism, however, is not so simple as it has been made to sound by some of its advocates. The interests of China and Russia are involved. The interests of these two countries, as countries, are not necessarily identical even though their rulers profess the same ideology; and even if the rulers agree that the interests are identical they may not, because their countries are in different stages of development, find it easy to agree on the rate of speed at which a policy accepted by both should be implemented.

There is also the fact that pan-Mongol sentiment has never been as strong in Outer as in Inner Mongolia. Because Inner Mongolian nationalists have for half a century—since long before the influence of Marxist ideas, that is—looked toward Outer Mongolia as holding the stronger position, it has always been they rather than the Outer Mongolian nationalists who have wanted to join the two areas. While the idea has always had supporters in Outer Mongolia, it has also had opponents, whose traditional argument is that the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, because of their long contact with the Chinese, are not homogeneous enough with the people of Outer Mongolia. There is support for this argument in the circumstance that some of the most fiery leaders of Inner Mongolian nationalism have come from communities which practice agriculture in the Chinese manner, and sometimes speak Mongol badly or not at all, but are inspired by a "nationalism of resentment" because their people have been economically victimized and politically discriminated against by the Chinese—especially Chinese frontier war lords.

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Interacting with the problems created by the division between Outer and Inner Mongolia and by the uneven history and development of Outer and Inner Mongolian nationalism is the awkward fact, which must be causing a great deal of concern to both Russian and Chinese ideologists, that all Mongol nationalism is bitterly anti-Chinese. Inner Mongolian nationalism originated in resistance to Chinese colonization. Outer Mongolia first looked toward czarist Russia in 1911 because of fear of China; and after the Russian Revolution the Soviets had relatively little difficulty in keeping control of Outer Mongolia as a buffer protecting the Siberian frontier for the simple reason that, while many Mongols feared the Russian kind of revolution, even more feared domination and colonization by China—and, for a while, the third possibility of conquest by Japan.

THESE considerations are enough to explain why the Soviet and Chinese governments, although they could be expected on ideological grounds to follow a common or at least a parallel policy toward the Mongols, have moved slowly. They had, moreover, to overcome the disadvantage of a bad start at the end of the war with Japan in 1945. Outer Mongolian troops—not Chinese, either Communist or Nationalist—liberated most of Inner Mongolia from the Japanese. At such a moment the traditional Outer Mongolian attitude of suspecting that there might be a catch in union with Inner Mongolia was mellowed by the feeling of victory. Some of the Outer Mongolian detachments brought with them pamphlets containing propaganda for all-Mongol unity. Some of the military commanders, especially the younger ones, helped to set up local regimes and led the young Inner Mongolian nationalists who held office in these regimes to expect that they would eventually be taken over by Outer Mongolia.

Within a year, however, everything changed, and very abruptly. The Chinese Communists were cutting across Inner Mongolia to get into Manchuria and set up a position against Chiang Kai-shek. Outer Mongolian troops were withdrawn from the area; and though they carried off many young men with them, supposedly for purposes of indoctrination, they abandoned the local regimes they had helped to set up. To all except the handful of Inner Mongolian Communists who were working with the Chinese Communists the explanation seemed obvious: the Russians wanted to avoid the appearance of intervention in China, even indirect intervention through Outer Mongolia, and had therefore ordered that contact be broken off between Outer and Inner Mongolia. The Inner Mongolian nationalists concluded that Outer Mongolia, as a satellite, had to subordinate its policy to Russia's and that in their own country the Mongol interest would be overridden by the Chinese Communists, as in the past it had been overridden by the Kuomintang.

Against this background it is not hard to understand why the development of relations between Communist China and Outer Mongolia has been held up, even since the fall of Chiang Kai-shek. It is not so easy to explain the sudden animation recently reported. Why should there be this new and higher priority on cordial relations between Mongols and Chinese?

IT IS clear that the starting point was the participation of Tsedenbal, Outer Mongolian Premier, in the Russo-Chinese conference at Moscow, and therefore that the steps taken since to increase economic and cultural relations between China and Mongolia are part of the implementation of some important joint decision by China and Russia. This underlying decision was probably an agreement, not yet announced, to build a railway link from Siberia through Mongolia to China. A program of this kind would require careful political preparation. The Mongols are traditionally suspicious of railways, especially those linking them with China, because wherever railways have entered Mongol territory in the past the numerically weak Mongols have been drowned in a flood of Chinese colonization.

Until the defeat of Japan it suited Russian policy to respect this Mongol dislike of railways. Outer Mongolia served as a wide buffer for the Siberian frontier, difficult for a Japanese army to cross. Only one railway penetrated northeastern Outer Mongolia for a short distance, to facilitate the deployment of Russian forces in case of Japanese attack. Since the war, however, a line has been built from the Trans-Siberian to Ulan Batur, and there can be no doubt that it will eventually be pushed south to Kalgan, on the edge of Inner Mongolia, to link up with the North China rail net.

This link between Russia and China will be part of an even more grandiose program. Earlier this year the Chinese announced that they are pushing through a railroad into Kansu and on across Sinkiang, to link up with the Russian rail system in Soviet Central Asia. The blueprint is unmistakable, and it is not too early to ponder the consequences. Russia has now only one line of rail communication with China, through Manchuria. When that is backed by another line through Mongolia, and by a third, still deeper in the heart of the continent, through Central Asia, the whole economic structure of China will be given a right-angled turn away from the coast, the seaports, and international oceanic trade and toward Siberia, Central Asia, and eventual integration into an industrialized Eurasia.

In his National Press Club speech of January, 1950, Secretary of State Acheson declared that Russia is engaged in "detaching" from China and "attaching" to Russia the northern areas of China. "This process," said Mr. Acheson, "is completed in Outer Mongolia. It is nearly completed in Manchuria." He went on to include

Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang, and to say that "this fact that the Soviet Union is taking the four northern provinces of China is the single most significant, most important fact in the relations of any foreign power with Asia."

Mr. Acheson could hardly have been more wrong, and if American policy should rest complacently on the belief that he was right, there will eventually be another uproar when it is discovered that things have happened in Asia that we have not been told to expect. What Russia and China are actually doing is to attach themselves to each other by rail communication and industrial development in the northern frontier areas. Ideology apart, the consequences of that attachment, in mobility and in factory horse-power, are going to be not less momentous than were those of the great railway-building era that attached the Pacific coast of the United States to the Atlantic coast.

Roads of the Ex-Communists

BY ELIO VITTORINI

Rome

ITALY too has its share of writers who once were Communists or philo-Communists and who are so no longer. There are also some painters, some experts on the theater and the cinema. Some are well known, others not; all of them belong more or less to the same generation—they are men between the ages of thirty-five and forty-three. Their talents are not inferior to those of other illustrious refugees from communism, such as Stephen Spender, the novelist Richard Wright, or the film director Edward Dmytryk. In Italy, however, only the case of Ignazio Silone, politician as well as novelist, can be considered analogous to that of the French, the English, and the American writers and artists who accepted and then repudiated communism.

The difference between Italians and non-Italians was evident even at the moment of joining. For the confessions of the non-Italian Europeans and Americans show that while each individual had his personal reasons, all were obsessed by more or less similar hopes and torments.

The societies of France, Great Britain, and the United States are both capitalist and liberal. In all three, that is to say, the human values of liberalism are combined with the social disadvantages of capitalism, and can even appear to be indivisible. Thus inequality, in particular the feudal relations between capital and labor which still survive in all three countries, can seem to be the necessary condition for liberty; and the gradual conquests of the thousand-year struggle of man against the despotisms of the organizers of capitalism can be regarded as no more than the class conquests of the bourgeoisie in the course of its revolution.

One must add to this conception what remains of the romantic in modern culture—the nostalgia, for example, for the presumed spiritual unity for which every romantic thinker envies the Middle Ages and which Marx unfortunately did not know how to eliminate from his own doctrine; or the idealization of the ability to believe absolutely—to accept, not to doubt, to renounce criticism and inquiry—elements that cater to the need, to which the very young so often find themselves a prey, to believe at whatever cost in something superior to themselves. Then, too, there are the ills common to every reactionary period—the feeling that we are small and helpless in the face of our duties as human beings, that we are bound by our defects and can never "free ourselves" by our own efforts, and the consequent tendency to put ourselves in the hands of some organism which need not humor our whims and can make us, at last, with the incorruptible virtue of a force outside ourselves, honest and good.

One might have expected these aberrations to be typical of the youth who were converted to fascism in Italy. They turn out instead to be operative in the very countries where the habit of exercising civil liberties has been established for generations. It is in such countries as France, Great Britain, and the United States that freedom of speech and the freedom to change residence can be considered insignificant. The human importance of such freedoms is overlooked by those who have not known their lack. It is in Paris or in London that we hear them termed "delusions."

The Communist worker in France, and even more in Great Britain, where he is rare, or in the United States, where he is very scarce, has likewise an anti-liberal bias. He is a worker of whom it can be said that he has inherited philosophy, as Marx intended—but philosophy in the tradition of Nietzsche or Dostoevsky rather than in the great humanistic tradition which lies at the core of the Marxian expression. The writer or artist who clings to communism in France, England, or the United States does so precisely because he sees in the Communist effort —and much more in the effort of the Soviets, of the

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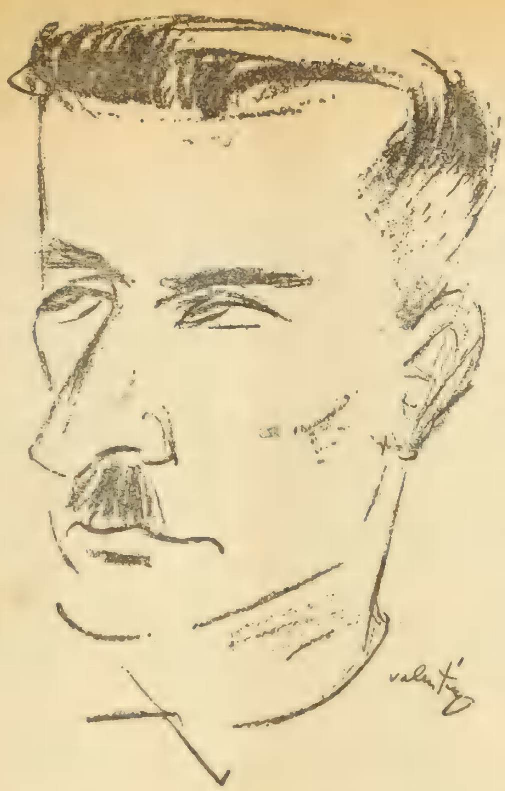
Russian state—the way to resolve, along with social problems, the various spiritual disturbances of our time, which he, in agreement with Nietzsche or Dostoevsky, considers diseases and which he attributes to the evolution of human relationships in the liberal sense.

He believes, that is, that the Communists are working to create a God on earth, able to carry out among men the unifying function once performed by faith in the celestial God of our fathers, and capable also of performing the function of the Provider, which men for thousands of years have fruitlessly demanded of God in heaven. His ideological consent to communism, therefore, could not be more absolute. He wants to collaborate in making God, and the Communist ideology is for him the technique by which human materials can be prepared for their re-fusion into divine elements. In collaborating, however, he discovers that a man, even the least of men, is potentially greater and more complex than the entire ponderous collective organism which reduces the human being to a screw or a bolt of the new "universal." He then cries out that the God under construction has failed. He also cries out that the ideology which has caused such a disaster must have serious defects and must be reexamined; or that it must have been badly understood and an attempt must be made to understand it better. He has, in effect, done an ideological about-face. Having adhered to communism as an anti-liberal, he parts from it a liberal—unless, of course, he has fallen back upon fascism.

In the case of Italian writers and artists, on the other hand, both the adherence to communism and the alienation from it have occurred without the slightest ideological mutation. (The exception, I repeat, is Ignazio Silone, who was occupied with political interests while still very young and therefore, like every man immersed in politics, was brought around to a more "European" point of view.) None of these men have furnished explanations which would give me authority to make this statement with certainty. But I myself am one of them, even though I have never carried the party card—more through negligence, I must say, than out of caution. I was one of the first to take part in the movement during the war and also one of the first—the year was 1947—to get out; and I think I can assume that my case is more or less typical.

In 1941, when people began to join the movement, Italy had already been under Fascism for nineteen years.



Elio Vittorini

"Our" writers and artists were young men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-three, and the social disadvantages of capitalism seemed to them terribly aggravated by the abolition, absolute in some fields and relative in others, of political and civil liberties. To them capitalism and liberalism were not indivisible. They had the one without the other, and this caused them to suspect that Fascism was aided by everything that could possibly be construed as anti-liberal. The totalitarian reality in which they lived led them to rediscover the individual greatness of man—who is born alone, dies alone, and is not free if he cannot count above all upon a personal liberty of his own, as unique as birth and as unique as death. The freedom to change jobs or to change residence was not "insignificant" to men who were continually forced to request official permits from the bureaucrats of the regime. Freedom of speech was in no sense a "delusion" to men who each day experienced the realization that lack of it is equivalent to lack of the ability to speak at all, because it destroys trust between one man and another.

They abhorred the social injustice of capitalism, but they considered this injustice due to a lack of freedom, a lack which had to be remedied. Their experience of capitalism untempered by liberalism caused them to reason in the same way as the peasants and workers of our south and of semi-feudal regions in general. If you take the trouble to analyze the spontaneous aspirations of these peasants and workers, you will find that, for all practical purposes, they are in favor of a liberalism without capitalism; and just as today the hopes of those peasants and laborers are borne on the stream which turns the wheels of the Communist mill, around 1942, and especially during the Partisan resistance, our writers and artists mistook communism for a new historical trend capable of superseding all other ideological preconceptions and of establishing itself as the continuation of the liberal revolution, according to the new historical exigencies affecting nearly all peoples in nearly all lands.

BY THIS I mean that they joined the Communist movement only on a historical plane, evaluating communism on the basis of the historical role which it played in the struggle against Fascism. On an ideological plane they did not even attempt to express themselves until 1946, 1947, or even as late as 1948. Therefore, any delusion on their part concerning communism was not a delusion which produced any ideological change in them but only a delusion which filled them with historical bitterness. They did not think, "Communism is not what we thought it was." Instead, they thought, "Communism has not become what history required that it should become." Having always remained the liberals they were upon joining, they could not but separate themselves from communism as soon as they became convinced that its reality was anti-liberal. To be sure, they have sometimes taken years to convince themselves. The reactionary solutions identified with the name of Zhdanov, the absolutist decisions of the Cominform, the witch trials in the various Balkan capitals, and so on were not determining factors for more than two or three of them. Most of them did not decide to break away until China also locked itself into the cell block of a totalitarian regime and betrayed their hope of seeing it accomplish, through the liberal impetus which existed in the Chinese people, a transformation of communism into an actual movement of liberation.

Now they all find they must admit, explicitly or implicitly, that Communist doctrinairism has already gone so far in its tendency to establish itself as a church that it cannot become the repository for the authentic historical aspirations of mankind. Already communism has become what the Catholic church was in the Middle Ages —a force which makes use of history, which plays up to history, which is part of history, which makes history, but which nevertheless arrests or obstructs the real current of history and therefore of life itself. This real current of history is still the thousand-year-old liberal current into which the class revolution of the bourgeoisie knew in its time how to insert itself. When all is said and done, Communist doctrinairism denies that any such over-all historical movement of liberation exists. And so a fundamental belief only in tyranny and a scorn of all that is spontaneous in man have pushed the Communist Revolution into the main stream of that other general historical movement which is its opposite—the current of reaction.

Does the disparity between these two categories of ex-Communists also make a difference in their present political viewpoints? It is certainly true that after having made a god of communism the non-Italian Europeans and Americans now identify communism with the devil. They have become liberals except in relation to their old object of faith. The Italians, on the other hand, who considered communism within its human limitations while they belonged to it, retain the possibility of considering it within its human limitations now that they have rejected it and of thus remaining liberals even in relation to it. Their position, so to speak, is the same as that of the liberal of centuries ago in relation to Catholicism, which was also anti-liberal.

The Mental Iron Curtain

BY LEO A. LERNER

Chicago

THERE are some who maintain that the 1952 election was "fought and won on transcendent issues of morality." *Time* went so far as to say that "the people did what materialists and cynics say people never do: voted against what they believed to be their immediate economic interests."

No materialist or cynic, I still agree with Samuel Lubell that people usually follow their self-interest when they vote, and I think that is what they thought they were doing this time. The middle class, the upper middle class, and the rich poured out to reduce the power of labor, get their taxes cut, end controls, and end federal competition with any kind of free enterprise. There was no "transcendent morality" in this. It was pure economic self-interest, even if short-sighted.

The "tax revolution" came at this time because there was money to put behind it, and because economic conditions were such that a larger number of people considered themselves in the "upper brackets." Even the women's vote was strongly influenced by a determination to lessen the bite from the family income. On the north side of Chicago the young Republican matrons rang door bells diligently. One of them told me, "We want more take-home pay."

This attitude is a form of economic isolationism which assumes that we can have prosperity, defense, and necessary government without paying for them. The best test of the theory is that Governor Stevenson got a majority in those states where the people have the lowest incomes, pay the least taxes, and still want their government to help them.

Add political isolationism to economic isolationism and you have the "package deal" sold to the American people by the largest political advertising budget in American history.

In 1952 we had an almost perfect combination of 1946 ("We want pork chops") and 1920 ("World go away from our door").

The theme song of the Republican campaign was: "All annoyances and troubles go away and let us alone. Strong Man Ike will take care of whatever comes up that might bother us."

Governor Stevenson, who warned of the stark reality of responsibility for each individual American, could not compete with this mental iron curtain.

LEO A. LERNER is editor and publisher of the Chicago North Side Newspapers. His article is the last of a series by political experts in various parts of the country on what happened in the election.

Dark Days at the U. N.

BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN

THE tragic death of Abe Feller, U. N. general counsel, and the resignation of Secretary General Trygve Lie have focused attention on the effort of the McCarran committee to rob the United Nations of its autonomy by subjecting the secretariat to a kind of thought control comparable to that already inflicted on employees of the federal government. To be sure, only American members of the secretariat are directly involved, but the intimidation is clearly aimed at the entire staff.

The committee began its recent open hearings on the very day that the U. N. General Assembly convened—as if to underscore the implication that the U. N. and not the staff was the chief object of attack. The importance of this session of the General Assembly can hardly be exaggerated; both friends and critics concede that its accomplishments—or failures—may well determine the future of the U. N.

The McCarran committee declared that it was not attacking the U. N., but the hearings could hardly have been more damaging if their purpose had been to undermine confidence in the organization. Following a pattern made familiar by hearings devoted to trade unions, the New York schools, and the Institute of Pacific Relations, the committee struck at the U. N. under the pretext of "screening" its personnel. Americans in the secretariat were examined as to their political views and associations and asked whether they had been guilty of espionage, subversive activities, or disloyalty. Some of them were asked whether they placed their loyalty to the U. N. above their loyalty to the United States. Those who declined to answer, relying upon the constitutional safeguard of the Fifth Amendment, were discharged by the Secretary General or given leave of absence with pay.

At first many observers were puzzled by the Secretary General's apparent unfamiliarity with the constitutional rights of American members of the secretariat. Then we learned from an item in the New York *Times* of October 29 that his action cloaked a confidential agreement with the State Department to rid the U. N. of Americans who were or who "appeared to be" Communists. The first version of this story, printed in an early edition, contained the statement: "It is said to be an invariable rule that security or loyalty information in regard to individuals held in the files of the various security agencies is never disclosed to foreign nationals. However, an intimation from the State Department that any given individual was of dubious reputation presumably would be enough to place Mr. Lie and his associates on their guard." Previously, in a Note to Correspondents released on October 13, Mr. Lie had stated: "On the very few occasions when I have received clear and convincing information from official United States sources, I have always acted—within the limits of my authority as Secretary General—to discharge the persons concerned. I shall continue to do so, but I shall not act on mere suspicion or smear." "Intimations" are of course not to be confused with "suspicion or smear," but it may not be easy to identify them with "clear and convincing information."

The impropriety of official United States pressure was quite as disturbing as the failure to respect the constitutional rights of American personnel. No nation has a right to select, control, or investigate the personnel of an international body, which must be independent of all member states if it is not to be the creature of some. The McCarran committee was clearly an interloper in this international area. The purpose of a Congressional investigation is to elicit facts so that Congress can legislate intelligently. But Congress has no jurisdiction over U. N. employees, since the Charter requires member nations "to respect the exclusively international character of the Secretary General and the staff." Nor is it the committee's function to investigate possible criminal acts, that being the duty of a grand jury. Yet the effect of the hearings was to threaten U. N. employees with McCarthy smears and McCarran denunciations.

Quite apart from these considerations, the Fifth Amendment was a legal barrier, if not to the committee's inquiry, then to punitive or disciplinary action based solely on the refusal of U. N. employees to bear witness against themselves. The Supreme Court has held that a witness may properly invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment in a hearing of the type conducted by the McCarran committee. The amendment has its historical origins in the protest against political and religious persecution and in the people's demand for protection from the exercise of arbitrary power. That it has been most frequently invoked in ordinary criminal cases does not alter the fact that it was intended to protect freedom of conscience and belief. Indeed, the Supreme Court has described the origin of the privilege conferred by it as a protest "against the inquisitorial and manifestly unjust methods of interrogating accused persons."

Justice Bradley once said that "any compulsory discov-

LEONARD B. BOUDIN, a member of the New York Bar, contributed The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion to The Nation *of September 29, 1951.*

ery by extorting the party's oath" was contrary to the "principles of a free government." If the government has evidence that a crime has been committed, it should institute a criminal prosecution. It may not put a person under oath and extort from him evidence which can then be used to secure his indictment. Anglo-American law employs the accusatorial rather than the inquisitorial procedure. The presumption of innocence would be destroyed under an inquisitorial system. Under our system, charges as such do not call for refutation. Nor is one compelled to aid the government in its prosecution or to supply the evidence on which an indictment may be based. Assertion of the right conferred by the Fifth Amendment does not imply guilt. The Supreme Court has described the right as "a protection to the innocent though a shelter to the guilty, and a safeguard against heedless, unfounded, or tyrannical prosecutions."

Surely an American citizen who becomes an international civil servant does not waive the protection of the Fifth Amendment. To the extent that he remains subject to American legal processes, he is entitled to its benefits. Could such a person be penalized if he asserted his right, under the First Amendment, to freedom of religious worship or his right to counsel in a criminal case under the Sixth? If his private papers were improperly seized, if he was denied a jury trial, could he be penalized for asserting the appropriate constitutional right?

AN AMERICAN Communist today runs the risk of prosecution under the Smith act if he admits membership in the party; a non-Communist may be in jeopardy if he denies it. Any witness subjected to vigorous examination may find himself supplying circumstantial evidence sufficient to bring about his indictment even if he is completely innocent of any wrongdoing. Given the Department of Justice's penchant for conspiracy indictments, particularly those based upon ideas rather than overt acts, even non-Communists run the risk of indictment under the Smith act or of perjury prosecutions based upon "memory contests" concerning events of a decade or more ago. Circumstantial evidence, paid informers, and perjury charges are the historical trinity of political prosecutions and witch hunts. Witness the cruel harassment of Owen Lattimore, the never-ending prosecution of Harry Bridges, and the successive indictments of William Remington. Circumstantial evidence brought about the original indictment of Remington, the issue being whether his various activities permitted the inference of Communist Party membership despite the absence of sufficient direct testimony to that effect. Later he was indicted on the ground that he had perjured himself at his first trial! This process of indictment based on circumstantial evidence, followed by indictment based on alleged perjuries at the trial, could in theory be repeated indefinitely. Nor should it be forgotten that courts and juries will today seize upon the most far-fetched circumstances as evidence of Communist Party membership; in the last Bridges trial, for example, the defendant's advocacy of trade with China was referred to as a sign of guilt.

Indeed, the non-Communist may be in greater danger than the Communist in Congressional inquiries, since a truthful denial of membership can lead to perjury indictments with consequences more serious than those of possible contempt prosecutions. Moreover, all witnesses questioned under these circumstances face a serious moral problem. They cannot rest with a statement of present beliefs and affiliations. Invariably their inquisitors demand that they identify their associates past and present, where they met, and what they said. Often the views of friends, past or present, are only a matter of surmise to the witness; yet the committee insists, if not on positive statements, then on identifications based on "reputation"—"I knew him as" or he was "regarded as."

As in earlier inquisitions, the witness must betray his friends and associates, both those who have retained their "subversive" views and those who have abandoned them —even, sometimes, those who never held them. Naive observers have said that it would be more honorable for a witness to testify concerning his own activities, whatever they were, and then refuse to name associates. It has even been suggested that American judges and juries would not be likely to convict witnesses who took this position. But Frederick Vanderbilt Field, for one, went to jail twice for refusing to name the contributors to a bail-bond fund, although he testified as to the part that he himself had played in raising it. In every political prosecution that we have had, juries have returned verdicts of guilty as consistently as did the juries in the famous English and Scottish treason trials of an earlier day.

It is a sign of the times that an American citizen can be deprived of employment and what amounts to civil-service tenure in an international organization, and effectively blacklisted, because of his assertion of a right guaranteed by the Constitution. What the McCarran committee has done, as the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* noted in a recent editorial, "is to spread an unjustified suspicion of widespread subversion in the U. N., and feed the flames of hatred for what the U. N. stands for. That is the effect, and those who believe in the U. N. will wonder if it is also the purpose." The recent hearings directly imperil the existence of an international civil service of the type on which the structure of the U. N. must rest. "These are dark days for the United Nations," Ralph Bunche said recently, "perhaps the darkest it has ever been through." Those who believe in the high purposes of the organization will therefore watch closely to see if effective forces can be marshaled to protect the U. N.'s sovereignty and American employees' constitutional rights against runaway Congressional committees.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POEMS BY WALLACE STEVENS

An Old Man Asleep

The two worlds are asleep, are sleeping, now.
A dumb sense possesses them in a kind of solemnity.

The self and the earth—your thoughts, your feelings,
Your beliefs and disbeliefs, your whole peculiar plot;

The redness of your reddish chestnut trees,
The river motion, the drowsy motion of the river R.

The Irish Cliffs of Moher

Who is my father in this world, in this house,
At the spirit's base?

My father's father, his father's father, his—
Shadows like winds

Go back to a parent before thought, before speech,
At the head of the past.

They go to the cliffs of Moher rising out of the mist,
Above the real,

Rising out of present time and place, above
The wet, green grass.

This is not landscape, full of the somnambulations
Of poetry

And the sea. This is my father or, maybe,
It is as he was,

A likeness, one of the race of fathers: earth
And sea and air.

The Plain Sense of Things

After the leaves have fallen, we return
To a plain sense of things. It is as if
We had come to an end of the imagination,
Inanimate in an inert savoir.

It is difficult even to choose the adjective
For this blank cold, this sadness without cause.
The great structure has become a minor house.
No turban walks across the lessened floors.

The greenhouse never so badly needed paint.
The chimney is fifty years old and slants to one side.
A fantastic effort has failed, a repetition
In a repetitiousness of men and flies.

Yet the absence of the imagination had
Itself to be imagined. The great pond,
The plain sense of it, without reflections, leaves,
Mud, water like dirty glass, expressing silence
Of a sort, silence of a rat come out to see,
The great pond and its waste of the lilies, all this
Had to be imagined as an inevitable knowledge,
Required, as a necessity requires.

One of the Inhabitants of the West

Our divinations,
Mechanisms of angelic thought,
The means of prophecy,

Alert us most
At evening's one star
And its pastoral text,

When the establishments
Of wind and light and cloud
Await an arrival,

A reader of the text,
A reader without a body,
Who reads quietly:

"Horrid figures of Medusa,
These accents explicate
The sparkling fall of night
On Europe, to the last Alp,
And the sheeted Atlantic.

These are not banlieus
Lacking men of stone,
In a well-rosed two-light
Of their own.
I am the archangel of evening and praise

This one star's blaze.
Suppose it was a drop of blood . .
So much guilt lies buried
Beneath the innocence
Of autumn days."

Lebensweisheitspielerei

Weaker and weaker, the sunlight falls
In the afternoon. The proud and the strong
Have departed.

Those that are left are the unaccomplished,
The finally human,
Natives of a dwindled sphere.

Their indigence is an indigence
That is an indigence of the light,
A stellar pallor that hangs on the threads.

Little by little, the poverty
Of autumnal space becomes
A look, a few words spoken.

Each person completely touches us
With what he is and as he is,
In the stale grandeur of annihilation.

The Hermitage at the Center

The leaves on the macadam make a noise—
How soft the grass on which the desired
Reclines in the temperature of heaven—

Like tales that were told the day before yesterday—
Sleek in a natural nakedness,
She attends the tintinnabula—

And the wind sways like a great thing tottering—
Of birds called up by more than the sun,
Birds of more wit, that substitute—

Which suddenly is all dissolved and gone—
Their intelligible twittering
For unintelligible thought.

And yet this end and this beginning are one,
And one last look at the ducks is a look
At lucent children round her in a ring.

The Green Plant

Silence is a shape that has passed.
Otu-bre's lion-roses have turned to paper
And the shadows of the trees
Are like wrecked umbrellas.

The effete vocabulary of summer
No longer says anything.
The brown at the bottom of red
The orange far down in yellow,

Are falsifications from a sun
In a mirror, without heat,
In a constant secondariness,
A turning down toward finality—

Except that a green plant glares, as you look
At the legend of the maroon and olive forest,
Glares, outside of the legend, with the barbarous green
Of the harsh reality of which it is part.

Gogol: the Demon in the Overgrown Garden

BY EDMUND WILSON

THE centenary of Gogol's death, February 21, was celebrated by Russians both here and at home and made the subject of a conference at Columbia, but it has not, so far as I know, brought forth any writing in English except a small book by Janko Lavrin, a professor of Slavonic languages at Nottingham University in England: "Nikolai Gogol: A Centenary Survey" (Sylvan Press, distributed by Macmillan). Professor Lavrin is not much of a critic and not much of a master of English, but in his unpretentious way he has been doing useful work in introducing Russian writers to the English-speaking world, and this book has its value for us because it treats certain phases of Gogol's life more satisfactorily than either D. S. Mirsky in his "History of Russian Literature" or Vladimir Nabokov in his own little book on the subject. Both these writers give a rather blurred picture of Gogol's depressing later years, but Professor Lavrin follows, stage by stage, his subject's agonized attempts to find in religion a force that would lift him to the level of the mission—the mission, as he conceived it, of the great Russian writer—of which he had tormenting glimpses but which he never felt confident of being able to fulfil.

The present writer proposes to make use of Professor Lavrin's book as a pretext for adding his own word to the current commemoration of this very great writer, the least read and understood in English of the five Russian masters of fiction. It should be noted that an excellent edition of Gogol in six small and cheap volumes has recently been published in the Soviet Union, so that most of his work is now more accessible than it had been for many years, during which the pre-Soviet sets were bringing enormous prices. This new edition is not quite complete, for it omits, along with a number of lesser things, almost the whole of Gogol's last published book, "Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends," in which he expressed his reactionary views, but the volumes are well printed and handy, equipped with adequate notes, and full of curious illustrations from the old editions. (Constance Garnett's six-volume translation is unfortunately out of print, but Mr. Nabokov speaks well of B. G. Guerney's more recent translation of "The Overcoat," "The Inspector General," and "Dead Souls.") The writer has been using this Soviet edition to fill up the gaps in his reading of Gogol and has now been through all his principal works in Russian; so to this extent, at least, he is qualified to write on the subject. It is always rather dangerous for a foreigner who has to work at reading an author to argue about the classics of another country with people who have known them all their lives. (Though Professor Lavrin is a Slovene, he is evidently at home in Russian.) There are sometimes extremely important things about relative rank and quality that the foreigner cannot know, because he has read only scattered works and does not see the whole development of a literature. I have tried to bear in mind, in this connection, a remark that Jean Cocteau once made to me: "Maupassant is a great writer in Russian." Yet the very necessity for the foreigner of paying close attention to every sentence may prevent the story from carrying him along so fast that he fails to notice exactly what is being said and how the author is saying it; and to come fresh to an accepted classic with a mature and unprejudiced mind may make it possible for him to see certain things that have been obscured for readers to whom the language is native, by childhood associations or conventional interpretations. One sometimes has this experience with the works of one's own literature—as when one only discovers in later life the beauty and the meaning of some play of Shakespeare's that bored one when one read it at school.

Apropos of the first of these points and before going on to the second, a word about the impression made by Gogol's style on the reader who attacks him with a dictionary. None of the other Russian classics, so far as my experience goes, presents so many obstacles to the foreigner. The paragraphs confront one like solid walls; the sentences seem to go on for pages. The vocabulary is queer and enormous. In Gogol's Ukrainian stories, the Ukrainian dialect is a factor that has to be reckoned with, as one has to reckon with Scottish in Scott, and the glossaries provided by Gogol himself fall far short of being complete—though the new editors have done something to supplement them. Then, Gogol was fond of collecting the vocabularies of special occupations and classes as well as the local dialects, and he liked to invent words. You should not be disheartened when you meet, for example, on the threshold. of the brilliant fragment "Rome" the rebarbative word *ishcher,* which is not given in the most comprehensive dictionary, and learn at last from the notes of this new edition that we have only Gogol's assurance that this is an "authentic Russian word" meaning "live coal." If you persist, Gogol's spell will conduct you over all these stumbling blocks; I know of no equally demanding writer who will give you more for your trouble. Gogol rarely produced a sentence that was not interesting from the literary point of view—that is, from the point of view of the special use of language to create impressions—and any one of his far-stretching paragraphs will contain so much poetry and humor, apt phrasing and unexpected imagery, that it makes one's slow-going delightful. It is as if one were steadily consuming a big bowl of Ukrainian soup, full of cabbage and beets and potatoes, chunks of sturgeon and shreds of beef or duck, with a foundation of sour cream—not that I know of any such Russian soup (they usually have fewer ingredients), but then there is no other writer who seems so to have mixed in everything.

Gogol's style is a variety of that viscous prose which—for reasons rather difficult to understand—was so popular in the early nineteenth century. The plum cake of Charles Lamb is a typical example; so, in a different field, is the maddeningly impeded narrative style of a Hawthorne or a Herman Melville. This style allows no rapid progression. A paragraph seems a mere clot of words, which might almost as well be read backward as forward and in which the contrived rhythms have the air of being ends in themselves, since they are always forcing the reader to stop and pay attention to them instead of carrying him along. This style must have been due to some very strong pressures, for it is shared by a relatively careless writer who worked on a big scale, like Balzac; and even by a popular writer, like Scott, who did want to tell a story. The settings of the stage in Balzac, the antiquarian preliminaries of Scott, are often mare's-nests of this littered non-functional style, which combines the facetious with the pompous, clumsily handled actualities with jaunty mythological allusions. Now, Gogol is the master of the mare's-nest. Though he may seem to be merely stirring round and round his thick and nutritious pages, as if they were the strawberry boiled preserve, or the *kasha* to be eaten with currants or honey, or the dough full of hazelnuts and poppyseeds for one of the fancier forms of the rich polymorphous Ukrainian bread that his country people are always eating, this invariably results in a finished dish, which contributes to a well-arranged dinner. The Russian genius for movement, which is one of the great features of Russian literature—I make no apology in this connection for continually changing the metaphor—never allows Gogol's prose to get really stuck; there is always a drama on foot that you know will not let you down, and in the meantime the rhapsodies, the inventories, the interpolated anecdotes, and the huge, Homeric similes that are whole short stories in themselves are managed with a great sense of rhetoric, so that they do not hold anything up, and they always become in some curious way organic parts of the story. With so much that might be stifling or stagnant, like the life that Gogol depicts, there is always something else that creates suspense—an element of the passionate, the *détraqué,* that may startle us at any moment. In these pages, which in style resemble the tangled forests and the overgrown gardens that are a recurrent motif in Gogol's work, from his earliest goblin tales to Plushkin's estate in "Dead Souls," astounding transformations take place: a devil will suddenly appear at the turn of a paragraph, a treasure will be revealed—though the treasures are mirages arranged by the devils—but, as is not always the case with the Gothic novels or the Hoffmannesque tales from which Gogol derived, these visions have a force of emotion, an intense identity and life of their own, that make even Poe seem cerebral and such fancies of Hawthorne's as the Minister's Black Veil and the Black Sabbath of Young Goodman Brown mere phantoms of woven words.

I AM still speaking of the early Ukrainian stories—"Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka" and its successor, the "Mirgorod" series—and this brings me to my second point: the chance that a foreign reader may be able to grasp certain things more readily than a native one. I am going to presume to register dissent from some of the accounts of these tales that we have had from Lavrin, Nabokov, and Mirsky. This is the department of Gogol's work that is most taken for granted by Russians. They first read these stories as fairy tales or farces about comic villagers. "It was . . . this kind of stuff," says Nabokov, "the juvenilia of the false humorist Gogol, that teachers in Russian schools crammed down a fellow's throat. . . . After a lapse of perhaps twenty-five years I forced myself to reread the 'Evenings'—and I remained as unmoved as I had been in the days when my teacher could not understand why 'The Terrible Vengeance' did not make my flesh creep or 'Shponka and His Aunt' did not make me rock with laughter." "Taras Bulba," the longest of the Mirgorod stories, is apparently prescribed to Russian children somewhat as "Ivanhoe" is, or was, prescribed to ours—as an exciting historical romance. It celebrates the exploits of the Cossacks at a period, rather vaguely indicated, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century when they were fighting the Poles and the Tartars. Yet if one comes to these stories after reading "Dead Souls," one sees that they are a good deal closer to Gogol's later work than Mr. Nabokov, for example, is willing to admit. Taras Bulba himself has a good deal in common with the boorish and maniacal landowners encountered by Chichikov in "Dead Souls." In spite of the heroic element, in spite of Gogol's interpolation of passages that imitate the language of the folk ballad or the epic, he cannot help making his Cossack chieftain—who gratuitously starts a war in order to give his two sons a field for exhibiting their prowess, then unhesitatingly shoots down one of them when, infatuated with a Polish princess, the boy has gone over to the Poles, and avenges the death of the other, who has been captured and executed by the enemy, by laying waste the whole of Poland—less a hero than a comic monster. If Pushkin exclaimed over "Dead Souls," "God, how sad Russia is!" he might have said of this earlier epic, "How horrible old Russia was!" And the arrival of Taras in the Warsaw ghetto in which he is to hide for a time launches Gogol on a characteristic but quite non-heroic episode of magnificent comic squalor.

Nor is the household in "The Old-World Landowners," the first of the Mirgorod stories, really so different from the households of "Dead Souls" as one would gather from the descriptions of this story by Mirsky and Lavrin (and Mr. Nabokov quotes Mirsky with approval). The first of these critics says of it that "the vegetable humors of the old pair, their sloth, their gluttony, their selfishness, are idealized and sentimentalized, and pathetic sympathy is the main emotion evoked in the reader." Gogol, says Lavrin, "disgusted by the noise and whirl of a big town," had turned this old man and his wife "into an embodiment of his own idea of peace and of that unruffled pastoral world which he had known in his childhood." The chronicle of their gluttony, he continues, conveys "no implication of moral censure, since the whole of it is but an example of man's 'return to nature,' to the contentment of the vanishing or vanished patriarchal ways," etc. But is it true that this old-world couple are much idealized by Gogol? Does he really approve of their plantlike life? The climax of the story comes when the old lady's cat is lured away by the outlaw cats that live in the woods but creep in through a hole under the barn. The pet comes back to be fed (as the old man is always being fed); then, when her mistress reaches out to stroke her, she escapes to freedom again. The old lady takes this at once as a sign that death has come for her. She feels, no doubt, that the cat has deserted her, but an impression is also created that this life of peace, comfort, and overeating, which is not enough for the cat, is not enough for her either. Yet she cannot slip away like the cat, she can only escape by dying. Over the old man's grief at her death Gogol is certainly eloquent but hardly sentimental; the author makes it plain that his mourning for his wife is also a vegetable affair, that he misses her out of "habit," not "passion." The quickly spent emotions of youth seem childish, the author says, beside this long and slow habituation to another human being on the part of a man "who has never been moved by any

The Heron

The cloud-backed heron will not move:
He stares into the stream.
He stands unfaltering while the gulls
And oyster-catchers scream.
He does not hear, he cannot see
The great white horses of the sea,
But fixes eyes on stillness
Below their flying team.

How long will he remain, how long
Have the gray woods been green?
The sky and the reflected sky,
Their glass he has not seen,
But silent as a speck of sand
Interpreting the sea and land,
His fall pulls down the fabric
Of all that windy scene.

Sailing with clouds and woods behind,
Pausing in leisured flight,
He stepped, alighting on a stone,
Dropped from the stars of night.
He stood there unconcerned with day,
Deaf to the tumult of the bay,
Watching a stone in water,
A fish's hidden light.

Sharp rocks drive back the breaking waves,
Confusing sea with air.
Bundles of spray blown mountain-high
Have left the shingle bare.
A shipwrecked anchor wedged by rocks,
Loosed by the thundering equinox,
Divides the herded waters,
The stallion and his mare.

Yet no distraction breaks the watch
Of that time-killing bird.
He stands unmoving on the stone;
Since dawn he has not stirred.
Calamity about him cries,
But he has fixed his golden eyes
On water's crooked tablet,
On light's reflected word.

VERNON WATKINS

strong feeling but whose life has simply consisted of sitting in a high chair, eating dried pears and mushrooms, and taking part in amiable conversations." But we do not get the impression that Gogol would be satisfied with such an existence. No: this household, too, is a jungle, a condition stuffed with sensual gratifications that can never be enough for the soul, a way of life in which, sooner or later, things are bound to take a queer turn. A wild impulse, an unearthly summons, may suddenly upset everything. The cats from the forest have crept in like devils. The widower, walking in the orchard, by whose fruit trees with their succulent fruit he, too, has been overgrown, thinks one day that he hears his wife calling him, and this proves to be an omen of his death. Gogol tells us here that sometimes in his childhood he has imagined, on a bright and quiet day, that he heard a voice calling his name and has fled to find some other human being who would relieve him of his sense of desolation. No night of raging storm, he says, in the heart of a pathless forest could have frightened him so much as that terrible silence in the midst of a cloudless day. This is a subtle and disturbing story, of which the *Gemütlichkeit* is not the author's but a part of the subject; yet Marc Slonim, in his recent book "The Epic of Russian Literature," seems to be the only critic in English who has gone even so far as to mention that "under the surface" of it "there lurks Gogol's usual dread of insignificance and triviality."

As for the celebrated "Quarrel of the Two Ivans," as Lavrin abridges the title, it seems to me a typical example of the classic which everybody knows so well—it is invoked by Russians like the "Alice" books—that no one any longer pays attention to it. It is assumed to be a hilariously funny story—though with a famous sigh and shrug at the end—that exploits a ridiculous quarrel between two queer and crotchety old men, one of whom has called the other a goose. Russians refer to it with the ready-made grin that we have for Tom Sawyer painting the fence or old Weller telling the court to spell his name with a "we." Neither from Lavrin's account of this tale nor from that of any other of these critics would one be able to get any idea of what it is really about, for they all make the quarrel appear meaningless. Lavrin does make it clear that the story is fundamentally bitter but tells us only that the issue between the two old cronies is that "Ivan Ivanovich wanted to buy from his friend an old gun the latter would not part with." Actually, the trouble is that Ivan Ivanovich cannot bear the feeling of inferiority inflicted by the sight of his neighbor's maid hanging out on the line a whole wardrobe of old uniforms, old dress clothes, and other signs of his friend's superior rank, and that he begs Ivan Nikophorovich to give him the gun in order to induce the latter to confer on him some sign of equality. The quarrel could never be healed because Ivan Nikophorovich could never refrain, in a crisis, from treating Ivan Ivanovich *de haut en bas,* and Ivan Ivanovich could equally never forgive this. It is a tragedy of provincial snobbery destroying good human relations in a community so dismal and dull that one might think people would try to preserve them—though the point is, of course, that it was inevitable that Ivan I.'s vulgar insistence should incite Ivan N. to insolence and that, for men with nothing to do, a war of spite that involves a class issue may, by stimulating a certain excitement, prove more satisfactory than a peaceful friendship. In any case, the two Ivans, in their humble way, are monsters, too, that lead up to the more formidable monsters to be later encountered in "Dead Souls."

FROM "Dead Souls" all the glory has departed of ancient Ukrainian legend as well as the amusing mythology of Ukrainian peasant lore, and even the gentleness and decency of the comfortable "old-world landowners." We are submerged in the messy and stuffy and smelly and run-to-seed life of landowners who are drunken and quarrelsome, moping and ineffective, brutal and self-assertive or crazily acquisitive or stupidly grasping. After an opening almost Pickwickian, with a man putting up at an inn, this strange book, which never ceases to be humorous, leads us into a domain of horror: another and ranker jungle that is also a stagnant morass. Gogol wallows, like his characters, in the paragraphs of a cluttered, apparently phlegmatic style that has now been brought to perfection; yet this style has a persistent undercurrent of sadness, of disgust, of chagrin; it condemns and it undermines. There is still the same queer suspense that is sometimes disrupted by violence but is never completely relieved. What, we ask ourselves, is meant by this chronicle of Chichikov, the empty soul, who buys up the names of serfs (referred to as "souls" in old Russia) that have died since the last census, in order to pretend he owns them and borrow money on them? Are not the souls of their masters also dead? Are these landowners really devils who appear to Chichikov or is he himself a devil who has come for *them?* Exposed in the district he has been working, he is last seen driving away in his carriage. There is a moment of respite and open horizons—the troika dashing off with its cheerful bells. In this torpid and moldy Russia, something has been set in motion, and Gogol has a moment of exaltation. But where is it going? he asks, and the horizon returns no answer. Nor is he able to escape from this world that is tedious as well as mad; nor has he power to redeem his hero through the Purgatory he plans to succeed this Hell. In the fragments that have come to us of the Second Part, the adventurer Chichikov, though sent to jail, seems to emerge just as much of a scoundrel, and the supposedly virtuous characters are the victims of obsessions like those of the First.

Gogol's life was full of absurdities, and Mr. Nabokov takes advantage of them, rather cruelly, to make his last phase ridiculous. It becomes somewhat more comprehensible in the account of it by Mr. Lavrin. Poor Gogol, who felt it his duty to supply his public with something more positive, to answer himself the question he had sent after the flying troika, now resorted to a sort of sham fanaticism, set up as a preacher and teacher, and published the "Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends," in which he glorified the Russian landowner as the agent of God on earth and opposed the education of the peasants, who, he said, should not be allowed even to know of the existence of any book but the Bible. But the indignant retorts of his friends, toward whom he had adopted a didactic tone, seem seriously to have shaken his self-confidence. He came to feel that, for all his pretensions, he had not really yet found God. He visited Palestine in the hope of a new revelation but could not find Him even there, and he finally came under the influence of a strong-minded Russian priest who, bigoted and ignorant of literature, tried to persuade him to give up writing. Ten days before his death—at the insistence, perhaps, of this priest—he burned up the Second Part of "Dead Souls," on which he had spent years of work, then declared that this had been a mistake, that the Devil had induced him to do it.

The typical situation in Gogol is the sudden falling-out of the bottom of some impressive construction that we have watched being elaborately built. You have, thus, the dissolution of the old-world landowners; the loss of Taras Bulba's sons; the explosion between the two Ivans; the theft of the overcoat in the famous later story; the cataclysmic discoveries, too late, in the plays, of the large-scale imposture of "The Inspector General" and of the confidence game in "The Gamblers," the abject jumping out the window of the fiancé of "Marriage" at the moment when, with infinite difficulty, his betrothal has been achieved; the breakdown of Chichikov's fraudulent traffic just in his hour of triumph when he is fêted as the toast of the town. So Gogol and his great book, at the moment when Turgenev says that all attention in Russia was centered on him and it, unexpectedly collapsed together.

GOGOL presents an unusual case of a frustrating impasse of the spirit, a hopeless neurotic deadlock, combined with a gusto for life, an enormous artistic vitality. So vigorous and so rich is this talent that it must have been difficult for his friends and his readers to foresee that it was doomed to be choked. Lavrin suggests that the trouble may be traced to an Oedipus complex, an explanation suggested so often that it is coming to seem rather suspect. There is, however, no doubt that Gogol's defeat was bound up with his lifelong failure to arrive at any satisfactory sexual life. Fear of marriage is made the comic theme of the story of "Shponka and His Aunt," deliberately left unfinished, and of the rather inferior comedy "Marriage," and Gogol's difficulties in this connection appear in another kind of theme, which he never succeeds in developing: that of the ideal woman, seen briefly and adored from afar—the maidenly *pensionnaire* who makes such an impression on Chichikov; the Italian beauty who gleams in the crowd for the hero of the projected novel on Rome. The magnificent opening of this novel has far more of positive inspiration than anything that has survived from the Second Part of "Dead Souls." Gogol's longing for a feudal world becomes somewhat more sympathetic when it is dramatized in the person of an Italian prince returning from impoverished exile to discover for the first time his native Rome, but at the moment when it at last becomes necessary, after the long, the monumental buildup, to bring the prince into direct relations with the dazzling Annunziata, the story abruptly breaks off. In "Viy," of the Mirgorod series, the traveler and the beauty—both Gogol and his heroes are always traveling—do engage, but with a fatal result, and that this fatal result was inevitable to Gogol's vision of life is shown by the turn that he seems to have given to the folk tale from which he derived the story. This is a version of the vampire legend in which a young man must stand watch for three nights by the body of a dead woman, who at midnight comes to life and attacks him. Gogol says that he has followed the folk tale exactly, but in the versions of this story included in the collection of Afanasiev, the Russian Grimm, the young man is always able to defend himself with the Psalter and the sign of the Cross, and finally defeats the witch; and, from these and from the habits of folk tales in general, we may assume that it is Gogol himself—the solid Ukrainian background, more or less realistically presented, is certainly very much Gogol's—who is responsible for making his student succumb at the third vigil and fall dead with fright when the vampire calls in the reinforcements of Hell (just as, in "Taras Bulba," the young Andréy is destroyed through the irresistible spell that has been cast on him by the Polish princess). It should be noted that the girl is revenging herself. She had fastened herself first on the student in the shape of an old hag, and he had only got rid of her by beating her to death, at which point she had been forced to reveal herself as the typical Gogolian beauty, intimidating and unattainable. In a final ironic scene, the boy's former companions on the walking trip that has had for him this tragic end—back in college now and warming over their cups—are discussing his fate at their ease. Not having had to share his ordeal, they decide that if he had not been yellow, the witch could have done him no harm: "You've only got to cross yourself and spit on her tail, and nothing can happen to you!" But this rite had never worked for Gogol. It was always the Devil who appeared to him, never the Savior he hoped for, and when the feminine apparition toward whom he aspired comes at all close to any of his heroes, she proves to be a devil, too.

It was only to Dostoevsky, in the next generation, that the Christian revelation came. It is one of the striking features of the continuity of Russian literature that Dostoevsky should not only show strongly the literary influence of Gogol but that he should even give somewhat the impression of being haunted by Gogol's devils and even of saving Gogol's soul.

Shaw the Shavian

BERNARD SHAW AND MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by Alan Dent. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

LIKE another great Irish master of English prose Bernard Shaw wrote peculiar love letters to a woman named Stella. In both cases the lady seems to have been more than willing, but it is uncertain that the love affair was ever consummated. The public, nosy as always in such matters, has persisted in asking why, but in neither case is the question likely to be answered to everybody's satisfaction. Swift explained nothing; Shaw has explained too much and too volubly. Strangest of all is the fact that neither of the Stellas behaved like a woman scorned. "Here [wrote Mrs. Campbell] are the dear letters. If I inspired a little of the tenderness of their genius I am proud not vain. . . . People will talk, but nobody will *think* anything but what lovely letters and what a dear man you are." (You may deduct what you like for the fact that she was asking and not getting permission to publish.)

As printed here for the first time and with the editor's assurance that nothing significant has been omitted, the correspondence begins in 1899 when Shaw was an unsuccessful playwright and Stella a great star whose interest he was anxious to arouse. It ends in 1939, with Shaw on top of the world and Mrs. Campbell a woman who had outlived her welcome on the English stage. Most of the purple passages come early; much of the later correspondence is an unedifying squabble over the question of what Mrs. Campbell might use in her memoirs. The climax occurs around 1912, when the production of "Pygmalion" was in the works and when Shaw was more nearly ready than he ever was before or after to succumb to the Life Force. Besides the passion, real or feigned, there are some astonishing paragraphs in which Shaw seems genuinely anxious to drop his mask and to confess his secret. One brief fragment—unfinished and unsigned but apparently sent—seems to come as close as he ever came to a cry from that heart he is supposed not to have had. "What was done to me in my childhood was nothing at all of an intentional kind. . . . I did not know that I was different from other people (except for the worse); far from being conceited, I hadn't even common self-respect. I have discovered all my powers from the outside, with incredulous astonishment, or rather I have discovered that everybody else hasn't got them. My shyness and cowardice have been beyond all belief." This is, nevertheless, a collection of love letters, and one cannot help asking what as love letters they mean.

Before assuming any mystery one should be sure that it exists, and there are those who may want to explain this one away. Shaw had recently been married, and married men sometimes have scruples which prevent them from acting upon impulses they recognize quite clearly. Under the circumstances many quite ordinary men have been unable to resist the impulse to play with fire while quite determined not to let it burn them, and though the antics necessarily involved in this procedure are not very dignified they create no mystery. Why should we assume one here? In this correspondence there are enough cryptic passages to make half a dozen different readings possible. Individual letters—though hardly in the context of the whole—might even suggest merely that Stella was holding out for marriage.

But Shaw, the reply is, really was a peculiar man as well as a great one. On the one hand there seems no reason to doubt Hesketh Pearson's report of a conversation in which Shaw told him unequivocally that his marriage had been, from the beginning and by mutual prearrangement, what the Victorians called "in name only." On the other hand, few have ever been able to take at face value his various public pronouncements about that indifference to sex which is inevitable and normal in any man who happens to be endowed with a superior mind and imagination. Obviously he was not an average sensual man, and his conduct can neither be explained nor judged by ordinary standards. Either there was some mystery or he tried to make one. And yet the letters seem clearest when Shaw himself appears to be behaving in all too human ways.

He certainly is not a man taking a strong or consistent line. He is neither keeping an over ardent woman in her place nor frankly inviting her into his arms. Moreover, the ambiguity of the situation seems to be largely of his own making. Many a passage written by this professed puritan is frankly sensual and titillating. He will neither eat his cake nor allow himself or Stella to forget that it might be eaten. He gloats and at moments he all but drools. More often than an admirer likes to admit he lets himself appear in the role of a mere flirt, as the flirt was defined in the best of all definitions—"one who deliberately arouses passions he has no intention of gratifying."

In what is probably the crucial letter—dated November 27, 1912—Shaw resumes the mask, mounts the platform, and actor-like retreats into one of his successful roles. "Oh, all they say is true. I have no heart. . . . Stella! who is Stella? Can't remember; what does it matter? I have articles to write and the preface to finish. . . . I want no Stella; I want my brains, my pen, my platform, my audience, my adversary, my mission." All this and much more like it might of course have come straight from the mouth of John Tanner in "Man and Superman." After the letter which contains it Shaw flirted outrageously again. But the die was cast, and he never again appears without his grease paint. Mrs. Campbell no doubt came as close as anyone ever did to getting a glimpse of the real Shaw. But in the end she was compelled to settle for no more than a few command performances given by the public personage. A quarter of a century later when she sent him one of the early letters he could reply: "How often have I warned you never to give money to a beggar who begs too well! He is a professional. I am amazed at this proof of the unscrupulousness with which I practiced my professional tricks on you. Still, it was very delightful."

These are the extraordinary and peculiar letters of an extraordinary and peculiar man. They reveal human weakness on the one hand, and they contribute on the other some new touches to the portrait of Shaw the Shavian. The mystery—if there is one—is as mysterious as ever, although sexual shyness could explain both his behavior toward Mrs. Campbell and the whole protective doctrine of the thinker and doer with no time for child's play.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

For a World Revolution

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN. By Frederick L. Schuman. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD. By Stringfellow Barr. Doubleday and Company. $3.

IN THE cold gray light of election returns, pleas for a sane and generous policy like Schuman's and Barr's seem uneasy and unwanted intruders. We are now committed to averting the next war in the same way as all wars have been averted in the past—by preparing for it. Neither candidate could have taken us out of the morass, which is of our own choosing. Our best hope is to preserve, from day to day, what anxious peace we have; and to use every hour of respite to stir up the latent good sense and good-will of the people, now drugged with mere business and mere politics. A desperately slow and uncertain process, while we are racing with hunger and revolution. But whether with hope or without, Schuman and Barr point out our plain duty.

Schuman's book is rich and vital. To excess: as the French say, I complain that the bride is too fair. Its five hundred pages are packed with erudition *à la* Spengler, only, I trust, of much better quality. (The *seriousness* of

Spengler is a point on which Schuman and I do not see eye to eye.) I cannot believe it was indispensable to give us, for good measure, compendious treatises on anthropology and psychoanalysis. In the Discourse on Universal History which fills nearly half the volume many details seem dry because irrelevant. I am grateful for the information that the troops of Hulagu were beaten at Ain Jalut in Syria (September 3, 1260) by the forces of Lotzu, Mameluke Sultan of Egypt; but the definiteness of the statement adds nothing to the argument. As a matter of fact, Schuman's sketch of human evolution simply confirms the old adage: "We can teach history, but history cannot teach us." Each case in the past was at the same time complex and unique. It is impossible to isolate the single cause of repeated failures. No road is closed for ever. Men dreamed of flying from the time they saw birds. Historically their quest was as foolish as that for the world state and the world language.

The temper of Schuman is a fascinating blend of tough realism and prophetic fervor. No dispassionate scholar he! He seldom praises; but how lustily he can curse! Mentioning Rousseau's very sensible suggestions for peace, he must add: "scallywag philosopher of Geneva, libertine, social theorist, and madman." None of these insults would fit Kant, whose ideas were closely modeled on Rousseau's. Anyone who fails to agree with Schuman is treated as a mere Rousseau. I know the prophets were angry men; but so is Westbrook Pegler.

These faults, however, are the excesses of rare qualities. With the main thesis of Schuman, I am in substantial agreement. So long as we worship power, the way to peace is barred: at best, we may hope for years of precarious equilibrium and ruinous armament races. Most dangerous of all is the confusion—not wilful hypocrisy—between professed ideals and the realities of power. The right must wield the sword of the Lord. It simply makes wars more hideous, for self-righteousness breeds fanaticism. No one will commit for sheer interest the crimes that are justified by a holy cause. Naked isolationism would be safer than an imperialistic crusade.

Schuman's remedy is the federal formula. Let the nations retain autonomy but abdicate power, that is, sovereignty. Excellent! But there is no virtue in a mere formula unless it stands for sincere convictions. Our federal Constitution did not prevent the Civil War; and from that time on, our government has been "federal" only in name: the United States *is* (note this singular) a single nation with a wisely decentralized form of administration. Given a favorable atmosphere, the United Nations might grow imperceptibly from a diplomatic congress to a confederacy, and from that to a genuine federation.

A U. N. at the service of an American ideology is of course nothing but an instrument of war. I agree with Schuman that our allies in the free world are satellites: they know it and resent it. No power assuming leadership has so far shown the proper respect for its associates: neither Napoleon, nor Hitler, nor Stalin, nor Truman. Will Eisenhower achieve that miracle?

Stringfellow Barr is not interested in the failures of history: what is history but the graveyard of hope? He looks forward; he offers a dynamic faith with a practical program. For him, the enemy is not Russia as a rival empire, or communism as a threat of world revolution: it is the formidable problem of abject poverty, with its concomitants—hunger, disease, ignorance, smoldering despair. This the Soviets acknowledge, and offer for these ills a crude but impressive remedy; we feel we have done our duty if we defend freedom with the aid of Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Franco. We have the good-will, the enlightened self-interest, the resources, the know-how to back an International Development Authority, a World T. V. A., in the spirit of UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, and Point 4. For we came very near that grand conception: it has been sabotaged, it must be revived. Only we must be sure that it is not made subservient either to the ideology of capitalism or to the imperialistic policy of the United States (so admirably expressed by Henry Luce: "to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit"). It must be international in deed. It may start even with our halting U. N. in apparent control: it will breathe life into the U. N., in ways undreamed of by students of the past. Nor is it necessary to make it conditional upon disarmament, as Senator Wagner proposed. Where is the money to come from? Money is but a sign: the economic realities are natural resources, man-power, organization, technical knowledge, and above all confidence.

This proposal, so wise, so practical in its generosity, reminds me of three forerunners to whom I feel we should pay homage. The first is William James, with his address on the Moral Equivalent for War. The second and most obvious is the strayed leader, the forgotten man, Henry Wallace. The third is Herbert Hoover. Throughout his Memoirs you will find uncoordinated but profoundly sincere pleas for the "world revolution" which Stringfellow Barr and, in his Preface, Justice William O. Douglas are advocating. He too was struck with "the giant sorrows of the world." He too saw hunger as the arch enemy. He had the good-will, and the know-how. He was hampered by his Midwestern isolationism ("We hate Europe") and by his doctrinaire economic liberalism. The pity of it.

There is a solution that neither Schuman nor Barr mentioned. If we opened our gates wide to the disinherited, as we did in the nineteenth century, the present crisis would lose much of its acuity. Instead of a revolution people would dream of, and work for, a passage to America. But we are grimly resolved not to share "the promise of American life." This makes full federalism a very distant goal: we do not want a government that might proclaim "the freedom of all men to move and settle everywhere they please in the world." But it also increases the need for Barr's International Development Authority. ALBERT GUERARD

The Continental Mind

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE. By Bernard DeVoto. Houghton, Mifflin Company. $6.

TODAY we cross the continent by air between breakfast and dinner, by train in three and a half days, by car, if we step on the gas, in five days. It is hard to realize that so routine a journey covers ground that preoccupied the explorers of four nations for the better part of three centuries. The first transit of North America, the classic journey of Alexander Mackenzie, took place 301 years after Columbus's landfall, 259 years after Cartier raised the French flag on the Gaspé Peninsula. And 220 years separated the founding of the first Roanoke colony and the arrival of Lewis and Clark at the mouth of the Columbia.

In our era of supersonic speed, this seems snail's progress. Yet if we drive from Atlantic to Pacific at a pace moderate enough to permit use of the eyes and exercise of the imagination, we can begin to grasp the nature of the obstacles facing the pathfinders. Over much of the route we can, with a slight effort, banish from our consciousness the still puny works of man—the smooth highways, the bridges, the filling stations, and the fences—leaving only nature in the raw—the hummocky sagebrush plains, the great mountain ranges, rising one after another, threaded by tortuous passes, the wide rivers and torrential streams, the alkali deserts. And with eyes thus adjusted, we can dimly appreciate the energy and daring and persistence of those who first forced a way through this wilderness.

Anyone undertaking such a transcontinental journey in time as well as space would be wise to pick Bernard DeVoto as a guide. No other historian can equal him in recreating the sights, sounds, smells, and taste of the virgin West and in interpreting the forces that urged men to conquer it.

The primary theme of DeVoto's trilogy, of which this book is chronologically the first although the last to be published, is "the development of the continental mind." Beginning with the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca, "The Course of Empire" touches on the efforts of innumerable Spaniards, Frenchmen, Britons, and Americans to solve the mystery of North America and ends with a detailed account of the Lewis and Clark expedition that made good the geopolitical vision of Thomas Jefferson. Hard on the heels of Lewis and Clark came the Rocky Mountain fur traders, whose "business and way of life" DeVoto described exhaustively in "Across the Wide Missouri" (1947). They, in turn, opened the trails for the Western migration, the beginnings of which, simultaneously with the Mexican War that rounded out the continental United States, are the subject of "The Year of Decision, 1846" (1943).

As DeVoto never tires of pointing out, geographical fantasy was both stimulant and impediment to the exploration of North America. The Spaniards were led on, and astray, by their cherished myth of the seven golden cities: Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans just as relentlessly searched for a short water route to China. Even when the first faint news of the Rocky Mountain barrier began to seep through to the mapmakers, the idea of an easy connection between the oceans persisted. Thus Jefferson's instructions to Meriwether Lewis showed his belief in an "interlocking" of the headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia—and, perhaps, the Colorado and Rio Grande also—in such a way that only a short portage would be necessary to link eastern and western river systems.

If Jefferson's geography was hazy at times, no man had a clearer grasp of geopolitical principles. He understood why the possessor of New Orleans must be "our natural and habitual enemy," why the return of that city to French rule would "marry" the United States "to the British fleet and nation." The Louisiana Purchase, as DeVoto says, "welded the implicit significance of the American political experiment to the implicit logic of continental geography."

Napoleon made over Louisiana to the United States on easy terms in order, as he said, to give England "a maritime rival who sooner or later will humble her pride." Nor is this famous real-estate transaction the only reason for American gratitude to the Emperor. If Napoleon had not kept Britain so occupied during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, Whitehall might have lent more willing ears to the pleas of Alexander Mackenzie, and Jefferson's plans for a northwestern empire have met more rugged opposition. Perhaps the D. A. R. of Portland, Oregon, should erect a statue to the Little Corporal.

DeVoto's book treats a large subject in a large way. With his usual exuberant energy, the author has physically covered much of the territory he describes: he has ransacked the libraries and checked and cross-checked the evidence which he adduces. But good as his book is, it might have been better had he been more selective. In the heat of the chase after strange and elusive facts, DeVoto sometimes forgets that the his-

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torian's job is hunting for the pot. For example, he has given a good deal of space, after expending much research effort, to the myth of the Welsh Indians. It is a good story but is it strictly relevant?

Again, DeVoto's writing would be benefited by more discipline. True, his prose, to use his own phrase, "is not discolored by the Ph.D. style." On the other hand, it does sometimes become too lush and overweighted with rhetoric.

Despite such minor flaws, "The Course of Empire" is a fascinating work, the value of which is enhanced by many maps, drawn by Erwin Raisz, which combine clarity with aesthetic appeal. With its companion volumes it will form the nucleus of my traveling library next time I head West.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Elizabethan Stages

SHAKESPEARE AND THE RIVAL TRADITIONS. By Alfred Harbage. The Macmillan Company. $6.

MR. HARBAGE'S new book is a learned, careful, and sometimes witty attempt to prove that the term "the Elizabethan stage" is a misnomer. There were two Elizabethan stages—the great popular drama that flourished in the open-air theaters and the more sophisticated plays that were shown in the private playhouses. It is Mr. Harbage's thesis that Shakespeare's art prospered and grew strong because it was firmly rooted in a sound moral atmosphere and did not have to appeal to the somewhat decadent audiences that supported the private theaters.

He opens with an illuminating account of the huge network of acting companies that had spread over England. A villager could see a dozen plays a year and a townsman nearly twice as many, while a Londoner found an almost continuous series of plays spread out before him. The private theater, on the other hand, tried to attract a small and exclusively urban audience, and Mr. Harbage feels that it cut itself off from the healthy springs of English life.

The greater part of the book is a careful study of the scripts of the period, contrasting the decadence of the private theaters with the sturdy morality of the public stage. The public theaters like the Globe upheld the dignity of man, refused to condone adultery, glorified marriage, and had respect for the government. The private theaters like the Blackfriars ridiculed honor, amused their customers with sexual excesses, jeered at family life, and were skeptical of the value of law and order. Mr. Harbage concludes that this kind of decadence is inevitable when the audience consists of a small coterie rather than the general public, and that one of the faults of present-day writing is a spiritual poverty caused by writing for a somewhat similar coterie audience.

There is much truth in Mr. Harbage's thesis, but in his natural wish to prove his point he has perhaps oversimplified it. For instance, he singles out Ben Jonson as one of the main coterie writers and even goes so far as to suggest that Jonson's own claim to being a moralist was not quite honest. Yet this is to ignore the fact that Jonson's comedies for the Blackfriars were written in obedience to an old and strict tradition. He was trying to make comedy what Cicero had called a "mirror" of life by putting human follies on the stage. He was trying to establish in London the comedy of manners, and what Mr. Harbage calls decadent Jonson would have called realistic. Moreover, it was realism with a purpose, since the Renaissance believed that the most effective way to purge a man of his faults was to show them in heightened form on the stage.

In the case of John Marston, no such defense can be made. There was something sick about Marston's mind, although it is perhaps unfair to blame the audience for a quality that was in Marston himself. As for the third coterie writer that Mr. Harbage singles out, George Chapman, the plays he wrote for the Blackfriars are so much better than the ones he wrote for the public theaters that one can only be grateful for whatever caused the difference. Jonson, Marston, and Chapman once collaborated on a play for the Blackfriars, and according to Mr. Harbage's thesis the result should have been a piece of decadent sensationalism. What they actually produced was that charming comedy "Eastward Ho."

It is undeniably true that Shakespeare benefited as a writer because his art was rooted in the healthy soil of a great popular audience. And yet Barnabe Barnes was working for the same audience when he turned out a piece of sadistic junk like "The Devil's Charter." There are elements in any audience that can degrade a writer if he is willing to be degraded, and Mr. Harbage has put too great an emphasis on a single aspect of what is a very complicated problem.

It is even possible that the final responsibility for the flimsiness and the moral cheapness of so many of the coterie plays rests not with the audience but with the managers. The men who ran the Blackfriars Theater were interested only in making money, and the actors in the company had no control over either the policies or the scripts. The men who ran the Globe Theater were the actors themselves and one of the most responsible and intelligent groups of men in London. Shakespeare was a member of this group, which stood for the highest type of professional theater in contrast to the commercial theater of the Blackfriars management. Ben Jonson disliked and distrusted the Globe audience and said so many times. But he nevertheless brought all his best plays to the Globe management, and it would be pleasant if Mr. Harbage, with his usual careful and scholarly methods, would investigate in his next book the reason.

MARCHETTE CHUTE

The Young Roosevelt

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE APPRENTICESHIP. By Frank Freidel. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

HERE is an important book: the first instalment of a projected six-volume biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt which may well become the definitive Life. Professor Freidel, who teaches history at the University of Illinois, has been working on his monumental study since 1945, and the first volume impressively attests the thoroughness of his research and his complete mastery of great masses of material.

The details are all there—completeness is, after all, the raison d'être of a multi-volume biography. If the vivid character of the man fails to emerge fully, that is a fault inherent in the genre and not in the biographer. Mr. Freidel deals fully, even exhaustively, with Roosevelt's family background, his childhood, his education at Harvard and Columbia, his marriage, his two terms as New York state senator, and his period of office as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The book closes with the Armistice, in Franklin Roosevelt's thirty-seventh year. Up to this point in his life F. D. R. could not be said to have been a remarkable man. His career, as Mr. Freidel demonstrates, although gratifyingly successful, had been derivative—consciously patterned after Theodore Roosevelt. This fact creates the paradox that the task of a biographer of the young Franklin is at once easy and difficult; easy, because it does not call for decisive judgments or daring interpretations; difficult, because of the necessity to sustain interest in an amiable and rather uncomplicated young man. Considering this handicap, Mr. Freidel does brilliantly, illuminating his straightforward narrative with anecdotes and well-chosen excerpts from correspondence. The author's style is, at best, conscientious, but at least it is uncluttered, and while it lacks that flexibility and appearance of ease which are the marks of good writing, it never obstructs or obscures what he wishes to convey.

The chief values of Mr. Freidel's opening volume are the comprehensiveness of his reporting and the objectivity of his evaluations. It is in the nature of his subject that this can be no more than an introductory study; Franklin Roosevelt did not achieve real stature or that complexity which puzzled all who knew him until the crisis of infantile paralysis. Then something happened—something that falls within the province of Mr. Freidel's second volume and that will make far more severe demands on the biographer's insight than anything with which he had to deal in this volume.

Still, it is good to have such a thorough account of those earlier years. It effectively disposes of many myths, both favorable and unfavorable. Franklin Roosevelt failed to obtain his law degree at Columbia Law School not because he was a poor student but because he had passed the New York Bar examination in the spring of his third year and had no interest in completing his courses. His famous leadership of a small band of Democratic state senators in revolt against a Tammany candidate did not result in a crushing defeat for the machine. Tammany's man for the United States Senate, William Sheehan, was forced to withdraw, but James O'Gorman, whom the New York Legislature finally named to the job, was fully acceptable to the city organization. On these and other matters Mr. Freidel sets the record straight. It is pleasant to report that while he clearly likes his man he avoids the hazards of hero-worship. He dwells most expertly on Roosevelt's Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy, and devotes over two hundred pages to F. D. R.'s turn "at T. R.'s desk." Whatever else in Mr. Freidel's enterprise may have to be revised, this job will not need to be done again.

It is possible that later generations may wish to retraverse the ground which Mr. Freidel has traveled with such care, industry, and fairness. But it would seem likely that such future biographers would have to turn to his work, just as all contemporary biographers of Beethoven turn to Thayer's indispensable Life. We can look forward to Volume II of "Franklin D. Roosevelt" with considerable confidence and but few reservations.

PETER GAY

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Maladies of Machinery

INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMIC HISTORY. By G. D. H. Cole. St. Martin's Press. $2.

THE two hundred years between 1750 and 1950 have subjected the world to a variety and a rapidity of change unique in human history. Revolutions in trade, industry, and agriculture have been accompanied by political turmoil, scientific discovery, and destructive war. Intellectual attitudes have fluctuated wildly. The nineteenth century, begun in Malthusian despair, gratefully embraced the evolutionist's hope of progress less than fifty years later. In the twentieth century the fruits of man's triumph over nature began to taste bitter in the mouth, for they had been unmatched by victory over himself.

It is not easy to make sense of the history of these two centuries even in a large volume confined to the economic affairs of Western Europe. Mr. Cole has written a small volume, his terrain is the whole great globe, and his emphases are political and social as well as economic. His success, therefore, is all the more remarkable. For his is an admirable introduction to economic history which never sinks the reader beneath a load of facts and never provides answers where none exist. The common elements of economic development are emphasized, and the character of change is graphically illuminated. People never disappear in favor of events and movements. More than a barely serviceable prose style is required to achieve these results. Mr. Cole's style is lightened by touches of quiet irony and dignified by passages of genuine distinction.

His exposition follows a guiding thread—the rise and spread of industrialism. Mr. Cole's subject, like Adam Smith's, is the wealth of nations. After two striking introductory chapters which contrast modern industrial society with economic organization in 1750, Mr. Cole judiciously recounts the story of the Industrial Revolution's beginnings in England. Although he does not scant the sufferings of early factory workers, many of them women and children, connoisseurs of burning indignation will resent the fairness with which he presents the evidence that the life of the farm laborer was far from idyllic and that real income actually increased in the worst days of labor repression. Since he is here writing part of the history of the Conservative and Liberal parties, his restraint is all the more remarkable. It is as if Senator Taft produced a judicious history of the Democratic Party.

The narrative swiftly passes to the spread of the factory system to France, Germany, and the United States. The basic economic factors which explain high American wages are quickly outlined—an extensive land area rich in natural resources, a large unified market, and a continued labor shortage. They lead the author to analyze American tariff policy in terms familiar to an American reader but unexpectedly sympathetic for a left-wing English Socialist. American tariffs have been high largely because foreign trade has always been peripheral in importance. The internal market has been so large and so rich that American industry developed rapidly and American standards of living rose sharply even though tariffs intervened to make the allocation of resources something less than the ideal beloved of the theoretical economist.

A highly developed machine economy turns readily to economic imperialism. Mr. Cole condemns imperialism's cruel disregard of native cultures and its selfish concentration on narrow economic advantage. At the same time he makes his readers aware that sometimes imperialism raises native standards of living or at least places the tools of increase in native hands, that occasionally imperialism is enlightened, and that the Marxist explanation of imperialism is less than adequate. As Mr. Cole puts it, "Imperialism is a very much older thing than capitalism, and although in the nineteenth century it took on new forms . . . the old lusts for power, the old militaristic impulses affecting whole nations and particularly their ruling classes, did not cease to operate."

It is only, in fact, in his final chapters, largely concerned with Russia, that Mr. Cole demonstrates the odd bias of the *New Statesman and Nation.* Some strange conclusions emerge. Mr. Cole, it seems, apportions the blame for the cold war equally between Russia and the United States. He stigmatizes our conduct of the Korean war in unrestrained language. Is it really true that "American air power in the Korean war has already accomplished, even without the use of atomic weapons, a work of de-

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struction more thorough and more horrible than that of the Second World War"? It would be interesting to know Mr. Cole's sources.

The author leaves us with the familiar dilemmas of our time. The machine which promised to save now threatens massive displacement of labor, high unemployment, and exhaustion of natural resources. More important, man has acquired the power to destroy himself. But even in a peaceful, fully employed world we must wonder whether the discipline of the machine is consonant with the initiative of the democratic elector. Does not the deadly routine of the assembly line dull the intellect and inhibit the power of choice in all spheres? Is the price of plenty loss of capacity for its rational enjoyment? The questions are not the less unsettling because they have been asked before. In all of this Mr. Cole has truly pictured his world, a world in which simple answers are wrong and difficult answers are unacceptable. He leaves this reader depressed about the past and curious about the future. Could a writer of history ask more? ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Portrait of Sinclair Lewis

FROM MAIN STREET TO STOCKHOLM. LETTERS OF SINCLAIR LEWIS, 1919-1930. Edited with an Introduction by Harrison Smith. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5

BECAUSE of the friendship Sinclair Lewis and Alfred Harcourt formed when the latter was with Henry Holt, Lewis went with him and Donald Brace into the formation in 1919 of Harcourt, Brace and Company. All were risking their necks, Lewis especially: a not conspicuously successful novelist hitherto, he was staking everything on a book he called "Main Street": "which may, perhaps, be the real beginning of my career as a writer." The firm, to judge from these letters, had absolute faith in him from the beginning, gave him everything he needed, stood by him. He paid them back, of course, with the phenomenal success of his great novels of the twenties. For twelve years he was in constant touch—few author-publisher relations have been closer—until in a typical Lewis huff he quit them cold because he thought that in 1931 they had not given the Nobel Prize enough publicity. They had not, for example, broadcast all over the United States "Dr. Karlfeldt's analysis of my work before the huge and distinguished crowd at the formal prize giving, with all the royalty there."

Harrison Smith has put together the office files of this correspondence. It doesn't tell the whole story, because there were unrecorded conversations and lengthy telephone calls. But perhaps it tells the story all the more dramatically, because the crises—like Grace Hegger Lewis's announcement of the break-up or the last fantastic letter to Harcourt—come in like claps of thunder. They are not great letters in any literary sense, but they are an astonishing revelation of that fascinating, exasperating, cantankerous, and deeply lovable figure who was Red Lewis. More than that, they are basic documents for any discussion of the endless problem of the artist in America.

Pages and pages are given to his ideas—some of them utterly ridiculous—for pushing the sale of his works. He was insatiable of advertisement. Other pages repeat those tedious japes—the affected Artemus Ward spellings and adolescent irreverences—which he found funny and could even make his friends laugh at. The letters draw out, excruciatingly, his restlessness, his violent changes of plan and mind, his instability, his consuming insecurity with all its compensations. Yet somehow the reader sees, behind the brash exterior, the man of much too tender sensitiveness who deep in his being wanted to be the comforter of humanity. To read these letters is to learn something of what makes a satirist; it is not unlike—I mean only in terms of an exhibition of motives—reading Swift's "Journal to Stella."

The patience of Alfred Harcourt was immense; your heart bleeds for him as he must read Lewis's snarl that he had failed to bring out a new printing just one week before the Nobel Prize edition is published. Still, it is Lewis who makes the interest, and his publishers figure as members of a supporting cast—as did all who tried, many to their sorrow, to be Lewis's friends. Just what was the charm is difficult to explain, and a fair number, we know, felt nothing of it, beheld only the vanity and the braggadocio.

The letters help us understand, since they do not conceal the difficulties. There is obviously a hypersensitive shrewdness, but from "Main Street" to "Dodsworth" it remains the same shrewdness with which he started, which he must have had as a boy. Hence the eternal repetitions, the same thought uttered the tenth time with all the vehemence of the first. Here is an intelligence preternaturally receptive to the minutiae of existence—and entirely impervious to experience. He junketed all over Europe,

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and never learned enough about a city or a region to stand him in any stead when he came back: every discovery was primordial. At the bottom of it, I think these letters show, was an inviolable innocence.

He learned little; yet he never forgot anything; he could not jettison any luggage, and so ended with an insupportable burden of recollection. I think it indicative that after the break with Harcourt he never wrote anything to compare with the five masterpieces of the twenties. He never did, and thereafter never could, finish the book he was declaiming as early as 1927 would be the best of all, to be entitled "Neighbor" and to deal with the labor movement. And yet he was, as he angrily wrote to the office, "a professional writer who has to earn his living thus." The temptations to which he succumbed, and those he fought against even while succumbing, are those that beset the great professional. He writhed not out of vanity alone to see his works purveyed in reprints at drugstores along with Zane Gray, because this was "trying to sell my books on a lowbrow basis when, actually, they have always sold on just the opposite basis."

Somehow, then, in the midst of the shambles he made of his life, of his human relations, of his own emotions, he steadily held to his intransigent sense of the dignity of the artist—all the more, we are forced to ponder, in spite of the bizarre ways in which he repeatedly chose to manifest it.

PERRY MILLER

The Civil War in Pictures

DIVIDED WE FOUGHT: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR, 1861-1865. General Editor and Author of Text, David Donald; Picture Editors, Hirst D. Milhollen and Milton Kaplan; Caption Editors, Mr. Milhollen, Mr. Kaplan, and Hulen Stuart. The Macmillan Company. $10.

HERE is one of the finest books on the Civil War to be printed in many a year. It is a pictorial history which has been compiled and edited with rare judgment and artistic taste and equipped with a running text well worth reading on its own account—a text that lets the pictures speak for themselves but also manages unobtrusively to amplify and sharpen the graphic message recorded by the amazing camera men of the 1860's.

What the editors have done, in effect, is to take the 3,800 Civil War photographs that are available in the cumbersome, out-of-print, ten-volume "Photographic History of the Civil War" and to select between 300 and 400 of the best ones. They have added—after a careful study of Northern and Southern collections—some valuable photographs not included in the "Photographic History." They have replaced the old captions, which very often contained glaring errors, with new ones that are succinct and authoritative.

In addition—and in some ways this is the best contribution of all—they have dug up and reprinted the best work of the neglected sketch artists, Alfred and William Waud and Edwin Forbes. Those sketches have never before, to my knowledge, been decently reproduced; usually they are seen only through the wood-engraving process by which *Harper's* and *Leslie's* weeklies originally presented them, and that process simply butchered them.

With proper reproduction those sketches are fully as authentic as the photographs, and they do what the cameras of that day could not do; which is to say that they provide a feeling of movement, of immediate action, of war with the bark on. Some of them are unfinished—penciled sketches, like the one of the Reed's Bridge cavalry skirmish at Chickamauga, only partly inked in. Often enough they were made under fire. There is a wash drawing of Phil Kearny leading his troops into action at Williamsburg which is as good, as moving, and (so to speak) as "modern" as anything that came out of World War II.

But it is the photographs which take up the bulk of the space, and most of them are uncommonly eloquent. These photographs gain precisely as do the line drawings through the great improvements that have been made in the reproduction process during the last forty years. They say more than they do in the old "Photographic History," which was published in 1911. They are clearer and more distinct, and these reproductions abundantly prove that while Brady and the other photographers of that era may have had to work with almost impossibly cumbersome equipment they had nothing whatever to learn from any modern camera man about the business of taking pictures.

Some of the most striking of these photographs are the portraits of the generals. There is long-forgotten General Israel Richardson, for instance; the grim qualities of determination, courage, and leadership which enabled him to break the Confederate line at Bloody Lane, above the Antietam, where he lost his own life, look straight out of his picture. By contrast, the fantastic traits that were embodied in bombastic General Robert Milroy—whose unfortunate troops came to be dubbed "Milroy's weary boys" by the Army of the Potomac—are equally visible. Then there is McClellan, handsome, irresolute, and stuffy, complete in the Napoleonic pose, giving himself away in the photographer's studio—and, for contrast, Grant, slouchy and unbuttoned, leaning against a tree, the rock-hardness of him somehow showing through.

Altogether, this is a job in which editors and publisher can take vast pride, and which will provide sheer delight for the reader. It does in one volume what the "Photographic History" tried to do in ten, and does it a great deal better.

BRUCE CATTON

The Art of Paul Klee

PAUL KLEE. By Carola Giedion-Welcker. Translated by Alexander Gode. Viking Press. $7.50.

IF QUALITY means renewed creative invention whenever a new work is undertaken, then the most outstanding characteristic of Paul Klee is the quantity of quality in his production. So bewildering is his variety that any attempt to give a full view of his work must depend on a generous and skilful selection of examples. On this count Mrs. Giedion-Welcker has admirably succeeded, and the publishers have supported her with excellent reproductions —13 of 164 in color—set in a beautifully designed volume.

The text, however, is more valuable as a compendium than as a revelation. The biographical section is exhaustive, and there is a formidable bibliography, after the fashion of the Museum of Modern Art, whose assistant librarian supplied it. These blessings, along with

A Personal Letter from I. F. Stone

Dear Friend:

The sudden closing of the Compass was a shock to all of us. Many readers* have written to ask me what my plans are and where they can read my column in the future. I am grateful for those inquiries.

Many of you have already suggested that I start some kind of news letter. I am convinced there is no other way to go on doing the kind of newspaper work I have always done except by striking out on my own.

I am therefore preparing to launch on January 17 I. F. Stone's Weekly, a 4-page letter size (8½ by 11) news letter of politically uninhibited commentary and let-the-chips-fall-where-they-may reporting from Washington and elsewhere.

Emphasis will be on Washington coverage. From week to week I want to provide a vivid record of what the new Republican Administration is doing, to portray its personnel and atmosphere, to supply information and sidelights you cannot obtain elsewhere, and to go on with the kind of campaigns waged in my column for justice and civil liberties.

It was never more important to find some means of keeping alive the voice of protest, to retain some place in which to go on giving aid and comfort to the victims of oppression in our darkening times. The next four years may be decisive for peace abroad and freedom at home. I want to stay in the fight for both.

This letter is the first step in launching the new weekly. Your response will determine whether it is feasible. The subscription price will be $5 a year. I need your help NOW. Please mail me your check for $5 TODAY and get at least one other person (more, if you will) to do the same.

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an elaborate citation of Klee's works in their proper sequence, are gratefully acknowledged herewith. Equally welcome is a systematic attempt to relate Klee's paintings to his theories of art, his teaching methods at the Bauhaus, and his writings.

The second half of the text consists of a long essay on Klee's contribution to the enlargement of artistic expression. Anyone who has struggled with this problem knows its pitfalls. Mrs. Giedion-Welcker adopts a policy of topical subdivision. The resulting series of modestly proportioned observations is more an assortment than a sustained synthesis. While the individual works are referred to in considerable detail, the intention seems to have been to group them by categories rather than to cut to the heart of them.

Four years ago Georg Schmidt published ten water colors from the great collection at Basel over which he presides. To accompany the brilliantly successful reproductions he wrote ten little word-pictures. As criticism of Klee these are still unsurpassed.

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The Paradox of Personalism

ECLIPSE OF GOD. By Martin Buber. Harper and Brothers. $2.

MARTIN BUBER is best known for "The Tales of the Hasidim," a collection of wonderful stories and legends about a Jewish mystical sect which flourished in Eastern Europe during parts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Influenced to some extent by this contact with a rich source of Jewish mysticism, Buber developed a philosophy of religion of which the central point is that religion is not a set of revealed truths, dogmas, or institutional practices but an intimate personal experience, an existential encounter of dialogue between man (as the "I") and God (as the "Thou"). In the words of the present volume, this "engagement of one's person" with another—sometimes achieved in intimate human relations—"finds its highest intensity and transfiguration in religious reality, in which unlimited Being, as absolute person, becomes my partner." This approach to religion is common to what is known as personalism or religious existentialism.

The present work is a defense of religion against various forms of modern thought that are believed to deny or distort the objective validity of the religious experience. It consists primarily of a compilation of critical essays—originally delivered as lectures in this country—most of which deal with special problems selected from the writings of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Sartre, Jung, Pascal, Kant, and Hermann Cohen. Some of these essays are very interesting, especially the discussion of Kierkegaard's "Fear and Trembling" and two essays of a more general nature; but the book as a whole is strictly a minor work. Its value lies in the detailed criticism of certain theories and ideas, not in the light it throws upon the meaning of the "eclipse of God" in the modern world. To deal with this problem would have required an analysis on a much larger scale, including a careful discussion of the social and historical context in which theories operate, which is completely missing in the present volume.

Professor Buber introduces the notion of the "eclipse of God" in contrast to the well-known thesis by Nietzsche that "God is dead." Buber means to say that God has only suffered an eclipse, analogous to an eclipse of the sun, and that "the eclipse of the light of God is no extinction." He is eclipsed because modern man refuses to commit himself to a personal engagement with God. This refusal, in turn, seems to be due partly to philosophers who have converted the personal experience of God into an abstract concept of thought, partly to psychologists who have reduced the concrete existential encounter with God to purely subjective states of human emotions, partly to the enormous pressure upon modern man to substitute passive, impersonal relationships for the active, living responses between an I and a Thou.

These statements may be true; but I doubt that they go far in explaining the so-called crisis of religion in the modern world. Nor, I am afraid, will they convince the non-believer; and the believer, of course, need not be convinced. This, I think, is a paradox confronting any theoretical defense of religion on the grounds of a mystical, existential experience. Those who have seen the light need not be told; those who have not seen the light cannot be told. Thus it is not only "the light of God" which is obscured or eclipsed—and perhaps always has been. What is *meant* by the "light" is obscure, too, and ultimately incommunicable; or as Buber puts it himself, "every religious utterance is a vain attempt to do justice to the meaning which has been attained." Reflecting upon the history of human culture, one wonders how much zeal and passion, ingenuity and perseverance has been spent on the task of resolving this paradox, to which silence, or poetry, would seem to be the most appropriate response.

HANS MEYERHOFF

Books in Brief

HONEY SEEMS BITTER. By Benedict Kiely. Dutton. $3. This new novel by the talented Irish writer is essentially a love story, despite the fact that it includes a murder, a trial, and other violent action. Mr. Kiely's leisurely, haphazard attitude toward his story gives it a limp and spineless quality, but he writes so much better than the American novelists with whom he might be compared that he is worth reading if only to see what a delight the English language can be in the hands of one who did not have to learn about lyrical prose in college seminars or writers' conferences.

YET OTHER WATERS. By James T. Farrell. Vanguard. $3.75. Yet another brick in Mr. Farrell's gloomy edifice, this time concluding the Bernard Carr trilogy with an account of Bernard's temporary infatuation with a nymphomaniac and with the Stalinist literary fronts of the thirties. There are no surprises here, for Bernard returns to his wife and his literary labors, undeterred by the sniping of the Communists or of the literary critics who attack him—justly, one would suspect—for being banal, ponderous, and unimaginative. Yet the book is of value if only as a historical corrective to falsely glamorized recollections of literary politicians and political littérateurs whose era was far more ugly and far less noble than some would be willing to concede even now.

THE ALIEN VISION OF VICTORIAN POETRY. By E. D. H. Johnson. Princeton University Press. $4. This study of the sources of the poetic imagination in Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold illustrates, conclusively, the fact that those three great Victorian masters wrote a great deal of dull stuff which we either never noticed or have happily forgotten. Its thesis, however, is that these poets, whatever concessions they made to Victorian pressures, whatever compromises they achieved, were so rebellious and unhappy about it that they gave themselves acute cases of split personality. This thesis, in sentences that are sometimes quite unwieldy, Professor Johnson substantially proves; his study is not only illuminating but cheering—how comforting to know that the Victorian greats were, if possible, even more lugubrious and worried than we are!

ERIC SLOANE'S WEATHER BOOK. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.75. *WIND, STORM AND RAIN.* By Denning Miller. Coward-McCann. $3.95. Two excellent books for the layman on the why and how of weather. Denning Miller has written the more flowing and well-rounded narrative; Eric Sloane has concentrated on explaining such curiosities of nature as the fact that right banks of rivers tend to be higher than left banks, or that if you face the wind, the nearest storm area will be on your right. Both book can be highly recommended—the Sloane particularly for boys with an interest in science, since it is lavishly illustrated and slightly more popular in style.

THE LIFE AND GOOD TIMES OF WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST. By John Tebbel. Dutton. $4. The founders of newspaper empires tend to be outsized personalities—witness Northcliffe, Beaverbrook, Pulitzer, and Scripps. But Hearst towered above them all in the extent alike of his empire and of his megalomania. This somewhat scrambled biography is arranged not chronologically but by subjects—houses, women, papers, politics, collections, finances, and so on—but manages, nevertheless, to give a comprehensive, judicious, and very interesting picture of a man who spent fifty million dollars on his "art" collections and millions more on women, houses, and politics, and yet left an estate of over two hundred million.

ROYAL BOB. By C. H. Cramer. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.75. Robert G. Ingersoll is remembered today, if at all, for his agnosticism and his flamboyant oratory. Thanks to the latter, he was able to make money out of the former—which was quite a feat for the Victorian Age. In addition he was a power in the ultra-conservative wing of the Republican Party and the defender of Senator Dorsey in the odorous star-route mail frauds. There was a generous amount of the showman and rascal in Ingersoll; nevertheless he undoubtedly helped to widen the horizons of his generation. Dr. Cramer has written a readable biography that smoothly covers the surface but makes little attempt to penetrate beneath.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE TURNING POINT" is a throwback to another gangster era in movies, when the director knew the difference between a movie and a play, the writer confined his dialogue to short, sharp chunks, and bit players were telling you all that you needed to know about the affectations and preoccupations of mean pool-room types. Like the movies of that "Little Caesar" era, this film masks a thin story—stealthiness, stalking, subpoenaing—with numerous smart tricks for making screen life seem like a more taut and colorful version of activity in the drab corners of a big city. Unfortunately, it is halfway between the

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old and a new era which shelters an epidemic of wicked ones—gangsters, molls, and fight-arena types—mixed in with Romantic Notions of the good people. For example, Edmund O'Brien is so exuberant in demonstrating the self-sacrificing, hard-hitting traits of a district attorney that he overburdens the screen even when he is just walking through an empty hall; Bill Holden plays a reporter who seldom has to do anything unromantically ordinary like showing up at the newspaper office.

The good quality of the movie comes from its crisp handling of a few action sequences in which the main idea seems to be to make movement as colorful as possible with a vast variety of purely cinematic contrasts. The big scene has a syndicate killer trying to draw a bead on Holden from the catwalks above the boxing stadium. You get the delectable visual contrast of the easy, graceful Holden turning up with a pet underworld spy, a slick, slinky mixture of the Bronx and anyone you have seen holding up the wall outside the neighborhood ginmill. Meanwhile, the stalker moves with the speed and deftness of one who has spent his life playing hide-and-seek with the law. The wonder of his performance is that he does all this delicate, intricate weaving through crowds and over arena chairs in spite of a body that is thick and awkward and a glib conceit that insists on making everything appear nonchalant. Director Dieterle, all the while, swings his camera over setups where the actors are static and talking, pries with his lens into the least-noticed corners of the stadium to evade the cliché shots of boxing situations. He not only produces a tingling entertainment but gives you an encyclopedic knowledge of character types as they build themselves out of the movements of their job of the moment.

The next item on the agenda is a poetic pantomime that is supposed to glow with the fulfilment of childhood desires, but probably because it cost four million dollars, took three years to create, and goes about an hour overboard in length, it takes on a faint glitter of grown-up ambitions. Up from fairyland comes "Peter Pan" replete with crocodiles that have swallowed clocks, children who can fly through the air, pirates who fight Indians, and a Walt Disney treatment that may leave a nauseated smile on your face. Being a veteran anti-Disney leaguer, I expected the extravaganza literally to put me in dreamland, which it did. But before falling asleep, I found that the picture moved rather well, in the pleasant fashion of British domestic comedies. Also, I discovered that Disney, who has always had trouble making a human figure realistic, intermittently tries out a new drawing style and a more hectic type of animation and timing. As usual most of the central figures are coated with a sticky charm. Peter, the boy who wished never to grow up, can be touching and funny at times when the people in charge keep their attention on unorthodox visual effects. But Disney gets so much syrup into the first realistic scenes that the later fairy-tale stretches somehow don't seem quite right. Doll-like Wendy's brothers are done with a sissified touch, and give the feeling that someone has pinned the sign "Kick Me" on the back of each one.

After the picture moves from the chattering nursery of the Darlings, it almost reaches the borderland of laughter with Disney's new way of caricaturing figures. In place of the ovular features and symmetrical rhythms that make Peter and friends so insipid, Disney draws his pirates and crocodiles with an angular, hacking, cutlass stroke, and he puts the frenzy of a Widmark gangster into their personalities. In the best scenes you will see an unbelievably misshapen crocodile working through a beautiful lagoon in weird animation. It is somewhat like a jet-paced hiccuping, and all the while there is an evil pirate trying to escape the animal's jaws and making some of the nicest prickly patterns to be found anywhere in drawing art. All in all, the fantasy runs thin, and as Disney feeds it rich technicolor, sweet songs, and such candy-box items as pixies and mermaids in tiny Maidenform undies, he seems to tell us once more that he is one Hollywood adult who refuses to grow up.

Bad pictures have been piling up to a record thickness that exceeds even that of 1929, the first big year of talkies. One of the most romantic is "The Iron Mistress," a slightly hysterical attempt to clear up conflicting accounts about a large, outwardly peaceable pioneer who left his name on an unliked county and on a favorite weapon of the border. The picture about Jim Bowie's young man-hood has a few good individual scenes like a sword-and-dagger fight in total darkness—the screen lights up a couple of times to show the duelists floundering in opposite corners of the room—and reveals the steady hand of producer Henry Blanke in the endless handsome technicolor shots that might serve as landscape paintings but make for a rather stilted adventure film. "The Steel Trap" was bound to be called a "sleeper" by numerous critics, since it is a modest-budget thriller with great stretches of silence, underplayed acting, and a James Cain-type story of young married love up against the husband's desire to embezzle all the currency lying around his bank job. The story is repetitious; so you can forget it and concentrate on the sad plight of Teresa Wright, who once played her quiet, vaporous style without tricks but, cast with actors too tall and overbearing for her, seems to have turned into a straining, obstreperous glamour girl. "Babes in Bagdad," a backroom study of harem love, seems to have been produced during a lunch hour on a single Monogram set by a couple of celluloid butchers.

Ballet

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE New York City Ballet presented no new works during the first week of its fall season, and so one merely observed with pleasure how much more beautifully than ever the company was dancing, and as a result how much more beautiful than ever the great Balanchine pieces looked. One noted also how some of these pieces looked with changes in casts. "Concerto Barocco" was the more effective for having Wilde dancing with her sharpness and clarity in front of the corps with LeClercq. "Card Game" had Janet Reed, with a mask that I didn't think good, as the Joker—a tiny Joker darting about with quivering intensity; and I would say the piece gains more from her dead-pan Queen of Hearts (Barnett's striking performance in "Picnic at Tintagel" suggests that he might be an excellent Joker). At a later performance Maule's beautiful technique and style produced a Jack of Hearts which should be made permanent, as should Bliss's King of Hearts, with its solemnity and restraint that are so much more amusing than Tobias's extravagant capering. Also, one of the later "Firebird"s offered a technically and dramatically powerful performance by Hayden. And finally, Bolender was given an opportunity to exhibit his gifts as a comedian, first with LeClercq in "Bourrée Fantasque," then with even more hilarious effect in "A la françaix," in which Jillana too was very amusing.

The second week brought the first of Balanchine's new pieces, "Scotch Symphony," to the scherzo, slow movement, and finale of Mendelssohn's symphony. The long slow movement seems to have provided Balanchine with stimulation for nothing more than a resourcefully spun-out supported adagio in which Tallchief, who used to dazzle one with her spectacular energetic brilliance, takes one's breath away with the unobtrusively achieved perfection and loveliness of a continuous quiet flow of exquisitely contoured movement. But to go with the scherzo and finale Balanchine has produced delightful dances for the corps, and solos which show off Wilde's brilliance, make Tallchief utterly charming, and keep Eglevsky too busy to do any damage (such as he does at his first entrance in "Swan Lake" with a great gesture and smile of greeting to the audience). The setting by Horace Armistead I find less distinguished than the girls' costumes by Karinska and the boys' costumes by David Ffolkes.

Balanchine's other new piece, "Metamorphoses," which was to have been presented the third week, was not ready; but I can speak of one completed section that I saw at rehearsals—the latest in the series of his great supported adagios, one of the odd kind ("Four Temperaments," "Orpheus," "Jones Beach") that he is stimulated to produce by contemporary music (the score is Hindemith's Symphonic Metamorphoses on Themes of Weber), but contrived also for the elegance and distinction, the force of presence and projection, that are LeClercq's.

I might remark at this point that Bolender's tennis player in "A la françaix" and Bliss's King of Hearts in "Card Game" are examples of the performance that not only is good in itself but enables one to see how much less good another performance is. The outstanding example of this the last two years has been Moncion's "Prodigal Son," particularly the last two scenes. Watching Robbins and Laing in these scenes one sees what they were given to do by Balanchine: in the first, for example, the son, left clinging to the upended table, sinks to the ground, pulls himself up again, becomes aware of his nakedness, sees water which he kneels to drink, and after a terrified look back to the place of his despoilment drags himself off the stage. Watching Moncion one sees what he has made of what he was given to do: the single long progression—in which in one action the movement of one part of the body flows into the movement of the rest, and each action flows into the next—with a sustained continuity, tension, and expressive force. This not only is tremendously effective itself, but enables one to see how much less effective the sequence of one separate, jerky action after another in Laing's or Robbins's performance is. And the same is true of what Moncion does with the son's return to the arms of his father.

However, one new detail in that last scene calls for comment. At one point Moncion, on his knees, used to pull himself up on his staff and extend his hand upward beyond it in a gesture of supplication to heaven; now he clenches his fist and shakes it in a gesture of defiance which looks excessive in the context of movement and expresses something that is wrong in the context of meaning of the scene. This is an example of how a dancer, trying to do more (as Moncion seems to be trying throughout "Prodigal Son"), ends up by doing too much (as he does in "Firebird"). And there is another example in the opening scene of "Bourrée Fantasque." In the earliest performances LeClercq, at her first entrance, came down the center of the stage with no change in her blissfully happy expression until her look of pained embarrassment when her partner placed his hands around her waist; in later performances, coming down the center of the stage, she began to exaggerate a slight eccentric movement into a huge stagger with a startled loss and haughty recovery of balance and dignity—a kind of slipping on a banana peel which gets a laugh from the audience but isn't Balanchine's kind of comedy in this scene or any other.

BOOKS OF 1952: A SELECTED LIST

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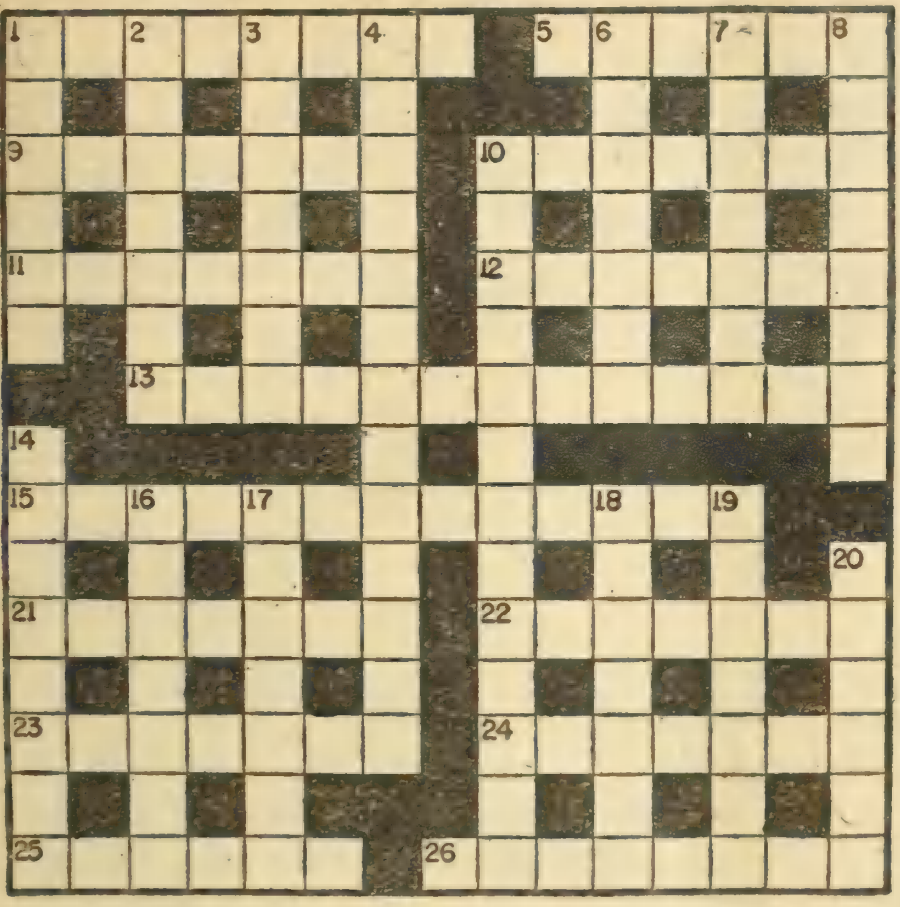

ACROSS

1 Circled the earth, in a way, and took a mate around. (8)
5 Eugen takes but a single drink. (6)
9 Help to get your weight back? Quite the reverse! (7)
10 Sounds like the last race! (7)
11 To get on backwards it takes skill in 9. (7)
12 File the end of the extra lock. (7)
13 What is bridge good for? Poor partners work at this. (5-8)
15 You'll scarcely feel the blow if protected by one. (7, 6)
21 Miss Gardner? The sort of star that makes incarnations. (7)
22 Their opinions concerning strikes are not universally shared. (7)
23 Hawaiians are such people, but not in a narrow-minded sense. (7)
24 14 might imply this in back. (7)
25 How to fix a fine, perhaps. (6)
26 Checked. (8)

DOWN

1 Simple machines, but the flying kind can't be used by eleven any longer. (6)
2 Implying a possible stretch of sail, etc. (7)
3 If you don't fancy this you might take to a 15. (7)
4 It wasn't exactly Titania he was responsible for. (His scheme was ababbcbcc.) (6, 7)
6 Descriptive of *Moto Perpetuo*? (7)
7 Two of these might prove quite a strain, especially for Gypsies. (7)
8 His belief is extremely revolting. (8)
10 Good luck to Manhattan college! (Untrue, for then, untrue!) (7, 6)
14 Sounds like Cyrus goes to Greece! (8)
16 The framework of Sachs is undergoing reconstruction. (7)
17 A closer sort might give future understanding. (7)
18 The French investigation might make it a trifle warm for you. (3, 4)
19 There seems to be precious little on the menu! (7)
20 One way to get stoned out of town. (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLLE No. 492

ACROSS:—1 STERN CHASE; 6 AFAR; 10 FORBEAR; 11 PROLONG; 12 DEMENTIA; 13 OGIVE; 15 PUTTS; 17 DAYDREAMS; 19 SEA LAWYER; 21 WAGON; 23 RODEO; 24 BASSWOOD; 27 PROSAIC; 28 INTEGER; 29 EVEN; 30 ASSEVERATE.

DOWN:—1 SOFA; 2 EARNEST; 3 NIECE; 4, 20 and 9 HERE TODAY AND GONE TOMORROW; 5 SEPIA; 7 FLORIDA; 8 REGRESSING; 14 APOSTROPHE; 16 SEASONAL; 18 YORKSHIRE; 22 GEORGIA; 24 BUCKS; 25 WITHE; [illegible] TREE.

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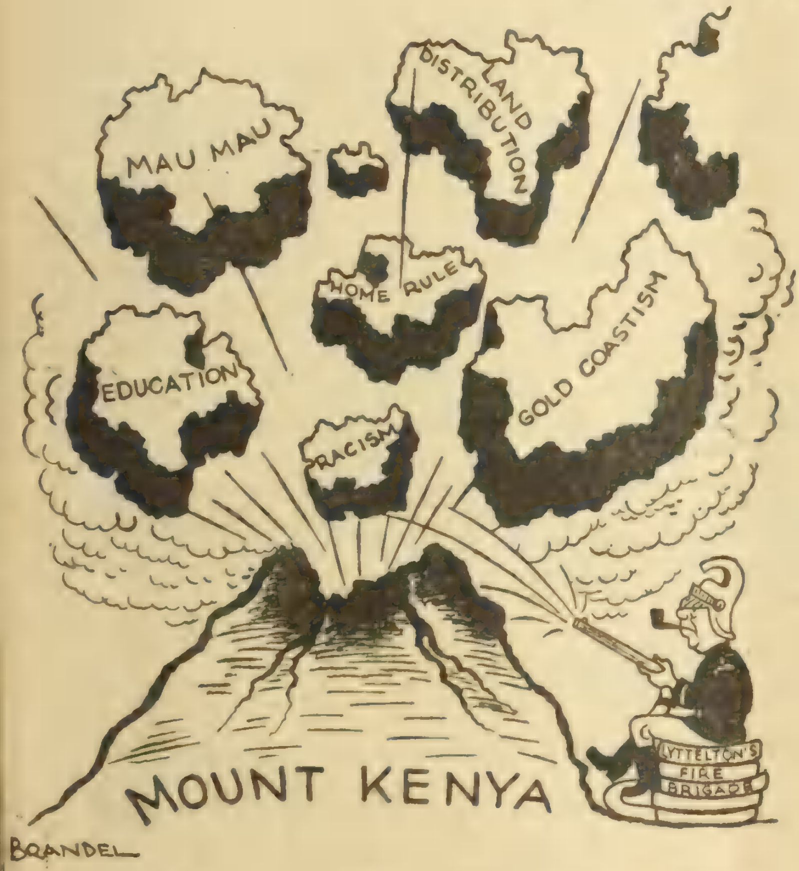
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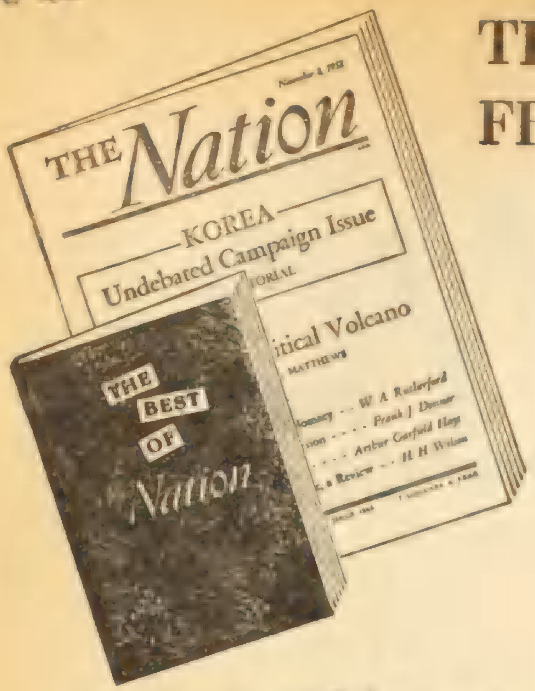

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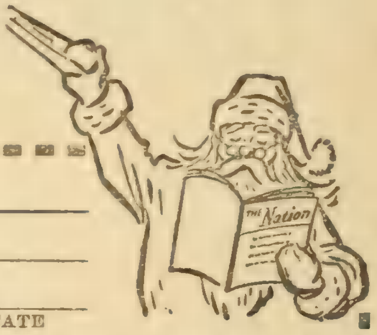

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 13, 1952 NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

Bob vs. Ike

Senator Taft's denunciation of the Secretary of Labor selected by General Eisenhower gave the President-elect fair warning that he must either impose his leadership on the Old Guard Republican leaders in Congress or submit to their control. Taft's language was so extreme that a few years ago it would have seemed out of character. To call Durkin's appointment "incredible" and an "affront" even to union members was absurd. The statement must be understood, therefore, as an expression of his anger at seeing so many of Eisenhower's appointments go to his enemies and the enemies of his policies.

Taft came away from the "surrender" of Morningside Heights, during the campaign, with what he thought were assurances that his friends would not be "discriminated against" in patronage and recognition. But the key policy-making jobs have gone to Dewey men —John Foster Dulles and Herbert Brownell, Jr. Taft was not even consulted about the choice of George Humphrey, an Ohio industrialist, for Secretary of the Treasury. His hated opponent, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., will head the American delegation at the U. N. Harold Stassen, who plotted against him before the Republican convention, gets the Mutual Security Administration plum. There have been no plums for Taftites.

The Ohio Senator is opposed to anyone who has the effrontery to dislike the Taft-Hartley law. Durkin dislikes the law. He worked for Governor Stevenson during the recent campaign. But Taft himself bears principal responsibility for the alignment of nearly all union leaders with the Democrats; it was his leadership that branded the Republican Party as hostile to labor. Whether Taft will go so far as actually to oppose Durkin's confirmation by the Senate and whether he can successfully claim the Republican floor leadership remains to be seen. But the most important question is whether Eisenhower will steadfastly challenge the Old Guard and assert the force needed to override their obstructionism.

The Durkin Appointment

Eisenhower could have done much worse than choose Martin P. Durkin as Secretary of Labor. It is true that the president of the A. F. of L. plumbers' union has never been known for a broad-gauge concept of the union movement. He comes from the Chicago building trades, and building-trades leaders are not in general "do-gooders." He has shown no sense of mission, no drive to make labor a living democratic force. Within these limits, however, he has had a good record. He was an able Commissioner of Labor in Illinois under the fine administrations of the late Governor Henry Horner. As a member of the War Labor Board during World War II he worked diligently and intelligently. The C. I. O.'s convention resolution congratulating him on his appointment and promising him cooperation was an honest expression of respect.

One of Durkin's major tasks will be to persuade the President that the Labor Department deserves restoration to a position of authority as the government protector of labor's interests. Taft and his friends have gutted the department over the past six years, robbing it of its mediation functions in disputes and of full responsibility in the field of employment. The labor "activities" of the federal government are split among nearly thirty agencies, and the department itself is starved for lack of funds.

New Violence in Tunisia

The position of France in the General Assembly was not helped by the assassination of Ferhat Hached, Tunisian labor leader and chief strategist of the nationalist movement, whose claim for home rule is now under discussion in the Political Committee. Although the murderers had not been identified as the week began, Hached's followers and a good many people in France suspect that he was shot to death by agents of the colonial regime. A secret organization called the "Red Hand," organized for the purpose of combating the nationalists, was among the chief suspects.

Mr. Hached was in New York only a few months ago, and he would be here now if the French government had not refused him permission to leave Tunisia to attend the current session of the Assembly. During his stay he impressed everyone as a man deeply devoted to his country but not extreme or fanatical. As a leading member of the anti-Communist Federation of Free Trade Unions he had strong support in both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. These circumstances have made it all the more difficult for the French to divest the debate in the Political Committee of the emotion aroused by Hached's death. To complicate their situation, they have boycotted

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the discussions as an expression of the official French view that neither Tunisia nor Morocco comes within the competence of the United Nations. Thus they could not meet directly the suspicions arising out of Hached's assassination.

In spite of the unfavorable atmosphere, however, the French will probably be spared a diplomatic defeat. The Arab-Asian resolution calling upon France to "establish normal conditions" in Tunisia and urging the creation of a Commission of Good Offices to assist in the negotiations seems likely to fail when it comes to a vote. But a small victory in the U. N. will not provide any effective support to the French in Tunisia, where Hached's death has set off a series of open demonstrations and acts of repression.

Who Rules in Venezuela?

Venezuela's new dictator is the old one, Colonel Marcos Pérez Jiménez, who clamped a censorship on the news of his defeat in last Sunday's elections and, for the second time, resorted to force to keep himself in power. The only change is that one-man rule takes the place of a three-man junta. There is no more likelihood now than there was before the elections that the "will of the people" will prevail.

The victory of the Democratic Republican Union, led by Jovito Villalba, offered conclusive evidence that the Junta had no popular backing. It was opposed not only by the outlawed and persecuted parties, such as Acción Democrática and others, but by those that were permitted to participate in the elections. It is particularly significant that the unions, even those "loyal" labor organizations which have existed with the permission of the Junta, reacted to the new coup d'état by calling a general strike.

Apparently Pérez Jiménez has only the backing of his machine-guns. Or has he, perhaps, other kinds of support as well? In a statement issued in Mexico City, where he is a refugee, the former President of Venezuela, Rómulo Gallegos, said: "I ask myself whether we are not again in the presence of other complicities." It should be remembered that, immediately after he was ousted from the Presidency in 1948 by the Pérez Jiménez clique, Gallegos hinted very clearly that foreign oil interests had helped the military rebels. His statement last week suggests that he doubts whether the Venezuelan dictator would have dared defy the verdict of the electorate if he had not felt confident of Washington's acquiescence.

A Vote Against Colonialism

Kenya is not the only area in Africa where the British are using strong-arm tactics against the natives. A year ago, in neighboring Tanganyika, the British authorities forcibly evicted 3,000 members of the Wa-meru tribe from their land, killed most of their livestock, and burned their village to the ground. Last June the twelve-man Trusteeship Council, which supervises the U. N.'s non-self-governing territories, rejected the tribe's plea that its land be returned (see Colonialism at the U. N. in *The Nation* of October 18). Now, a year after the eviction, a spokesman for the Wa-meru has been permitted to take his case to the forty-eight-member Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly. After a bitter debate a resolution "inviting" Great Britain to return the land to its rightful owners and condemning the manner in which the Trusteeship Council had handled the case was adopted over the vigorous protests and negative votes of thirteen colonial powers. This action was clearly a vote of no confidence in the Trusteeship Council and reflected the feeling which has grown up among the smaller nations that the trusteeship system is being administered to the advantage of the overseeing powers at the expense of the natives. By defending Britain's position the United States has lost much of the good-will it recently won among the Arab-Asian countries through its changed stand on the Tunisian question.

During the debate John J. Muccio, the American delegate, criticized the resolution censuring the Trusteeship Council on the ground that it would weaken faith in the U. N. Happily, quite the opposite may result; the overwhelming support the resolution received will be taken as a heartening sign by many who have been dismayed at the United Nations' apparent willingness to subordinate principle to the vested interests of the great powers.

The U.N. Under Siege

OF SEVERAL major issues implicit in the fifty-five-page report of the three jurists appointed by Secretary General Trygve Lie to advise him "On Questions Affecting Staff" and in the presentment of the federal grand jury for the Southern District of New York, which was released almost simultaneously—the first appeared on November 29, the other on December 3—one or two demand immediate attention. Full analysis of the recommendations of both reports, however, must be reserved for a later issue.

For some years now critics of the procedures of Congressional committees have been saying that inquiries like those conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities encroach upon the ancient functions of the grand jury. In this instance, however, the criticism might well be reversed: here a grand jury has behaved as if it were a Congressional committee of inquiry, with its lack of judicial restraint in dealing with witnesses and evidence. Grand juries and congressional committees both serve valuable purposes, but these purposes should not be confused.

For example, the rule of secrecy is a key to the basic functions of a grand jury. Grand juries must have freedom of action, but secrecy is the concomitant of this freedom. If in the course of an investigation of, say, malfeasance in office, a grand jury accidentally learns that the wife of the malfeasor has been guilty of adultery, it is the duty of the jurors not to disclose the juicy item to the Leonard Lyonses and Walter Winchells. Great harm and injury would necessarily result if grand juries were permitted to disregard the rule of secrecy. Yet anyone who has been following the story of "subversives at the U. N." in the press can readily identify most of the individuals referred to though not named in the grand jury's presentment.

The trouble in the present instance would seem to stem from the fact that this particular grand jury and the McCarran committee have been working in such close collaboration that their respective functions have been blurred if not exchanged. For example, the McCarran committee has in effect indicted and convicted individuals without regard to constitutionally sanctioned safeguards, while the grand jury has acted as if its function was to inform the public of everything that had been brought to its attention, however one-sided, unproved, or inaccurate this information might be. Grand juries do not conduct trials; they do not sift all the evidence. Grand juries are advised by a law-enforcement officer; they hear the case presented by the district attorney, not the case developed by defense counsel. The issue, in most grand-jury investigations, is simply whether the facts disclosed to it warrant indictment, not whether the person indicted is guilty or innocent. It is significant, moreover, that in the nine months that this grand jury has been in existence not a single U. N. employee has been indicted.

Without weighing the merits of the recommendations made in the report submitted by the three jurists to the Secretary General, one aspect of the circumstances surrounding their appointment should be noted. The panel has no standing under the Charter of the United Nations. Nothing in that document justifies the inference that key policy decisions should be based on the recommendations of advisers chosen by the Secretary General. Even assuming the propriety of seeking "outside" counsel, Mr. Lie should have regarded it as a private legal opinion, prepared at his request for his personal guidance, and not as a document to be used to influence the American public or to pressure the General Assembly or its various commissions and tribunals. It was not legal advice, in the narrow sense, that Mr. Lie sought; presumably he had access to expert counsel within the staff itself. What he obviously wanted was some "prestige" support for decisions which he had already made or was prepared to make.

Whether or not this was deliberate intent, the issuance of the report of the three jurists makes it virtually impossible for the Administrative Tribunal impartially to examine the cases of discharged or suspended staff members. Mr. Lie has now accepted the recommendations of the jurists as a directive which the Administrative Tribunal could ignore only if it were prepared to challenge his authority. For the Secretary General has now finally tossed aside the decision of the Administrative Tribunal, which last year ruled that his powers were limited and that he could not dismiss staff members without showing cause.

However, we believe it is not too late to question the hasty application of these lawyers' recommendations as the administrative law of the United Nations. We see no reason why they should not be subjected to the scrutiny and decision of the appropriate committee of the U. N. dealing with staff problems after Mr. Lie has gone through the formality of submitting them as his own. And it is certainly in order for the Administrative Tribunal itself to ask the United Nations to pass on the validity of the panel's recommendations and their adoption by Mr. Lie.

Read in conjunction with the grand-jury presentment, the report will have a powerful effect on public opinion; this much is clear from the editorial expression which has greeted it. The Administrative Tribunal must now reckon not merely with Mr. Lie's pronouncements and decisions but with a grand-jury presentment, a report prepared by three jurists, and an aroused American public. The grand-jury statement indorses the recommendations of the three jurists. This fact, as well as the appearance of the two reports at almost the same time, warrants the inference that both were intended to prejudge the appeals of the staff members to the Administrative Tribunal.

OBVIOUSLY *The Nation* is opposed to the employment by the U. N. of spies against any country. But it also opposes insistence on conformity and the labeling of every non-conformist as "subversive" in advance of denial, proof, or defense. And we believe that this will logically follow if the jurists' report is accepted and applied without amendment.

Apart from the merits of the recommendations made by the jurists, Mr. Lie's handling of the staff problem has without question played into the hands of forces in this country that seek to jettison the United Nations or, failing in this endeavor, to make it a "captive" instrument of American foreign policy. We can well understand why the State Department, as the grand jury has charged, may have sought to induce the grand jury, through the Department of Justice, to shelve the presentment. American foreign policy should not be made by New York grand juries or by the McCarran committee. Yet both agencies are making policy in the sense that they have inflamed public thinking against the United Nations. What the public is reading in the press is the story of "subversives at the U. N." The public has not heard and may never hear the other side of the story: the attempt to subvert the U. N. by attacking its staff as subversive.

Both the grand jury's presentment and the report of the three jurists will have the unhappy effect of fortifying those elements in the country who feel, without regard to the character of the staff, that the United States should run the United Nations. Both reports refer to the obligations of the U. N. to the "host" nation; unfortunately neither spells out the obligations of the host nation to the U. N. What has happened, in effect, is that the loyalty program of the federal government has been foisted on the U. N. by public pressure harshly applied. Even the three jurists appear to have succumbed to the delusions of McCarthyism: witness their offhand reference to organizations that have been "declared" subversive without a word to indicate who made the declaration, by what standards, and under what procedures. Apparently the jurists are unaware that the United States Supreme Court itself has questioned the validity of certain *ex parte* "declarations" of this character

A Step Toward Settlement

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHATEVER chance exists of breaking the four-year deadlock in the Arab-Israel dispute lies in the early substitution of direct negotiations for the endless, largely futile efforts of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to approach a settlement by dealing separately with the interested parties. A proposal to this end was incorporated in a resolution sponsored in the General Assembly by eight nations—Canada, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Uruguay, Ecuador, Cuba, Panama—calling on Israel and the Arab states to "desist from any further acts of hostility" and to arrange for direct talks aimed at settling their outstanding differences. Although largely overshadowed by the momentous debate on Korea and by the threatening situation in North Africa, the decision on this issue may prove of genuine importance. For the first time since the armistice agreements were signed, it seems possible that majority backing will be found for negotiations keyed not to past grievances and obsolete resolutions, but to the legitimate claims of the nations directly concerned and of the whole Middle East. Both the form and fate of the eight-power resolution were in doubt as the week began, but the prospect was good that an amended draft retaining its essential substance would be adopted.

This said, it must be admitted that the debate produced a repetition of all the old, well-worn Arab charges and arguments, including those which challenge Israel's very right to exist. Some were amusing as well as irritating. Fouad Ammoun of Lebanon, for example, was heard complaining that Israel's refusal to agree to the repatriation of Arab refugees in Palestine revealed a purpose to set up a state on a "religious basis"—which would, he said, rule out any direct negotiations. Apparently he forgot, in the heat of argument, that Lebanon itself, officially and admittedly, functions on a "religious basis." Through an equally glaring slip of memory, he firmly asserted that the Arab states had "bowed" to the partition resolution of November 29, 1947, while Israel's attitude had been one of "quasi-total refusal." How he accounts for the Arabs' open defiance of that resolution, accompanied by their invasion of Palestine to prevent its being put into effect, he failed to explain. More important was the Arabs' insistence that any talks with Israel must be conducted "in conformity with" previously adopted resolutions—a condition that from the outset would doom them to sterility. But this unrealistic attitude, while typical, does not necessarily represent the permanent position of the Arabs. They can be led to compromise, in their own ultimate interest, if they discover that intransigence no longer works. For the fact remains that their legitimate claims stand a far better chance of being satisfied under conditions of peace than in the present state of suspended belligerency—a fact some of their Asian supporters apparently recognize.

BY FAR the most constructive approach to the problems involved in the search for an agreement was put forward by Ambassador Eban of Israel. He premised his proposals upon a strong plea for direct negotiations geared to present realities and genuine interests rather than on previous decisions that had proved unworkable. Dealing first with the primary issue of security, he urged that a peace settlement should include an explicit non-aggression clause; and once more he assured the Arabs that any fears of expansive ambitions on the part of Israel were "quite unfounded." Such a settlement would make possible a reasonable limitation of military budgets; the supply and distribution of arms could be related to the defense needs of the whole region. A settlement would also include practical measures to eliminate armed incursions and attacks along the frontiers. And finally it would enable Israel and its neighbors to consider means of regional cooperation to defend peace in the area as a whole.

But even more important and politically more appealing was Mr. Eban's security proposals was his description of the social and economic advantages that would follow a peace settlement. After citing some of the moves Israel had made, even under present circumstances, to ease the plight of the Arab refugees—its release, at the request of the Conciliation Commission, of blocked accounts of refugees; its acceptance of 19,000 refugees into Israel, "notwithstanding the continued existence of a condition far short of peace"; and its agreement to pay compensation for lost properties in spite of the difficulties created by Arab boycott and blockade—Mr. Eban pointed out that a real solution of the refugee problem could be found only through "cooperative regional effort." First, he said, it was essential to restore normal economic relationships and promote trade between Israel and the Arab states. The resumption and early expansion of means of communication, now completely severed, between Israel and the surrounding countries would, he pointed out, not only facilitate the growth of trade but "produce an atmosphere of integration and harmony, and eliminate what is both a cause and an acute symptom of the present regional conflict." He discussed the multiple benefits that would flow from joint efforts to control disease and check the narcotics traffic, to bring about agrarian reform, housing developments, and labor organization.

BUT above all he showed how hostile relations between Israel and its neighbors had hamstrung the plans of U. N. agencies to provide the Middle East with technical assistance on a regional scale. Power and water development, soil conservation, and economic aid of many other sorts had been "frustrated by the character of our political relations." He drew a striking picture of the benefits to the economic life of the whole area that would become possible once peace was established.

Obviously the attractive program outlined by Mr. Eban will not implement itself. It depends, first, upon the willingness of the Arab states to enter into "direct and free" negotiations on reasonable terms and, second, upon the willingness of the United States to get behind the Assembly decision, after the resolution has passed, and to promise assistance in resettling the Arab refugees—an essential part of any peace move—and in developing the economic potential of the area as a whole.

One of the largest question marks hanging over the Arab-Israel debate has been the attitude of the new Republican Administration. So far no one really knows what position Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles will take on the concrete problems at issue. Without doubt they recognize the importance of political stability in the Middle East. But do they recognize that stability will not be achieved unless peace is made between Israel and the Arab states, or that peace depends upon assurance of a serious, long-range effort, inevitably financed in large part by the United States, to improve the economic life of the area? The adoption of a valid resolution by the General Assembly is an essential first step, but it will amount to no more than that until the new Administration puts its authority and pledge of aid behind a creative program of reconstruction such as Mr. Eban outlined.

Korea: No Way Out

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE Indian resolution on Korea was adopted by a vote of forty-five to five. The West's "automatic majority," split at the beginning of this Assembly, was thus reestablished in the face of Soviet opposition. Neither the opportunity of dividing the United States from its Atlantic Pact allies on a major issue nor the telling argument that a different Soviet attitude would have given the coming Vienna Peace Congress a tremendous propaganda push influenced the Soviet decision. Even without indorsing the entire Indian plan, Russia could have voted against the sections of the resolution which qualified the Geneva Convention and abstained in the vote on the resolution as a whole. This would have left the way open for future attempts at settlement on the basis of the plan. But Vishinsky's "no" was uncompromising.

It would be infantile to explain Russia's attitude in terms of the "obstinacy"" of Mr. Vishinsky. Answering on November 27 several speakers who tried to hold him personally responsible for the rejection of the Indian plan, he made it clear that Soviet policy left no margin for improvisation or caprice. It is equally incorrect to suggest that Mr. Vishinsky played Russia's hand badly or that his tactics were poor. Vishinsky had his very effective moments—for instance, in his speech preceding the vote when he produced a report from a Canadian paper describing pressure tactics employed in the U. N. prisoner-of-war camps to influence the prisoners against repatriation.

Nor could Mr. Vishinsky imagine that his counterproposal of an "immediate cease-fire," for all its popular appeal, could possibly offset the effect of Russia's rejection of the Indian plan. The conviction, widespread both inside and outside the United Nations, that the Indian resolution might have produced an armistice, relegates to a secondary role all other aspects of the historic debate. But the problem is not really taken care of by saying that there was a chance for a truce and that the Russians ruined it. It is necessary to search out the causes of the Soviet attitude.

It is also necessary to have the courage to face unpleasant realities. What has just occurred unfortunately substantiates my original view that it will be impossible to settle the Korean armistice issue in isolation from the other problems which divide East and West. If the armistice negotiations are ever to be successful they must be given additional content. (See War without End? November 8.) The conservative British *Sunday Dispatch* is now suggesting that Communist China be told directly that if it accepts the Indian plan it will be admitted to the United Nations. This might provide an opening wedge, but in the present circumstances it would probably not be sufficient. It is difficult to believe that Russia will give the West any facilities for getting out of the dilemma in which it is caught in Korea as long as Western policy fluctuates between "containment" and "roll-back" with no prospect of general negotiation.

What is the alternative? Another attempt at mediation? But is there any nation better qualified than India to make such an attempt? Or the "all-out offensive" demanded by Syngman Rhee and his henchmen? The enthusiasts go a little too far. One associate of General Li Mi, who is still fighting the Communists near the Chinese border, is quoted in the Paris *Monde* (November 27, 1952) as saying: "With the American elections and with Eisenhower as President the century of anti-Communist Asiatics attacking Communist Asiatics has begun." But in spite of this fervor, and apart from differences among the Western allies, there are military difficulties—which General Eisenhower has fully acknowledged since his departure from Korea.

A military showdown in Korea could be attempted only at the cost of the defense of Europe. No matter how many South Korean soldiers are offered by Syngman Rhee, the command will have to remain American and many American officers and troops would have to be brought to Korea. It is easy to imagine the effect such a withdrawal from Europe would have on the other already worried members of NATO. And not only troops but aviation would have to be shifted to Asia; this would disturb the Europeans more than anything else. Also, to attack China means to invite war with Russia. While in the sessions of the Assembly Mr. Vishinsky was emphasizing over and over his demand for a rigid observance of the Geneva Convention, I was thinking about another agreement that binds Russia much more directly—the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1950. According to this treaty Russia is obliged to come to China's aid if China is attacked.

I have consistently argued that the policy of containment could lead to a situation in which the West would find it equally difficult to wage war or to make peace. But this does not exclude the danger that, as a consequence of this very difficulty, we may one day find ourselves plunged into a war of exasperation—in Asia or somewhere else. An alternative can be found only in a Big Four conference, not a conference of deputies like the unhappy 1951 meeting at the Palais Rose in Paris, but a full conference of Foreign Ministers with power to discuss all major conflicts—and to act.

If there is one man among the Western leaders who can take the initiative for proposing such a meeting, it is President Auriol of France. The fact that he is practically sure to be reelected to another term gives him the necessary authority and assurance of continuity to take such a step.

The C. I. O. Picks Reuther

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Atlantic City, New Jersey

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations turned to Walter P. Reuther, after what might have been a shattering struggle, because the majority of its leaders had a deep sense of responsibility to the best traditions of the organization and to their country. Behind the bitter fight for the presidency between Reuther and Allan S. Haywood was a clash of basic concepts about the function of the C. I. O. in our society. Reuther preeminently stood for the belief that it should be a powerful instrument of organized liberalism not only in American but in world affairs.

The struggle here on the Boardwalk, where seventeen years ago the foundations of the C. I. O. were laid, brought out some instances of egotism and meanness. The assembly was not a happy one. Old comrades of the late Philip Murray suffered from a sense of personal loss and were troubled by what seemed like signs of spiritual disintegration in the quarrel over the presidential succession. The decision of the Haywood adherents—that is, principally, the decision of David J. MacDonald, acting president of the United Steelworkers—to force a showdown roll call had only one purpose: it was a warning to Reuther to speak softly and move carefully and to remember that his election had been opposed by a very powerful minority. Reuther won in the roll call by less than a 10 per cent plurality.

It may be asked: What's wrong with a showdown vote in a democratic organization? And, indeed, a point in Reuther's favor in the convention maneuvering was his readiness to face the challenge of a vote; he told other leaders plainly that the actual strength of constituent unions must be counted rather than the inflated paper strength credited to various organizing committees and small unions. But the C. I. O. is a voluntary association of autonomous unions, not an organically united body. Its force and impact have depended on its ability to speak for its member unions with a single voice.

From the first night of the convention, when the rubber workers and oil workers announced they would support him, it was clear Reuther had the votes to win. To his credit, Allan Haywood recognized it and sensibly accepted an arrangement stabilizing his own position as executive vice-president, the post he had held under Murray.

One of the ablest C. I. O. officials said that the great question was whether the C. I. O. was to become just a loosely knit federation with fragmentary ideas or remain the united liberal force it had been in the past and develop a reinvigorated drive. Another, in a private conversation, put the question as follows: "Shall we turn inward, devoting ourselves to less and less important concepts of routine trade unionism; shall we caution Reuther against taking up with 'queer notions' about the C. I. O.'s responsibility for immigration laws, housing, civil rights, foreign policy, and other democratic causes? Or shall we accept his leadership with genuine enthusiasm for the ideals he represents?"

Haywood is greatly respected as a veteran of many union struggles. He had the support, naturally, of the very small unions, which felt indebted to him for the organizers he had assigned to help them. He had the support of most of the industrial union councils, of which he is national director. And he had the support of MacDonald, a man of real power, if the only one in his camp. Reuther, however, had the backing of the medium unions—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers, Electrical Workers, Oil Workers, and Rubber Workers—which are firmly established in their fields and very sure of what they want the C. I. O. to be. They were for Reuther not only because he is twenty years younger than Haywood and a power in his own right as head of the United Automobile Workers but also because they believed he would expand rather than contract the horizons of the C. I. O.

Haywood would not have reversed the C. I. O.'s wide-ranging social policies, but with his devotion to organization work, his idea that there is little use in preaching idealism unless you have the constituents to preach to, he might have permitted much of the C. I. O.'s liberalizing thrust to wither away.

After the election one of Reuther's close associates said that the C. I. O. could hardly be expected to feel toward its new leader as it had felt toward Murray, to be willing to follow him "right or wrong." Reuther, he thought, would have to be "right" to command loyalty and votes. Murray magnetically attracted support through his wisdom, patience, and ironic kindliness. Reuther is an idea man, an expert in trade unionism, a union leader who happens to be interested in human freedom rather than in bread alone.

Many felt that Reuther's keynote speech after the voting was too long, that he did not need to cover practically every aspect of the C. I. O.'s and the world's problems. But it is possible that he laid down his line in

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such detail with deliberate intent. He knew what the issue in the convention was, and so he talked extensively about foreign policy, emphasizing the difference between the C. I. O.'s objections to President Truman's foreign policy and the attacks of the reactionaries: "We criticize that policy for its deficiencies; they criticize it for its validities." He talked about the social revolution sweeping over the world: "The Communists did not create that revolution; they are merely riding on its back." In all countries, he said, not just in America, children have the right to grow up strong in body and mind, limited in their opportunities only by their own capacities.

NO BIG split in the C. I. O. need be feared. Neither MacDonald's Steelworkers nor the small unions will pull out. There may be some sniping from the beaten minority and perhaps a little foot-dragging on social issues. David L. Cole, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, addressing the convention before the roll-call vote, said solemnly: "From the position I hold I can perhaps see more clearly than you the direction which the thinking in certain quarters is now taking. Let me warn you that there are people who are gloating over the possibility of disunity within the C. I. O. . . . I urge you . . . to join your forces quickly and solidly." Reassuring those who had supported Haywood to the bitter end, Reuther promised in his acceptance speech that there would be no quarrel between steel workers and automobile workers, between big unions and little unions. Haywood, for his part, announced graciously and sincerely: '"As far as Allan Haywood is concerned, I will be with this organization until time takes me out."

There is no immediate likelihood that the emergence of George Meany as head of the American Federation of Labor and of Walter Reuther as head of the C. I. O. will produce the unity of which both sides have talked. The difficulties are many and complex: how to settle jurisdictional problems and assure the industrial organization that its unions would not be fragmented into craft groups; how to develop an organic union by working together for common ends. In Meany, however, the A. F. of L. has a forward-looking leader, a man who, like Reuther, thinks of the welfare of the whole country. Reuther and Meany can talk to each other.

The basic significance of Reuther's election is that the C. I. O. reaffirmed its tradition of being an articulate and responsible spokesman for democracy. But it may also happen that new vigor will be poured into organizing campaigns as well as into social concepts. A long time has passed since the great C. I. O. unions were built. Some of the small local groups are weaker now than they were fifteen years ago; some of the internationals in basic industries have not organized even their own jurisdictions effectively. A renewal of the C. I. O.'s crusading spirit offers hope for the difficult times ahead.

Guilt by Dedication

BY EDWARD H. SHAFFER

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DURING the week beginning November 23 scores of eminent music critics from several countries converged on Pittsburgh to listen to the discords of the city's first International Contemporary Music Festival. Contrary to their expectations, they discovered that the loudest inharmonious notes did not emanate from the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra but from a new entry to their own ranks, Judge Michael A. Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Judge Musmanno, a self-styled crusader against communism, protested vigorously against the scheduled performance of Dr. Roy Harris's Fifth Symphony. This work, written in 1943, was dedicated to "the heroic and freedom-loving people of our great ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a tribute to their staunch idealism for world peace, their ability to cope with stark materialistic problems of world order without losing a passionate belief in the fundamental importance of the arts." Apparently indignant because Dr. Harris refused his request to change this dedication, Judge Musmanno urged Pittsburgh's music-lovers to refrain from applauding. "Sit on your hands," he said.

Fearing trouble, Mayor David Lawrence made a hurried trip to Syria Mosque, where the concert was being held. Nervously he and the festival officials watched Conductor William Steinberg take the stand. The audience sat in hushed silence as Mr. Steinberg led the orchestra through the movements of Dr. Harris's Fifth Symphony. When the final note was sounded, a wave of applause engulfed the hall.

At this moment Dr. Harris, who is a resident composer at the Pennsylvania College for Women, appeared on the scene. After describing the "rousing ovation" which he received, the Pittsburgh *Press* commented that Judge Musmanno had been "overruled."

At the close of the festival a statement was issued by Dr. James Bovard, president of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Dr. Paul Anderson, president of the Pennsylvania College for Women—co-chairmen of the festival—and Mayor Lawrence denouncing the attacks on Dr. Harris. "We have heard a lot about guilt by association," they said, but "this is the first time that we deal with the problem of alleged guilt by dedication."

Thus the ideological if not the musical discords of Pittsburgh's first International Contemporary Music Festival were resolved in a manner which in these days of fear seems to belong to a forgotten past.

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Western Reactions to Prague

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

SINCE a number of budding little McCarrans and McCarthy's have been sniping at me for quite a time as a dangerous Red—a charge leveled at most left-wing writers who disregard the unwritten rules of the cold war—it was almost a pleasant surprise to be denounced, along with Mr. Zilliacus and a galaxy of ambassadors, as an "imperialist agent" and "notorious spy" in the indictment of the Prague "traitors." Actually, the story of my being a "notorious spy" is a very old one, and its revival throws a crude light on the crazy background of the trial and its handling of evidence.

In January, 1950, after my last visit to Czechoslovakia, I published a number of articles in this journal—as well as in the London *New Statesman and Nation* and the Manchester *Guardian*—which greatly displeased Rudolf Slansky, then Czechoslovakia's big party boss, and André Simone, alias Otto Katz, at that time foreign editor and the real power of *Rude Pravo*, official organ of the Czech Communist Party. Thereupon Simone himself "unmasked" me in his paper as a "notorious spy." I was not unduly surprised. By that time the refusal to distinguish between espionage and bona fide journalism had become an established custom.

The interesting thing is that the indictment used the same phrase about me, as if its truth were well established, when actually it had been coined by Simone, now a "traitor" and "agent of American imperialism." It shows that any "dirt" about Westerners will do, even that invented by people being tried for their abominable crimes against the Communist state. Or did the public prosecutor overlook this little detail? Or is he perhaps an accomplice, still "unmasked," of Slansky, Simone, and company?

Together with almost every other more or less well-known citizen of the West who has visited Prague in the last few years, I was of course also denounced as one of "Slansky's foreign agents." In reality I never met Slansky in my life. The only one of the fourteen accused men I know is André Simone, whom I saw when he was in Paris before the war and again in Prague in 1948 and 1949. He was very active in Paris, especially at the time of the Spanish civil war, and was generally thought to be "close to the Comintern." (It is, indeed, an odd fact that, presumably because of their "internationalist" outlook, a large number of persons who had some connection with the Spanish war have been purged in recent trials—or, like Marty, the French Communist leader, fallen into disgrace.)

In 1948 and 1949 Simone seemed quite different from in the Paris days. He was still shifty and a little mysterious, but he attempted to be cordial, and, speaking excellent English and French, he made a point of seeing a good deal of foreign correspondents in Prague and telling them what a good job the Communists were making of post-Benes Czechoslovakia. Those who, like myself, were not deeply impressed by his propaganda soon learned how he felt about them. However, since Simone has been hanged, one ought to be charitable. (After an incredible "confession" in court, he begged to be hanged "as an example to others"—it must have been a horrible scene.) Despite the bad turn he did me, which barred me, as a journalist, from ever returning to Czechoslovakia, I still think he was a sincere Communist, though almost pathologically obsessed with vanity and personal ambition. Perhaps his vanity, plus the fact that a different type of Communist is wanted by Moscow these days, led to his downfall.

THE trial was obviously the outcome of a conflict between the two rival factions in Czechoslovakia with the "Jewish" faction made the scapegoat for the country's lamentable economic condition. The anti-Semitic aspect of the trial had its parallel in the Soviet Union when the "Russians" crushed the "non-Russian" Trotskys, Zinovievs, Kamenevs, and Radeks. There may also be something in the theory that a display of anti-Semitism was calculated to please the Arab states.

Less even than in other purge trials was any concern shown for verisimilitude. The improbabilities were, indeed, so blatant—Clementis plotting to kill Gottwald, for instance—that the embarrassment of Western Communists is immense. The French Communist press has tried to play the whole thing down and even to make it sound almost like an "ordinary" trial. For the organizers of international peace rallies and other "hands-through-the-curtain" movements everything has been made more difficult.

To the Russian and Czech rulers the elimination of the Slansky faction must have been much more important than the cultivation of left-wing good-will in the West. Perhaps some day we shall know the reason. At present there are two possible explanations. When I was last in Prague in 1949, the Gottwald-Zapotocky group was thought to be in constant danger of being

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"purged" by the men around Slansky, who appeared at that time as the *Gauleiter* imposed from outside. Gradually, as the Soviet Union abandoned certain Cominform conceptions, such as the sharp division of the world into two camps, and concentrated on the necessity of "co-existence" while waiting for the capitalist powers to rot away—or even to fight each other, according to Stalin's recent pronouncement—Slansky's domination began to suit Moscow less and less, for both international and internal Czech reasons. The economic-reorganization processes of the last two years had caused great discontent among the Czechs, and Gottwald was being considered by more and more people as a lesser evil and much more "one of us" than Slansky. There is therefore little doubt that Slansky's fall from grace was generally welcomed, though a relatively Western country like Czechoslovakia could hardly have welcomed the gruesome comedy of the trial. In this the Russians may well have miscalculated.

On balance, however, the Russians must know that the liquidation of Slansky is somehow identified in Czech minds with a victory of "our own" people over "outsiders." The fact that, largely by accident, all the Slansky men were Jews—Clementis was really dragged into this trial quite artificially—and that some of them were "internationalists" or, to use the phrase now current, "homeless cosmopolitans," more willing in certain circumstances to serve Moscow than the real Czechs, emphasized this point. It was the misfortune of the victims of the purge that while in 1948-49 it happened to suit Moscow to use them as stooges, it suited Moscow now to abandon them.

But there was perhaps another reason for disregarding the deplorable impression the trial was bound to make on the left throughout Western Europe—the jitters of the Russian and Czech rulers. In view of what is probably thought to be the growing danger of war they may well have judged it imperative to create a completely "united" and "foolproof" Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, full of truly "stable" and "disciplined" characters—no Jewish intellectuals, please! Their mood may have been not unlike the mood that existed in Russia in 1937-38, at the time of the great Moscow purge trials, when war seemed imminent.

Dark Road in Kenya

BY ELIZABETH E. HOYT

NORTH of Nairobi, and exactly on the equator, the snow-clad summit of Mount Kenya stands out against the sky. During the heat of the day clouds cover it, the ever-changing cumuli that continually rise and dissolve over the hills of the Kikuyu Reserve. Children are taught by their parents to look toward Mount Kenya in the morning and in the evening, for among those snows, they say, is a holy place. "God lives there," they tell the children; "it is the home of Ngai." To themselves, though not to the children, some of them now say that since Europeans have climbed Mount Kenya and defiled it, perhaps God does not live there any more.

Armored cars are rolling over the Kikuyu country now. The decencies have broken down; blood has been flowing. What lies behind this terror? It is the fact that the sudden sweep of Western life and its mechanical instruments into the Kikuyu country has found no adequate human institutions to guide and interpret it. With increased means of communication, tribal and individual self-consciousness has also greatly increased, and tremendous new forces have sought outlets, overflowing the old channels. The destructive effects of undigested cultural change can be seen all over the world, but in the Kikuyu Reserve the speed of the change and certain special conditions have heightened the tragedy.

I lived on the Kikuyu Reserve with a Cambridge University girl, an anthropologist who was studying the life of women and children. She warned me before I joined her that I might not like the Kikuyu. "They have a very bad reputation," she said. "People call them sullen and suspicious, and distrust them. That isn't the way I feel about them, but if you come you can see for yourself."

In the Fort Hall district the country is all hills, and the planting is done either on slopes or in narrow valleys where streams become torrents in the rains and disappear in the dry season. The violent rains wash the soil down the hillsides, and the women protect their gardens with little rows of brush which are only slightly better than no erosion control at all. The small plots produce a variety of crops—bananas, maize, millet, some cassava, sugar cane, sorghum, sweet potatoes, beans. Along the streams the wild arrowroot is protected, since the roots are something to fall back on in time of famine.

We walked up and down these hillsides daily, greeted

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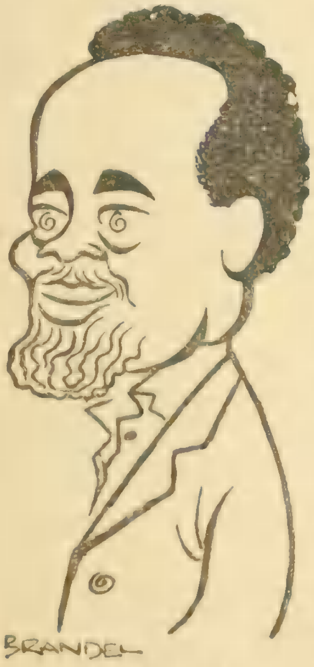
always by the women working in the garden plots. They were barefooted, and some had lost their toenails from the rough soil. Breaking up the ground is supposed to be men's work, but we saw it done by women and once by two girls about six and seven, who laughed as they made the clods fly. In some places were little platforms raised above the ground where old women sat to scare the birds away from the gardens. A few relics of the original forest were left. Most of the trees, however, were eucalyptus and wattle brought in from Australia. The bark of the wattle, a kind of acacia, is used in tanning and is the chief cash crop of the Kikuyu in this region.

I know little about their incomes, but the United States Department of State estimates that the annual per capita income in Kenya as a whole is $40. Since the 30,000 Europeans and 100,000 Indians in Kenya are more prosperous than the 5,000,000 Africans, an estimate of $25 or $30 for Africans can be made. In Nairobi, where pay tends to be highest, wages run from $5.60 to $8.40 a month for laborers up to $21 a month for artisans.

My friend's work took her into many homes. The children, even as young as three, came with outstretched hands to meet the guests and watched quietly while the babies were measured. My friend said she had never seen a parent strike a child. We spent a good deal of time in the markets. The friendliness with which the women received us was almost exhausting. They seized our hands, patted our shoulders, looked deep into our eyes, poured out welcoming words. The goods sold in the markets were almost entirely local products—vegetables, fruits, hides and skins, articles made by blacksmiths, domestic animals. Non-native goods—bread, sugar, tea, liniment—were offered in small stores. There were far too many of these for the volume of trade, and the daily intake of some was said to be not more than twenty cents. In a poor little shop where the total stock was not worth more than ten dollars one copy of one book was for sale: "Cry, the Beloved Country."

I visited many Kikuyu schools. Most of these were mission schools which the government subsidized; many new ones were being built, usually on hilltops, the materials and labor being furnished largely by the Kikuyu. Other schools had been built entirely by the Kikuyu because the British did not move fast enough. These "independent" schools were woefully understaffed, for few good teachers were available. But the people made great sacrifices for their schools, giving in some cases half of their cash income and even selling their land and cattle to get money to contribute. I saw whole communities carrying stones to hilltops and working like bees to build the schools. A part of the children's education, in some places, was to roof the buildings where later they could study. Nowhere, I was told, was school discipline a problem, and again and again, when we suddenly opened the door of a schoolroom without a teacher, we found all the children with their noses buried in their books. They often teach their parents to read at night. The children wore all kinds of clothing and scraps of clothing, including old army overcoats with the sleeves cut out and the skirts dragging on the ground.

AMONG British and Kikuyu I often heard Jomo Kenyatta's euphonious name. After his stay in London he had spent several years in Moscow, and when he returned, a record was made of the greeting the Kikuyu gave him. He was hailed as a savior, the black man who had been received as the equal of the whites in Europe and had now come back to his own people to deliver them from bondage. In yearning and in triumph the cry "Jomo Kenyatta!" rose sharp and clear; then the inarticulate shouts of ten thousand tribesmen were like the roaring of the sea.



Jomo Kenyatta

When I asked the educated Kikuyu whom I met—a very special group, of course—about Kenyatta, the response was almost always a troubled one. "Yes," I was told, "he is a wonderful orator. He holds great crowds spellbound. It is marvelous to see him sway the people. But—we are not sure if he is a good leader. He collects large sums of money. Some of us would like to see an account of it. He lives much better than we. If you ask him a direct question he knows how to evade it. If you charge him with evasion he laughs, and you feel like a fool. He is intelligent. He bases his appeal to the people on what education can do for them. He is also a master-actor. Maybe he has acted too long."

"Would he talk with me about education if I went to the independent school at Gethunguri?"

"Oh, yes, certainly, he would be happy to tell an American about his work."

I wrote to Jomo Kenyatta saying that I was an American and was deeply interested in the people's efforts to get education. I would like to come to Gethunguri and I was free on certain dates. If he would not be there, I said, I should appreciate knowing when he could see me. I received no answer, but I went to Gethunguri—it was not an easy place to reach—and was told there that both Kenyatta and the headmaster had just left, to be gone several days at least. That, if it was a discourtesy, was the only one I received from Africans in my seven months with them.

At least, however, I saw the Gethunguri Teachers' College. What impressed me most was the women's quarters, the best accommodations for African women I saw in East Africa. They had been made possible by contributions from thousands of bowed, bare-footed women like those whose homes we had visited and who had welcomed us in the markets of Fort Hall.

Two Labor M. P.'s, Fenner Brockway and Leslie Hale, visited Kenya last month at the invitation of leaders of the Kenya African Union. On their return they submitted the following statement to Parliament:

We disagree profoundly with [Colonial Secretary] Oliver Lyttelton when he says that social and economic grievances are not the cause of Mau Mau.

Mau Mau is an ugly and brutal form of extreme nationalism. It is based on frustration. Frustration brings bitterness, and bitterness brings viciousness. The fact that it first attacked Africans rather than Europeans is an indication of the depth of the bitterness. It struck murderously and tragically at those of its own race who are cooperating with the administration.

These frustrations arise from, among other things, the humiliations of the color bar, the destruction of the old tribal system without the substitution of a satisfactory new [social] system, land hunger, wages which in thousands of cases do not satisfy physical hunger, appalling housing conditions, and the fantastic rise in the price of *posho* (maize flour). This staple food of the people has increased 600 per cent in price since the beginning of the war.

We have been delighted and surprised by the extent of agreement among men and women of good-will—Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Arabs—as to the measures necessary to meet the situation. Responsible opinion in all four races now accepts the need for the progressive elimination of the color bar, the extension of cooperative farming in the African reserves pending the consideration of the land problem by the Royal Commission, reduction of the price of *posho* by a subsidy or other method, advance in wage standards, particularly in the minimum wage; rapid improvement in housing conditions, extension of free education, and the democratization of the local administration.

We have heard it suggested that the Kenya African Union should be proscribed. This would be a disastrous mistake. It would intensify bitterness and spread a feeling among Africans that the government is using the crimes of the Mau Mau to strike at legitimate African rights. We have met the new officers of the Kenya African Union . . . and know that they are devoted to constructive progress. If the Kenya African Union were dissolved by government action, the Africans would lose the right to express themselves through their own most representative organization, and the hope of their cooperation in working out the future patterns of Kenya would be gravely imperiled.

When Europeans in Kenya speak of Jomo Kenyatta, they are likely to speak of Moscow in the same breath, though both Europeans and Africans told me they believed communism meant nothing to the Kikuyu masses—as yet. I met one avowed follower of Kenyatta whom I questioned:

> What do you know about Moscow? . . . It is a great city of the Europeans.
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> But what does it stand for? . . . It welcomed Jomo Kenyatta. It said he was as good as the Europeans. It was the first European city to do that.
>
> Have you ever heard of communism? . . . Yes, I have heard of it. It is something European, I think.
>
> Are you interested in it? . . . No. We can't bother with things European. We have to think about the Kikuyu here.
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> Moscow is the world's center of communism, I said. All I know, he replied, is that Moscow welcomed Jomo Kenyatta. It may be for communism as you say. That is not our business.

The fact that the Kikuyu independent school movement was promoted by Jomo Kenyatta naturally colored the British attitude toward it. And yet, I said to a friendly Britisher, it seems to me that this Kikuyu undertaking is one of the great educational movements of history. "False shepherds, false shepherds!" he replied, shaking his head. "These people are sadly exploited by their own leaders." "False shepherds or not," I answered, "the people's hunger is not false and their sacrifices are not false either. The shepherds might not do such harm if we gave these people more of a helping hand." "We do give them a helping hand," he protested, "but with circumspection. Rome was not built in a day. We have the welfare of these people at heart, you know that. Let us have a few hundred years." He went on with a smile: "You Americans are always in a hurry. It sometimes seems as if the people with the least experience are the most eager to give advice."

I CAME home. The tension grew, and darker accounts arrived from both Kikuyu and British. Six Kikuyu boys managed to get to the United States to study last year, and one of them came to my home, practically as a member of the family. His own home was in Fort Hall, the district where I had lived. He had been critical of the British in Kenya; he still thought they were slow. But now he saw that they, especially the colonial government, were trying to do something but did not know the best way. Did I think they would hold his criticisms against him now? How could he work with them best? Did I think agriculture or the social sciences or education would be the most useful major? In the United States, he said, he had learned the difference between a value judgment and a functional judgment. Professor Drake had taught him that social scientists must tell the truth.

Last September the Mau Mau troubles were in the offing, and that was what we talked about. "I am frightened," he said; "I am afraid great harm is going to be done. The masses of the Kikuyu are excited; they are terribly angry over wrongs that happened long ago. They do not know how hard it is for them to bridge a cultural gap, or for the British to help them do it. I once did not know myself. That is one of the things I learned here. I am afraid that there will be violence and they will not know what they are doing. I do not know who can tell them in time."

Could you tell them, if you were there? . . . I hope to learn better how to tell them. But whoever does that successfully must be able to work with the British, too. To be successful now it is necessary to have the confidence of both sides, and you have to feel confidence in both.

Do you feel confidence in the British? . . . Some of them are trying their best, but it is hard for them to see what is inside us. They see our bodies, and they see part of our minds, but they don't see what our souls are like. They can speak so easily, but we say foolish words, or we are dumb. If we make mistakes it is hard for them to trust us still. But it is so easy to make mistakes. And to keep on going straight ahead, with abysses on each side, is like walking on a knife edge all the time.

How does the basic problem look to you? . . . The people are waking up suddenly. They want education so that they can participate in this new world. They don't get it. They don't get jobs of any importance. They can't communicate very well. They are frustrated. So they turn their attention to politics, where they can throw themselves around and seem to be doing something.

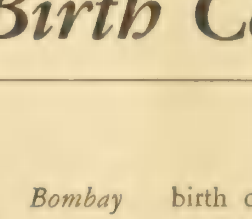
What could we Americans do that would count most? . . . Help to get education for the Kikuyu—you have helped me here and could help them there. Help to spread understanding of the tensions that torment us. You could find a way to do that without offending anybody, perhaps by speaking through the United Nations. Those are the important things because they are the foundation of everything else.

Japan Wants Birth Control

BY MARGARET SANGER

Bombay

IN OCTOBER, 1952, I visited Japan on my way to the International Conference on Planned Parenthood at Bombay, India, just thirty years after my first eventful stay there. I found that thinking men and women were still concerned with the great problem of how to curb population growth, how to bring the rapidly increasing number of people in their islands into a sane and humane balance with the country's limited resources. In other ways there was a vast difference between the two visits. The military controlled Japan thirty years ago. Officials were so shocked at the idea of birth control being openly discussed that my lectures were greatly curtailed. I had been invited to Japan by a number of liberal intellectuals known as the Kaizo group, who planned a series of lectures to be given by four Western writers and leaders of thought. The first was Bertrand Russell, the second, Albert Einstein; I was to be the third. I was finally allowed to discuss "Population and Peace" with the understanding I would not mention birth control from a public platform. The uproar in official circles over my subject cut short the Kaizo project. As a consequence H. G. Wells, who was to follow me, never went to Japan to deliver his lecture. On my recent visit I was warmly welcomed, invited to speak whenever possible, urged to help in the effort to educate the Japanese people to avail themselves of government-sanctioned medical means of spacing their babies.



The population of Japan in 1922 was 66,000,000. Each year this hard-working, courageous, courteous, beauty-loving people was adding between 750,000 and 800,000 to its teeming millions—new lives to care for, new mouths to feed. The available space at that time, although very inadequate, was much greater than it is today, since the military-planned expansion had allowed Japanese families to take up residence in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and the islands of the western Pacific. By June 1, 1952, 85,000,000 people were living in a space that had been greatly reduced by Japan's defeat in the Second World War.

I firmly believe history will record the fact that no people in the world today are making greater sacrifices in the effort to lower their birth rate than the Japanese. The idea of family limitation is not new to them. At the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1867,

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when the Emperor's sweeping reforms brought the Islands into contact with Western sanitation and health measures, the population had been stationary for more than a century. The first national census in 1726 produced the figure of 26,000,000. The census of 1846 still showed 26.000.000. The number had been kept down by the practice of infanticide, high infant and maternal mortality, a high stillbirth rate, and numerous abortions. Two children were considered enough for any family to feed and educate. The sharp population increase began shortly after Commodore Perry's historic visit to Japan in 1854, which opened some ports to foreign trade. The rise occurred despite continuing high stillbirth and infant-mortality rates. Statistics available for the early twentieth century show some 90 stillbirths per 1,000 births. By 1920 both the birth rate and the stillbirth rate had declined, the latter to 66 per 1,000.

AT THE time of my first visit to Japan the intelligent people I met seemed eager for information about birth control and, more important, to pass on this help to those who needed it most. They wanted to avoid undesired pregnancies and an increasing birth rate. The density of population in 1920 was 380 persons per square mile of land area. In Japan, a country of mountains and rivers, only one acre in six is cultivable. This meant that if the people had been distributed evenly over the cultivable land, each square mile of such land would have contained 2,500 persons. Thinking people knew that the increasing land hunger would lead to disastrous, humiliating war. But the military clique which was growing in power at that time had its own plans. Its encouragement of big families and denial of the knowledge of how families could be limited forced women into the cruel practice of abortion.

In 1938 a Ministry of Health and Social Affairs was created. From this time on, physical training and population growth were heavily emphasized. Paradoxically, in the same year the Japanese government approved the Eugenic Protection law legalizing the interruption of pregnancy for medical and eugenic reasons. This further increased the number of abortions.

After the war the birth rate and stillbirth rate rose sharply in Japan, as in Germany and many other countries. At the present time it is difficult to differentiate between stillbirths and induced abortions. Many Japanese women, even though induced abortion is legal and since 1946 has been permitted for economic as well as physical reasons, fail to register abortions as such. By law, abortions after the third month of pregnancy, when the foetus is viable, must be reported. Stillbirths from the fourth month to gestation must be reported by the family but not necessarily by the physician. It is hoped that a new project undertaken by Dr. Y. Koya, Director of Public Health, will produce a more reliable way of determining the number of abortions and stillbirths. Despite the confusion of figures, the conservative estimate of most physicians is that there were one million interruptions of pregnancy in 1950. The number for 1952 is expected to be twice as large, and unless one of the new simple, inexpensive contraceptives is available soon, even larger the following year.

Hunger, misery, and overcrowding are part of this desperate situation. Though physicians have improved their techniques of abortion during the past year, it is tragic that women must resort to this traumatic method of terminating an unborn life when they might be supplied with safe contraceptives, easy to use and within their income. Many new simple contraceptives are showing promise in the experimental stage—jellies, pills, and injections that include vitamins, hormones, enzymes, and special chemicals. The need for them is great everywhere, but nowhere greater than in Japan.

The government recently legalized birth control, the first in the world to take this step. Unfortunately an adequate educational program has not been worked out, one which stresses the important fact that abortion is not contraception, that there are better and safer ways of spacing pregnancies and limiting families.

Several interesting health projects were brought to my attention in Japan. One of the most fruitful is the series of test studies being conducted in three rural villages, sponsored by the Organization for Research on Population Health and directed by Dr. Y. Koya. These studies have proved that the population problem in Japan has shifted from the economic to the public-health field, that the prevalence of abortions has adversely affected the health of Japanese mothers. I rejoice that the organization has taken the correct strong stand against induced abortions and hope that it will go on to favor birth control by contraceptive methods and so make abortions unnecessary.

Abortions threaten the health of the mother without preventing renewed pregnancy at an early date. Next to infanticide they are the worst means of checking population increase. In Japan as anywhere the general practice of induced abortion merely replaces one evil with another. Let us hope that an end to this suffering, waste, enfeeblement, and despair is in sight. Let us hope that soon a simple, safe contraceptive will emerge from the research laboratories. Japan is ready and eager to take advantage of it.

An accurate picture of the factors causing the current rapid increase in the world's population is urgently needed, not just in Japan but everywhere. Each country can cooperate in ascertaining these factors with the hope that the United Nations will eventually propose a sound population policy. Basic requirements are adequate data on birth and death rates, evaluation of attitudes on the spacing of children and on family limitation, and a study of methods of contraception.

Labor Makes Up Its Own Mind

BY A. A. LIVERIGHT and BERNARD KARSH

"NO LABOR leader can deliver the vote," said Walter Reuther when he was consulted by the platform-drafting committee of the Democratic Party. The man who has since been elected president of the C. I. O. continued: "If any labor leader says he can deliver the labor vote he is kidding you or himself. He can influence and try to mobilize his people around issues, and they will deliver the vote."

The election results bore out this statement, showing clearly that indorsement by the heads of labor does not guarantee a victory at the polls. On the other hand, careful analysis of the returns from industrial areas discovers no mass defections of workers from the Democratic Party. In such strongly organized urban areas as the counties embracing Cleveland, Youngstown, Canton, and Akron in Ohio, and Detroit, Flint, and Grand Rapids in Michigan, Governor Stevenson ran better than President Truman did four years ago.

Many top labor leaders wonder, however, how large a proportion of their membership echoed the statement made by a steel worker recently when he was asked how he felt about the union's political activities. "I don't want the union or anybody else to tell me how to vote," he said. "It's my constitutional right to vote as I see fit. I don't even tell my wife how to vote. The union should stay out of politics—absolutely. They have enough trouble in the shop without taking on politics."

The effectiveness of labor's political program in the recent election campaign will be debated for months. In the meantime, let us take a look at what officers and members thought about union political action during the spring and summer of 1952. In the course of a research project carried out at the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago, we discussed the subject with more than a thousand trade-unionists. We sampled steel workers, oil workers, coal miners, automobile workers, and garment workers. We talked at length with union officers. Our conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. Local union officers and the small core of active members are unconditionally in favor of union political action; the majority of inactive members are split between all-out and qualified support. However, in some locals as many as a third of the rank and file are categorically opposed to any union political activity.

2. Both leaders and rank and file feel strongly that the union should provide them with honest, complete data on the record of candidates and the issues of the election, but they hold to their right to vote according to their own conscience.

3. The leaders generally recognize that political action by the union is an extension of the collective-bargaining function, that what is won around the conference table can be lost in Washington. The average member, with reservations about political action to begin with, has a more limited perspective. He has seen how community political action can neutralize the police during a strike and tends to be in favor of it in his own city, but he feels that the collective-bargaining arm of the union ends just outside the plant gates.

4. Both rank-and-file members and local officers resent having political issues oversimplified. They don't like hearing the Taft-Hartley act called a "slave-labor" law when it has not as yet made slaves of them. They suspect any approach which would drive them into a certain position.

5. Almost half of the union officers questioned thought that labor "rides the tail of the Democratic kite" and has little part in indorsing individual candidates in either party. Fully half of the inactives in one local, when asked for their views on P. A. C. (the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee), responded with variations of "What's P. A. C.? or even "Who's he?" When the idea was explained to them, not many were sympathetic. Local union leaders in attendance at a labor institute last summer were asked to indicate on a questionnaire which of a number of factors would influence them most

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strongly in deciding whom to vote for. Only 9 of 123 reported that they would follow strictly the indorsement of their union's political organization.

6. Almost all the officers queried and a large majority of the members, both active and inactive, seemed to feel that the welfare of the workers was best safeguarded by the Democratic Party—when it has good candidates.

7. Union members are interested in broad national issues—not just in labor legislation. A poll of union members taken before the recent election showed that the majority believed foreign policy, taxes, inflation, and civil rights to be the most important issues. Repeal of Taft-Hartley came next; communism in the United States was placed last on the list.

PROBABLY the chief reason for labor's lack of interest in political action is the defective system of education and communication within the union. The union meeting is never well attended nowadays except at a time of crisis. It served a real purpose during the turbulent late 30's when the modern labor movement was being built, but that need no longer exists. The period of organization in the mass-production industries is all but completed. In the old days the union hall provided a place where workers met and talked about the hardships of the depression and the open shop. Now they have other opportunities for social contact; mass media of communication have been greatly developed; a grievance committee handles in-shop problems. The membership is generally pretty well satisfied with the union's accomplishments.

Most local leaders have as yet failed to devise more effective methods for keeping the members informed of the union's purposes. Many feel that if the members won't come to the meetings, it is their own fault: "let them stew in their ignorance." Of course this is exactly what happens, and so the membership seldom learns the value of concerted political action.

Another reason for their apparent indifference is their traditional reverence for the secret ballot. Like all Americans, union members want to make up their own minds and not be told whom to vote for. An automobile worker whom we interviewed put it this way: "The union should definitely engage in political activity, but it shouldn't tell me to vote for John Jones because he's a union man. Let it tell me about the candidates and what they stand for and I'll vote for the one I think is the best man."

Though an increasing number of union members identify their interests with those of the Democratic Party, there are still some good Republicans among them, and these resent what seems like labor's blanket indorsement of Democratic policies. They feel that labor's political activity is forcing them into the position of either renouncing their own views or being considered disloyal members. Many unionists, as well as other citizens, think of politics and political action as something dishonest. They feel that active participation in politics is much more likely to corrupt the union than to clean up politics, that labor is not so much influencing the result as being used by politicians for their own ends. They look with distrust upon national labor leaders who become the pals of top politicians and lose contact with local officers and members. Lacking adequate understanding of why political action is an increasingly important and time-consuming activity of their leaders, some unions accuse their top officers of being more interested in their new national prestige than in labor's real problems.

Unions also have a tremendous number of members who were brought in through maintenance-of-membership and union-shop provisions and in consequence are "organized" but not "unionized." These "card-carriers" do not realize what conditions were like before the union was formed. Not knowing the score on regular union matters—either because the union has done a poor educational job or because the employer has done an effective one—they naturally don't know the score on political action and resent attempts to influence them more than do the older members.

While the political-action program of neither the A. F. of L. nor the C. I. O. has made a deep impression on the rank and file, probably more union members went to the polls this year than ever before. The constant emphasis on politics at union meetings, in union newspapers, and on the radio and television has made labor aware of the importance of political action. Marked progress has been made, but much still needs to be done. The collective-bargaining process is increasingly influenced by political decisions in which organized labor should take part. The most challenging task is to educate the rank and file on the relationship between political action and their own welfare.

The first step in this necessary educational job was taken shortly before the election when C. I. O.-P. A. C. launched a number of educational institutes whose purpose was to instruct local union heads on why unions should be in politics, not on how to finance their programs and induce people to register. But educational institutes which function only in the few months preceding a national election are not enough. A year-round, long-range "Labor and Politics" educational program is called for, focused on the fact that labor has a vital interest in political developments and aimed at the inactive members in the shop.

Our post-election discussions with A. F. of L. and C. I. O. local union officers attending labor-education classes at the University of Chicago show that since the election they are in favor of more political action—not less. They insist, however, that the labor leaders must change their methods if they hope to persuade the rank and file. And in this they are supported by the thousands of other union officers and members who have filled out our questionnaires on the best way to stimulate participation by labor in politics. The suggestions offered can be summarized as follows: (1) Don't tell us what to do; give us the facts and we'll make up our own minds. (2) Don't tell us to ring doorbells until we are convinced that it is important to ring them. (3) If unions are going to indorse candidates, give us some part in deciding whom they will indorse. (4) Though the Democratic Party is friendly to us, don't commit us to it so definitely that we cannot influence it, and don't forget that some good Republicans are on our side. (5) Don't just ask for a buck and say we're poor union men if we don't give it. Let us know how the buck will help us and our families

Denmark: Something Rotten?

BY FREDERICA KIRCHNER

Copenhagen

ARE we going to allow the organized film distributors, by using economic pressure, to force newspapers to curb their critics and commentators and modify their business policies to please the moving-picture interests? This question has been given new urgency by a recent incident in Copenhagen. Since distributor organizations comprise both American and foreign film buyers, the affair has serious implications for the United States as well as for Denmark.

When Copenhagen's *Politiken,* one of the two leading Danish newspapers, upheld its film critic, Harald Engberg, who had been attacked by the film distributors for assessing pictures solely on their merits, the distributors responded with a boycott, withdrawing advertising from the *Politiken* and its sister paper, the *Ekstra Bladet.* They gave as their reason the fact that business was no longer what it used to be and that the advertising rates of the *Politiken* were too high, but their action was plainly retaliatory. The *Politiken's* rates are the same as those of the largest competing newspaper, which has an only slightly higher circulation, and that paper has lost no business.

The *Politiken's* critic is a genuine film enthusiast. He has by no means confined himself to the praise of highbrow and "art" productions but has always applauded good, entertaining, light-hearted films, even if of no special depth, so long as they showed some originality and taste. For the distributors, however, this was not enough, as was made abundantly clear in an article which appeared in the *Biograf Bladet,* their special publication. The distributors took the position—and herein lies the danger to a free press—that films deserve special consideration from newspapers in return for the steady advertising inserted by the theaters. Soon after this article appeared, a reduction in advertising rates was demanded. Citing its obligations to the public, *Politiken* refused to fire its critic and ignored the demand for lower rates.

In the meantime Mr. Engberg had been invited by the University Student Union to speak about the Danish film industry at a public open forum. In the course of his lecture he showed examples of good Danish films as well as of inferior ones. He also pointed out that, through special legislation enacted to encourage Danish film production, theaters which show Danish films exclusively receive special privileges from the government and that since 1949 the Danish film producers, who own some of the largest of these theaters, have also benefited from tax reductions which amount to a large yearly total. In return for these subsidies the producers agree to bring out each year a modest number of films measuring up to a high artistic or educational standard. The critic then charged that the producers have never carried out this agreement, and that fifteen of the sixteen to eighteen films they make each year are neither artistically nor educationally significant.

Shortly after this lecture the storm broke. The boycott was applied and at this writing is still in effect. *Politiken's* directors and shareholders, to their credit, have refused to be intimidated. Believing that what is lost in advertising revenue will be compensated for by increased prestige and the satisfaction derived from living up to a principle, they have upheld the right of staff members to express opinions in line with their convictions. Their stand has been supported by university and other groups and by many prominent individuals; commendatory letters and telephone calls have arrived in a steady stream, and many have been published.

The case developed an ironical twist when it appeared that some of the theater owners, for various reasons, were not in sympathy with the boycott. Exhibitors, however, are largely dependent upon the distributor organization, and dissenting members risk penalties. Although there is a law designed to prevent block booking and other control mechanisms directed at individuals, the practice can defeat the intentions of the law.

The affair has acquired such notoriety that two members of Parliament have addressed questions to the Minister of Justice. In effect, they have inquired whether distributors, by means of contracts with the individual theater owners, may limit the owners' freedom of action, which is guaranteed by existing laws. If the dispute is not soon settled, there is likely to be a parliamentary investigation. The outcome will be of great interest, for so far Denmark has always effectively protected its people's civil rights.

FREDERICA KIRCHNER is an American journalist now living in Copenhagen.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

"They Marched Before Us"

ISRAEL: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE. By Harry Sacher. The British Book Center. $5.

THE MAGIC CARPET. By Shlomo Barer. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

MR. SACHER'S study of the establishment of the Jewish state is described by the publishers as "the first authoritative account" of the Jewish-Arab war. The encomium is presumably intended to distinguish this work from the host of others on the same subject which have preceded it. Though Mr. Sacher's book is by no means a definitive history, it is an appreciable step in that direction. Too many previous attempts to record the rise of Israel have been journalistic quickies. The author's long career as a Zionist leader, British publicist, and former member of the Jerusalem Bar has given him both background and opportunities for writing something more solid than impressionistic reportage.

Mr. Sacher limits his account to the diplomatic and military events which brought Israel into being. He wisely omits the history of Zionism and of the Jewish National Home. It is regrettable that he did not restrict his field still further. The first part of the book, which deals with the political history of the establishment of Israel, reviews such familiar territory as the findings of the Anglo-American Committee without making any significant additions. This section could well have been condensed in favor of the more informative second part, which deals specifically with the war. It is here that the writer's intimate knowledge of all phases of the Jewish struggle is most rewarding.

A fascinating question of the Arab-Israel war is how the tiny Jewish state with a population of 600,000 managed to repulse the onslaught of six Arab states with a combined population of more than 30,000,000. After reading Mr. Sacher's punctilious analysis of the man-power and military equipment of each invading Arab army, as well as of the meager resources available to Israel, the question of the ultimate victory becomes even more tantalizing. The usual David-Goliath parallel explains nothing save for the true believer. Mr. Sacher, despite his sober and factual tone, falls back on the by now routine thesis that the Jews had no choice but to win or perish, whereas the Arabs could always go home to their own spacious territories. One wonders whether future historians will accept this heroically simple answer. Probably they will find less irritatingly romantic explanations than morale or the mystique of Jewish suffering. However, for the record, it may be well to remember that many Israelis incorrigibly offer statistics all their own. They add the six million Jewish dead to the roster of their forces: "They marched before us."

Some of the questions with which Mr. Sacher deals are still of immediate interest. His account of the Arab exodus underlines once more the extent to which it was deliberately stimulated by the Arab high command. In view of the continued exploitation of the plight of the Arab refugees by Arab spokesmen and their sympathizers both in and out of the United Nations, Mr. Sacher's thoroughly documented, unpolemical review of the events which led to the present situation serves as a useful reminder of the direct responsibility of the Arab leadership not only for the original flight but for the continued misery of the Palestinian refugees. The naive Machiavellianism of the Arab statesmen, who openly proclaim their intention of maintaining the Palestinian Arabs as a fifth column for an eventual "second round," ruthlessly keeping the victims of their strategy penned up in refugee camps for that purpose, becomes even more transparent as one reads the dismal record.

Sometimes flabbiness is mistaken for objectivity. Mr. Sacher's appraisals of past and present issues are dispassionate but clear-cut. Anyone looking for a colorful, eloquent narrative of the rise of Israel will have to go elsewhere. At the same time Mr. Sacher's self-imposed limitations are his virtues. Enough sentimental personal accounts of the Israel struggle have already appeared. Until the "great" history of the war is written, perhaps by Ben Gurion himself, we must be grateful for a lucid, temperate, and factual account.

"The Magic Carpet," on the other hand, an eyewitness story of the Yemenite migration to Israel, has plenty of color. The author gives little new information, but he offers fresh glimpses of the most extraordinary and picturesque episode in the Ingathering of Exiles.

MARIE SYRKIN

Science and Religion

RELIGION IN 20TH-CENTURY AMERICA. By Herbert Wallace Schneider. Howard University Press. $4.25.

MODERN SCIENCE AND MODERN MAN. By James B. Conant. The Bampton Lectures in America. Columbia University Press. $2.25.

ACCORDING to one tenable opinion it is the business of science to tell us what the universe is like and the business of religion—or ethics—to tell us how we should behave in it. Each has on occasion asserted its competence to do both, and that is the principal reason for the "conflict" between the two which seemed to the nineteenth century the most significant phenomenon of the times. More recently each has acquired the habit of bowing politely to the other and sometimes even of saying, "You go first, my dear Gaston." But not much has been accomplished except a certain restoration of good temper. After the preliminary exchange of courtesies, religion is likely to say, "What you tell us is true but not very relevant and quite possibly dangerous"; science is likely to reply, "I hope you will learn soon to do your job, but you haven't accomplished much so far."

The two books listed above should be reviewed together because they are so far apart. Professor Schneider's is a factual, essentially sociological study of the present state of religion, especially organized religion, in the United States, with a great deal of information about churchgoing, the secularization of the churches, the rise of various minor sects, and the like. President Conant's is an unusually lucid, popular account of what the new physics means both in its own terms and in terms of its probable effects upon the living and thinking of human beings. The one author is as fully aware that the changes which he describes are due chiefly to scientific and technological advances as the other is that such advances do have moral and philosophical consequences. Moreover, Professor Schneider is very far from reproaching science, President Conant very far from demanding the resignation of religion and ethics. But there is no getting together. Having discussed his specialty, each bows out. In effect each says to the other, "From here on I leave it to you." In terms of the task which each has set himself this is no doubt proper, but the tacit admissions which each makes forbid him, nevertheless, to deny that the unattempted task is vastly important.

In the case of President Conant's book the brilliant adequacy of the first two lectures serves only to emphasize the extent to which the last two do little more than acknowledge the existence of problems with which the author will not undertake to deal. The opening lecture, Science and Technology in the Last Decade, turns around the fact that during this decade the highly trained scientist replaced the mere inventor as the initiator of technological advances, while at the same time the military importance of the new discoveries tended to put science more and more under the control of government. The second lecture, The Changing Scientific Scene, stresses the truly revolutionary character of the new physics and prepares the way for what is to come by insisting that our conception of the nature and real meaning of scientific hypotheses and methods has undergone a fundamental change.

> The idea that there could be two diametrically opposed theories as to the nature of heat, or of light, or of matter, and that both could be rejected and confirmed as a consequence of experiments would have been considered nonsense to almost all sane people fifty years ago. . . . The new insight comes from a realization that the structure of nature may eventually be such that our processes of thought do not correspond to it sufficiently to permit us to think about it at all. . . . We are now approaching a bound beyond which we are forever estopped from pursuing our inquiries, not by the construction of the world, but by the construction of ourselves.

What this ultimately comes down to and what President Conant, without using quite these words, seems ready to admit is simply this: the old objection that certain metaphysical concepts like those of right and wrong, free will, individual responsibility, and so on are necessarily false or meaningless because they are not consistent with the known facts of the "real world" will no longer hold, for these "known facts" about the "real world" are not consistent with themselves, and the paradoxes and ambiguities of physics are now at least as great as those of even theology, not to say metaphysics.

Reviewing President Conant's previous book, "Science and Common Sense," I somewhat brashly—but I think not unjustifiably—accused him of brushing aside without seeming to understand it the whole question of value judgments. No such accusation could be made here, and the whole emphasis seems to be shifted. "The activities of scientists in their laboratories are shot through with value judgments," but they are not based upon what they learn in these same laboratories.

> Scientific theories . . . have little or no bearing on the age-old problem of good and evil. . . . My preference would be [not for materialism as a unifying philosophy] but for more adequate exploration of special limited areas of experience; one of these would include those experiences which can be ordered in terms of a system of spiritual values.

To put it in the simplest possible terms, President Conant—and he undoubtedly speaks for many fellow-scientists—definitely repudiates the once popular belief that science can become common sense and that common sense can supply all we need to live by. It seems a pity that so many psychologists and sociologists insist upon clinging to conceptions of science by now pretty generally abandoned by those physicists who have the best knowledge of that branch of science which seems to be making the greatest strides today.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Some Truths About Korea

KOREAN TALES. By Melvin B. Voorhees. Simon and Schuster. $3.

FOR ten years now Melvin B. Voorhees has been on active duty with the United States army; before that he was a newspaperman in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington, and he has most recently been a chief censor of the Eighth Army in Korea and president of its general courts martial. Ironically, as this is written, Lieutenant Colonel Voorhees is on his way to Fort Meade,

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Maryland, to face a court martial himself.

The reason is that the Colonel has written a book, an often angry book, an often tender book, an always revealing book, but according to the deputy information officer of the army an "unseemly" book. No security is involved; no offending passages have yet been cited; and Colonel Voorhees has not been accused of any political indiscretions.

What he has done is tell the uncomfortable, sometimes terrifying truth.

If he were a professional anti-militarist or one of that partially naive but mainly calculating minority which believes that the answer to world peace is a unilateral withdrawal from Korea on the part of the United Nations, much of what he has to say could be ignored. He is neither. Although he admits that he is not without "prejudices and predilections," he writes, ". . . I trust them, for they stem, I must believe, from an honest heart and a balanced mind."

As a result, he has apparently further unsettled a few already troubled consciences, particularly among some of the higher ranking brass as well as among members of the press corps responsible for what is surely the worst-reported war of this century. Being a former newspaperman, Colonel Voorhees does not consider civilian correspondents in uniform—with the simulated rank of major or above—in any way sacred. He has placed on the public record what has for a long time been an unreported but open scandal—the fact that most of the three hundred correspondents usually in Korea have been without social consciousness or any "moral willingness to confess error or untruth."

Moreover, the Colonel writes, many correspondents have often violated military security and, as a group, have been "subject to the extreme of pessimism. . . . Much of this was due to the newsman's maxim that disaster is the biggest news of all." It was also caused by the fact that many of the correspondents were simply incompetent; they still are. As one more experienced reporter told Voorhees, the majority "couldn't compete on the City Hall beat of a small city at home. They aren't war correspondents; they are 'legmen' and 'stringers.' "

True, there have been notable and courageous exceptions, the New York *Herald Tribune's* Homer Bigart, for example, but the Colonel adds that Mr. Bigart's attractive colleague, Marguerite Higgins, was, to put it kindly, "inevitably a nuisance."

And there is much more: the often ill-informed dispatches about the war written from Tokyo by men who, except for a flying trip or two, have never been on the scene: the stories slanted to conform to a newspaper's editorial policy, particularly those printed in the Chicago *Tribune* emphasizing U. N. casualties after MacArthur was relieved from duty—the Colonel was back home when the Scripps-Howard papers followed that shameful precedent to influence the recent Presidential election; and, most frightening of all, the way in which the press corps forced its way into the peace negotiations at Kaesong in July, 1951, "although never in history had news reporters attended a battlefield meeting of combatants looking toward a life-saving armistice."

The press in the United States is not sacrosanct, although it suffers from an increasing tendency to consider itself so. If, as is now planned, Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism fraternity, investigates, with the help of a foundation, the shamefully one-sided press account of the 1952 campaign, it might also take a look at the deplorable lack of responsibility shown by the press in its handling of the Korean war.

Of course the newspaper reporters do not deserve all the blame for the breaks in censorship on that beleaguered peninsula. In February, 1951, just before the tragic Eighth Army push to the north got under way, "one of the most serious breaches of security during the war" took place. "Its source was none other than the United States Supreme Commander, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur."

At the time MacArthur announced the offensive, attacking elements of the Eighth were "not yet in contact with the enemy and presumably the latter did not know their whereabouts." Shortly afterward the rains began, and the offensive broke down. "No one will ever know," the Colonel concludes, "how much of the failure of the attack should be charged to inclement weather and how much to the disclosure of the army's intention."

In his chapter on The Generals, Colonel Voorhees looks not only at MacArthur but at the other commanders in Korea as they should be looked at, as men with terrible responsibilities, capable of error, of pettiness, and often of greatness too. What he says is urgently important.

Of the twenty brief "Korean Tales," thirteen are factual and seven are half-fictional. The latter deal mainly with enlisted men and Korean civilians. The Colonel writes simply and eloquently of both; in so doing he has, almost for the first time, made clear the meaning of the unhappy battle being fought by the historic Eighth Army, the headquarters of which "directs the ground forces of sixteen nations bound together in a peace pact and sworn mutually to resist aggression."

Fortunately, Colonel Voorhees has not been frightened into silence, and for his courage he deserves gratitude, not a court martial. MERLE MILLER

A Catholic View of Communism

BOLSHEVISM: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOVIET COMMUNISM. By Waldemar Gurian. University of Notre Dame Press. $3.25.

IF ANYONE overlooks this study on the assumption that the Catholic view can make no real contribution to the understanding of contemporary political issues, it will be one more sign of the retreat from thinking to doctrinaire slogans with which our world is plagued. The author's writings have been excluded from both the Nazi and the Communist versions of totalitarian society, but he presents a thesis here that is also a challenge to the rationalist and liberal tradition. As a Catholic who writes, so to speak, from outside the rationalist tradition, his work displays a freshness and penetration not to be found elsewhere. In this respect it is very much more than an introduction to Soviet communism and can be read with profit and pleasure by those who have professional familiarity with the subject.

Professor Gurian's theses, as I understand them, are two. The first holds that no contradiction exists between the basic theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism and the flexible, cynical power politics of the Bolshevik regime. Instead, he argues, this behavior derives necessarily from these principles. The second thesis is that Bolshevism "brings into the open and develops to fullest size" trends that are "immanent" in our own society. These "root principles of the modern secularized era" Gurian sees as "scientism, belief in evolution, inevitable perfection, and the limitless successes of technical social engineering."

For Gurian a straight line leads from the belief that life can be made perfect on this earth, through the Bolshevik attempt to put this "perfectionist utopianism" into practice, to the horrors of the secret police and the forced labor camp. The full consequence of rationalist optimism Professor Gurian sees not as liberty but as an efficiently mechanized slavery.

Concerning the author's first thesis, the absence of contradiction between theory and practice, I think that it holds only on a high level of dialectical abstraction. A very great proportion of the Communist intellectual apparatus consists of fancy rationalization before and after the act. "Tactics" have a way of becoming "strategy" in their own right, even for utopians who must compete for power. But I would prefer to discuss the more important second thesis.

Gurian's views on the relationship between Bolshevism and secular rationalism are in line with a long tradition of criticism of our industrial civilization. To appraise it adequately in the space of a book review is impossible. In his pages the argument carries weight partly because it is free of the clever petulance of the cafe intellectual. On simple factual grounds one must clearly grant the common roots of Marxism and liberal democratic tradition—to the extent that the latter can be captured in any common body of beliefs. But it by no means follows that Marxism is somehow "immanent" in this set of rationalist and secular assumptions. It is merely one of many possible outcomes.

Instead of secular rationalism, I think it is the desire to find some absolute, and hence non-rational, anchor for beliefs and behavior that is one central source of heresy hunting among Bolsheviks as well as other groups. In various passages Professor Gurian's argument has some points in common with this interpretation, as when he refers to Bolshevism as a "secular religion" with a belief in "perfectionist utopianism." To me this implies that the quasi-religious

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Witness, testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities: "Well, Mr. Tavenner (Committee Counsel), . . . I have no doubt that in these times, with concentration camps . . . being built . . . to house hundreds of thousands of people whose views this Committee does not like, that the foreign born need protection."

Rep. Walter, interrupting: "Just a minute. . . . Let me tell you those places are being built to house approximately 2,800 people who have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude and for whom it is impossible to obtain passports from the countries from whence they came. . . ."

BUT DID REP. WALTER TELL THE WHOLE TRUTH?

Charles R. Allen, Jr., in the Sept. 13, 1952, issue of *The New Statesman and Nation,* points out that the McCarran Act "authorizes the Attorney-General of the U. S. to apprehend and detain 'in such places of detention as may be prescribed by him . . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such persons *probably* [my italics] will engage in or *probably* will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage and sabotage.' Such procedure is contingent upon the declaration of an 'internal security emergency'." . . .

James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, reports $774,000 already has been expended on such camps. "Current estimates of the six camps' 'housing' facilities," writes Allen, "range from an official 15,000 to 'over 100,000'."

Guy C. Rexroad, warden of the camp at Allenwood, Pa., told Allen on an inspection tour of the camp: 3,000 persons—"men, women and children"—will be "squeezed into an oblong, single-story, cement block structure. . . ." Rexroad calculated: . . . "They can sleep in tiers—you know, those wooden, shelf-like beds. Five levels to a section. . . . It won't be a picnic; they won't have it any better than the Japanese—if as good."

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elements in Bolshevism are the ones from which its totalitarian aspects derive. This argument can be pushed farther. Early Marxists thought they had found in nineteenth-century science their absolute foundation, to which Bolshevism still desperately clings. Their attitude toward truth is more religious than secular. In this respect the Bolsheviks differ from the contemporary Western rationalist tradition. Where, as in the latter, the provisional and conditional nature of belief is clearly recognized, the secular rationalist tradition cannot easily form the psychological foundation for totalitarian regimes.

I am also most skeptical of the solution implied in Gurian's pages and directly advocated by those who think on similar lines. It is the conservative solution of a return to religion and to older, established moral codes. In important respects, though not all, this advice represents a retreat from the problem rather than a solution. There is the further danger that in so far as a real return is ruled out under the conditions of the twentieth century, we may end up in this fashion with a pseudo-conservative solution along fascist lines and the destruction of values prized by both the rationalists and the thinkers of whom Professor Gurian is one of the best representatives.

In his concluding remarks the author expresses the hope that the challenge of communism may compel Western society to reflect more carefully on its intellectual foundations and seek more effective answers to its problems. Sharing the same hope, one can nevertheless see reasons why it may not be realized. Instead, the Communist threat may force us back on to an uncritical and emotional reaffirmation of all our assumptions and beliefs, freezing them and limiting our capacity to adapt ourselves to a new world. An irrational nativism has occurred in many societies and civilizations under threat. Should this happen to us, our enemies would win even in defeat.

Thus although one may disagree, as I do, with the crucial points of Professor Gurian's book, it undoubtedly raises some of the most significant questions of our industrial civilization and answers them in a manner that demands attention and commands respect.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

I UNDERSTAND that Jean-Louis Barrault was at first opposed to presenting his "Hamlet" in New York. We can only be grateful that he was persuaded to change his mind, for it turned out to be one of the most exciting performances of the series and the one in which Barrault's range as an actor was conclusively demonstrated. No other play had tested his capacity to handle the role of the tragic hero, and I for one had doubts that the clown of "Baptiste," the sophisticate of eighteenth-century and modern comedy, or the cypher of K in "The Trial" could also be the haunted Prince of Denmark. Yet in the event one has the impression that this role, of all roles, most fully engages Barrault's mind and emotions—and it is significant that "Hamlet" was the first offering of the company in Paris in 1946.

One reviewer noted that Barrault's is an "existentialist" Hamlet. Perhaps. But if so, the reason is not that Barrault in any way distorts or simplifies or "modernizes" Shakespeare's conception of Hamlet's character—I have never seen a purer interpretation; it is rather that, by investing the role with such life and immediacy, he makes us realize once more that the conception is forever timely as well as timeless. Certainly it is a French Hamlet—and the Frenchness of the whole production is one of its delights—yet the transference is not in the least disturbing and only serves to remind us, once more, that Hamlet is of all countries and of none.

The beauty and force of this Hamlet are the more amazing in that the verbal poetry is perforce missing. But there is poetry of other sorts—in the grace and lyricism of Barrault's movements, which are so integral a part of his delineation, and in the voice which endows the French prose with the qualities of poetry.

There are other fine performances. I think I have never seen so good a Polonius as that of Pierre Bertin, who brings out the quality of obtuseness, utter and invincible and in a way affecting, which seems to me more essential to this part than the mere pompous stupidity it is usually played for. And Simone Valère's Ophelia, particularly in the mad scenes, is superb. Claudius (Jacques Dacqmine) for once emerges as an individual, and one is more conscious than usual of his role as the author of evil. The queen (Marie-Hélène Dasté) is played down somewhat, appearing rather as one more pawn in Claudius's drive for power than as vicious in her own right, and this shift of emphasis seemed to me admirable.

The settings are simple and majestic, functional but not obtrusive. And the costumes, except for the garish dress of the soldiers of Fortinbras, have elegance—and a touch of French chic that is pleasing in itself and contributes not a little to the contemporaneous air with which the play is invested, for all that it is so faithfully rendered.

During its New York season the French company has presented eight of the twenty-eight plays it has produced at the Théâtre Marigny in the past six years; and the very wide range of the selections, as well as the verve and competence the players bring to every production, not only redounds to the glory of France but also points up the virtues of a repertory theater.

The three contemporary plays in the New York series could hardly have been more different one from the other. "The Trial" by Gide out of Kafka was followed by "Occupe-toi d'Amélie" by Georges Feydeau, which is a bedroom farce, *nette*. I thought it was too long in any language and that Mme Renaud was less than perfectly cast as the cocotte, but there were some extremely funny sequences, of which the funniest, particularly in view of our own Hays code, was the one in which two people who wake up in the same bed after a riotous night before try vainly and solemnly to remember whether or not they have slept together; and it was a sign of the company's devotion to the principle of "the play's the thing" that this bit of froth was performed with as much care (in abandon) as Shakespeare or Marivaux.

The third contemporary play was "La Répétition" or "L'Amour Puni" by Jean Anouilh—pronounced, as someone remarked, Anoui as in boredom. M. Anouilh is the author of the delightful "Ring Round the Moon" of two seasons ago and also of the modern version of "Antigone," which had a long run in

Paris during the German occupation in spite of—and of course because of—its attack on tyranny.

The rehearsal of the title is the rehearsal for a performance of a play by Marivaux which Count Tigre (Jean Barrault) and his countess, Eliane (Mme Renaud), are putting on to inaugurate the founding of an orphanage on the estate they have inherited. One of the parts is assigned to a young girl, Lucile (Simone Valère), who has been engaged as a teacher. The count falls in love, seriously and for the first time, with Lucile, who represents, I take it, the new woman as well as youth and innocence. The countess is undisturbed by any number of mistresses—the current one is a member of the house party and the conversations between the two women are the high points of the play; but she sees in this attachment a genuine threat. She determines to destroy it and sees in Hero, the count's oldest friend, an instrument for carrying out her design. Hero, for reasons too complicated to go into here but sufficiently convincing, lets himself be used. The plan succeeds, and the girl, as the countess had foreseen, flees the castle.

In the final scene Hero deliberately provokes a duel in which he is sure to be killed. The play thus observes the tragic convention of expiation and retribution; but the convention remains a convention. Hero's gesture lacks the force it should have, because Hero, as drawn, is a pathetic rather than a tragic figure, and though the rather gruesome scene between him and Lucile is in itself surprisingly convincing, the sense that he rather than she is the real victim of his betrayal is never conveyed. In short, the final impression is that the countess has won, by a clever and cruel trick, and will go on winning. As a result we are left with the stark triumph of vice over virtue; we are denied the reassuring or purgative sense, which successful tragedy induces and which Hero's final gesture was designed to induce, that the triumph is only temporary.

The play is written with cleverness and wit and a good deal of wisdom as well; and if it fails to achieve the effect it strives for, it is at least an interesting failure.

To get back to domestic production, "The Seven-Year Itch" (Fulton Theater) is an ingenious, knowing, and very amusing sketch of a husband whose wife has gone to the country and has left him wide open to summer temptations in the city. The model upstairs comes down, the husband succumbs, and is thereupon beset by rosy daydreams in which the model throws herself at his feet, by counter nightmares in which his wife throws him out of the house, and by another set of fantasies in which his wife leaves him for another man who is paying her attentions in the country. It all ends happily as he rushes off for a connubial week-end. The piece is cleverly written and very well acted, particularly by Tom Ewell as the wavering husband and Vanessa Brown as the model who means no harm.

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

DURING the renovation of its galleries the Metropolitan has concentrated the cream of its enormous holdings in a few rooms at the top of the main stairs. The result is so provocative that I shall begin with an appeal that the administration seriously consider retaining some such arrangement of masterpieces as a sort of super Salon Carrée. In a great museum quality is more important than chronology and the visual illustration of history. These latter demands, which are perfectly legitimate, can be met by works of less solemn significance. More often than not the great work steps out of its time. As Henri Focillon put it, the chronology of art is not necessarily chronological.

Toward the end of 1945, when the Louvre and the National Gallery in London were slowly putting themselves back together again, a few rooms were arranged to exhibit the best, and quality was the only standard of selection. As a result it was possible to compare Titian with Manet's Olympia, Rubens with Delacroix, the Mona Lisa with Corot's Woman with a Pearl, and Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait with the dark red splendors of a small Rembrandt.

The Metropolitan exhibition is not merely the sum of critical judgments by specialists; it offers a lively play of interrelationships. On one wall a sober Roman mural is flanked by a David and a Poussin: the dignified composure of antiquity as against the nervous violence of its emulators. In another gallery the archaic Greek Apollo projects its flat tensions across the plastic interlace of a Rubens, and Titian's Venus lolls serenely over a baroque harpsichord. Two majestic females, one Greek circa 400 and the other 'Tang Chinese, occupy

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diagonally opposite corners; and two pirouetting Englishmen, by Van Dyck and Reynolds, flank a doorway. In both of these the gentility of the men is rebuked by the aristocracy of the animals. A pairing of a Romanesque and a fourteenth-century Gothic Virgin offers the maximum in contrast between solemnity and elegance. A three-foot bronze incense burner from Persia, cautiously labeled "in the shape of a feline," is juxtaposed to a life-sized set of Nürnberg armor, appropriately mounted, for man and horse. In the company of this inanimate Renaissance hero, the Persian item is indescribably comic, like a skidding polo pony, and still more like Beatrice Lillie's foot action in the scene where she plays the housemaid.

Many of the best things are very small, and under normal circumstances they are hopelessly lost somewhere in the Metropolitan. Visitors are advised to discover them before chronology swallows them up again. I refer particularly to a little sketch on limestone of bulls fighting, by an Egyptian artist momentarily free from the conventions of his time.

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Twelve recent works by Jackson Pollock, at the Sidney Janis Gallery, suggested several appraisals. Number 11, one of the largest, is the finest I have yet seen: here the customarily brilliant interlace is crossed by several broad blue vertical bars which, leaning in subtly calculated diagonals, bring the whole composition into new focus and give its rhythmic power the support of powerful scale. Pollock's greatness, when applied to works like this, has not been exaggerated by his champions. On the other hand, I suspect he is incapable of producing a small work. The examples shown here and in previous exhibitions are mere fragments with little force of their own. It is time for some leading modern architect to divert to Pollock the chance to do a big mural in a public building.

A very recent trend, which I confidently predict will be called Pollock's puddle period, is visible in Number 12, another extremely large canvas. The power is there, but I find it dissipated in amorphous passages. In its emphasis on color areas, however fluidly bounded, it recalls some of the work of eight years ago, where a tighter mosaic was accomplished. Pollock's first retrospective exhibition, organized by Bennington College late in November, is currently on view at Williams College. All phases except the latest are represented in eight major examples (large ones)—major, as Clement Greenberg puts it, in that they defined style at their particular time and made their impact on the work of other artists. It seems clear to me that the full development did not arrive until Pollock began to exploit the interlace three or four years ago—not Rubens's plastic interlaced coils, but superposed flat Celtic interlaces which carve out an infinite spatial recession.

Calvin Coggeshall, exhibiting at Betty Parsons's (through December 13), is indirect where Pollock is overt. Within the modern idiom it would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast. Coggeshall limits himself to blacks, whites, pearl grays, slates, lavenders, olives, and tans. The front-plane motives are widely spaced because the background, deceptively monochromatic and deceptively flat, contains much of Coggeshall's gentle poetry. Something atune to a Rhode Island shore in the endless period before spring is what I am trying to convey. Or Connecticut.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE following are outstanding among LP records of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Decca: D; Haydn Society: HS; Urania: U; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: BG; Period: P).

Bach: Cantata No. 4 "Christ lag in Todesbanden"; Viennese musicians under Prohaska (BG, with Cantata No. 140 "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme") and German musicians under Lehmann (D—better performance, but occasional distortion of sound). Passacaglia for organ; Walcha (D). Ricercare in six parts from "The Musical Offering"; Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger (L, with arrangements of the Organ Fugue in G minor and Beethoven's Great Fugue). Part 3 of the Clavierübung (for the opening Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes); Walcha (D).

Bach, K. P. E.: Magnificat and Concerto in D; Prohaska conducting Vienna State Opera Orchestra, etc. (BG).

Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 9 and 1; Toscanini conducting NBC Symphony, etc. (V). Symphony No. 5, "Leonore" No. 1 Overture, two movements from Quartet Opus 135; Toscanini conducting NBC and BBC Symphonies (V, from old 78s). Symphony No. 6; Toscanini conducting BBC Symphony (V, from old 78s). Quartet Opus 132; Paganini Quartet (V). Piano Sonatas Opus 54 and Opus 90; Hugo Steurer (U, with uninteresting Opus 31 No. 1). Piano Concerto No. 4; Gieseking and Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (moderately good performance) (C).

Berg: "Wozzeck"; Mitropoulos conducting New York Philharmonic, etc. (C).

Berlioz: "Harold in Italy"; Royal Philharmonic and Primrose under Beecham (performance better than Koussevitzky's but not good) (C). Symphonie Fantastique; Van Beinum and Concertgebouw Orchestra (L). "King Lear," "The Corsair," "Beatrice and Benedict," and

"The Roman Carnival" Overtures; Martinon and Lamoureux Orchestra (U).

Boccherini: Cello Concerto; Casals (V, from old 78s). Quartet Opus 6 No. 1; Quartetto Italiano (L, sound dry, with Haydn Opus 64 No. 6).

Brahms: Symphony No. 4; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). Haydn Variations; Toscanini and New York Philharmonic (V, from old 78s).

Chopin: Waltzes; Lipatti (C). Polonaises (the ones on the 12-inch record); Rubinstein (coarser-grained performances than those on old 78s) (V). Nocturnes; Rubinstein (V).

Debussy: "La Mer"; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). "Images"; Monteux and San Francisco Symphony (mediocre performances) (V). "Pelléas et Mélisande"; Ansermet conducting L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, etc. (L).

Dowland: Songs; Langstaff (P, with Purcell songs).

Fauré: Requiem; Leibowitz conducting Paris Philharmonic, etc. (Oceanic).

Griffes: Roman Sketches and Sonata for piano; Hambro (Walden).

Handel: Sonatas for 2 violins and figured bass; Willy and Margarete Schweyda and Jan Behr (U, recorded sound very sharp). Concertos in F and B flat for string and wind instruments; Orchestra of Collegium Musicum, Copenhagen, under Friisholm (HS).

Haydn: Quartets Opus 77 Nos. 1 and 2, Opus 50 Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Opus 17 No. 6; Schneider Quartet (HS). Quartet Opus 64 No. 6; Quartetto Italiano (L, with Boccherini). Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida; Wöldike conducting Copenhagen Boys' and Men's Choir, etc. (HS). Piano Sonata No. 46; Virginia Pleasants (performance fair) (HS). Symphony No. 103 ("Drum Roll"); Münch and Boston Symphony (V, recorded sound not always clean). Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 104; London Philharmonic under Van Beinum and Krips (second movement of No. 104 too fast) (L, sound occasionally dim or veiled). Symphony No. 88; Busch and Danish State Radio Symphony (HMV, sound not clean in second half, with Mozart K.425).

Mahler: 5 Rückert songs, 4 "Lieder aus der Jugendzeit"; Poell and Felbermayer with Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska (VA). "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Thebom with orchestra under Boult (V, with Wolf songs).

Mozart: Piano Concertos K.466 and 491; Schnabel with Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind (HMV, need stepping up of treble and bass, finale of K.466 gritty, K.491 noisy). Piano Concerto K.488; Gieseking with Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (C, strident near the end). Clarinet Quintet K.581; Quartetto Italiano and De Bavier (L, a little veiled and edged). Perpignan Festival performances, with Casals conducting the orchestra, of Violin Concerto K.219 (Morini), Sinfonia Concertante K.364 (Stern and Primrose), Symphony K.201 and "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," Divertimento K.251 (Tabuteau) and Oboe Quartet K.370 (Tabuteau, Stern, Primrose, Tortelier) (C). Excerpts from "Idomeneo"; Glyndebourne Festival (HMV). Symphony K.425 ("Linz"); Busch and Danish State Radio Symphony (first movement too fast) (HMV, with Haydn No. 88). Symphonies K.543 and 297 ("Paris"); Krips and London Symphony (L). Piano Sonata K.576; Schatzkamer (moderately good performance) (V, with Scriabin Sonata No. 4).

Prokofiev: "Classical" Symphony; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V, with Gershwin's "An American in Paris"). Violin Concerto No. 1; Szigeti with London Philharmonic under Beecham (C, from old 78s, with Mozart's Concerto K.218).

Purcell: Fantasias in 3, 4, and 5 parts, 2 Chaconnes; Viennese string orchestra under Litschauer (VA, with Beethoven's Great Fugue). "Dido and Aeneas"; Flagstad, etc. (HMV). Songs; Langstaff (P, with songs of Dowland).

Scarlatti: Sonatas; Long (merely fluent performances) (L).

Schubert: Quintet Opus 163; Budapest Quartet and B. Heifetz (C). Quartet "Death and the Maiden"; Koeckert Quartet (D, sound coarse). Quartet Opus 29; Vegh Quartet (L, veiled).

Schumann: "Carnaval"; Rachmaninov (V, from old 78s). "Papillons"; Kempff (L, with Liszt pieces). "Dichterliebe"; Souzay (L, with Wolf songs).

Tchaikovsky: Letter Scene from "Eugene Onegin"; Albanese and orchestra under Stokowski (V, distortion near the end). "Swan Lake"; London Symphony under Fistoulari (L).

Verdi: Excerpts from "Otello"; Steber, Vinay, Guarrera with Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Cleva (C, sound too sharp in first-act duet).

Vivaldi: Concertos for oboe d'amore, strings, and cembalo; Virtuosi di Roma (D, sound coarse).

Wagner: "Die Meistersinger"; Vienna State Opera (L).

Wolf: "In der Frühe," "Wer tat deinem Füsslein weh?" "Herr, was trägt der Boden hier?" "Wenn du zu den Blumen gehst"; Souzay (L, with Schumann's "Dichterliebe").

Miscellaneous: Lehmann Farewell Recital (Pembroke). Ponselle, Great Duets (V Treasury Series No. 2). Arias sung by Bjoerling (V). Excerpts from "Carmen" and Rossini operas sung by Supervia (D, from old 78s). Bessie Smith (C GL-503 and 505). "Babes in Arms"; Mary Martin, etc. (C).

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Did the Democrats Defeat Themselves?

Dear Sirs: In the past election I was the Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate for Congress in the Seventh District here in Minnesota. My candidacy created some nation-wide interest because the autocrats of the D. F. L. Party, including Senator Humphrey, "disowned" me just before the election.

My main sin has been that I have not concurred in Mr. Forrestal's or Mr. Dulles's approach to foreign policy during the past few years. I opposed substituting the Marshall Plan for UNRRA. I opposed the Atlantic Pact because I believed it would lead to war and financial bankruptcy. Since 1950 I have insisted on making Korea an issue in Minnesota politics. I urged then that we accept India's offer to mediate because I felt sending American forces to Korea would smack too much of old European colonialism and because of the danger of World War III inherent in Korea. Now in 1952 I suggested the example of Finland, which lives on Russia's border as a neutral and disarmed country, as a pattern for a solution of the Korean question. In addition to the "Finland formula" for Korea, I urged that serious efforts be made toward ending the arms race that is leading this country and the rest of the world to war.

On domestic issues I have stood for preserving and extending the New Deal reforms begun under Roosevelt, and I have said that only with a reduction of arms spending via world disarmament would the dreams of Roosevelt ever reach fruition.

For advocating these things I was "dumped" by the local D. F. L. dictators in spite of the overwhelming support shown for me in the primary elections, where I soundly defeated the "machine" candidate.

This was my third try for Congress as an "anti-machine" candidate. In 1948 I came within 5,000 votes of actually being elected after defeating the machine candidate in the primaries. In 1948 I supported Henry Wallace for President as the logical candidate for the predominant Farmer-Labor Party within the D. F. L., when Humphrey was boosting Eisenhower as the candidate for the Democratic Party. In 1950 I lost a primary fight by only fifty-two votes and was denied a recount by the G. O. P.-dominated Minnesota Supreme Court.

The explanation from the local D. F. L. bosses for their action against me was that they feared Nixon would attack me and that they would have to defend me when Nixon campaigned in Minnesota. This was a frank admission that the Democratic machine lives in mortal fear of Nixon and McCarthy and their ilk. In effect, this was an admission that Democratic candidates and platforms must meet the approval of Nixon before being presented to the public. And worse yet, the leaders of the machine adopted the tactics of Nixon and McCarthy toward me when I refused to be their "captive candidate," when I campaigned for a fresh approach to foreign and domestic issues.

In a nutshell, my contention is that the Democrats defeated themselves by their cowardly kotowing to Nixon's smear tactics and to Dulles's views on foreign policy.

Readers may be interested to know that in spite of a heavy barrage of filthy smears from both the G. O. P. and D. F. L. machines I ran ahead of the rest of the D. F. L. ticket, and actually ahead of Stevenson in eight out of nineteen counties, trailing Stevenson by less than 500 votes in the entire district. Obviously, if all Democratic candidates had united with spirit around a platform similar to mine, the entire ticket would have run better, and possibly Stevenson would have been elected.

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE

Benson, Minn.

Korean Deadlock: Is the Issue Primacy?

Dear Sirs: The expensive deadlock in Korea on the prisoner-of-war issue makes one wonder more and more whether the prisoners are the real issue or just a surface manifestation of something deeper.

At stake is only the disposition of the *Chinese* prisoners; the Communists have indicated that they are willing to let the North Koreans go where they please. There are said to be about 20,000 Chinese prisoners who refuse repatriation. The impasse was reached in April, or about seven months ago. American casualties have been running between 800 and

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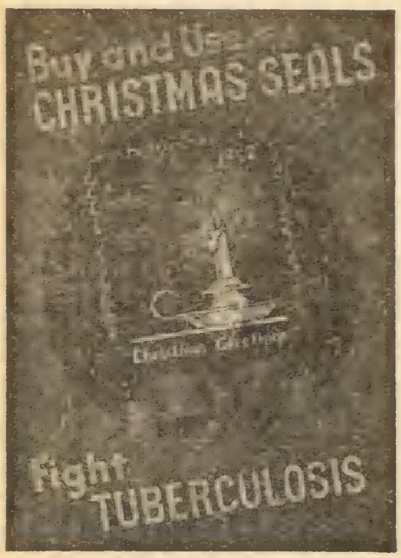


1,300 a week. If we take an average of 1,000 a week, there must have been 25,000 to 30,000 American casualties since the deadlock, or more than the number of Chinese prisoners whom we are trying to save. That is not much of a bargain, unless something else is involved. . . . If primacy in the Far East is the real issue, no one knows when the war will end. From this viewpoint, then, the prisoner-of-war issue was well chosen as the one on which to make a stand. It embraces elements, such as "humanity," "principle," and "honor," which in the public mind justify intransigence.

GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

Nice, France

At One College: A Daring Idea

Dear Sirs: My attention was called to an advertisement of a teachers' employment agency which read as follows:

> Client college attractively situated desires add to its faculty in any department (preferably economics, government, philosophy, or biology) bona fide party-member Communist. Must prove connection by carrying card and if name is alias must be certified by party officer, if possible by one in jail. Occasional deviation from party line no bar to acceptance, though perfect conformity to all twistings and turnings is ideal qualification. Training at Marx-Lenin-Stalin Institute in Moscow considered equivalent of advanced degrees, especially if applicant can show record of always claiming constitutional immunity from self-incrimination. Usual academic prospects—begin instructor at $2,800, possible tenure after nine years at $6,000 maximum salary.

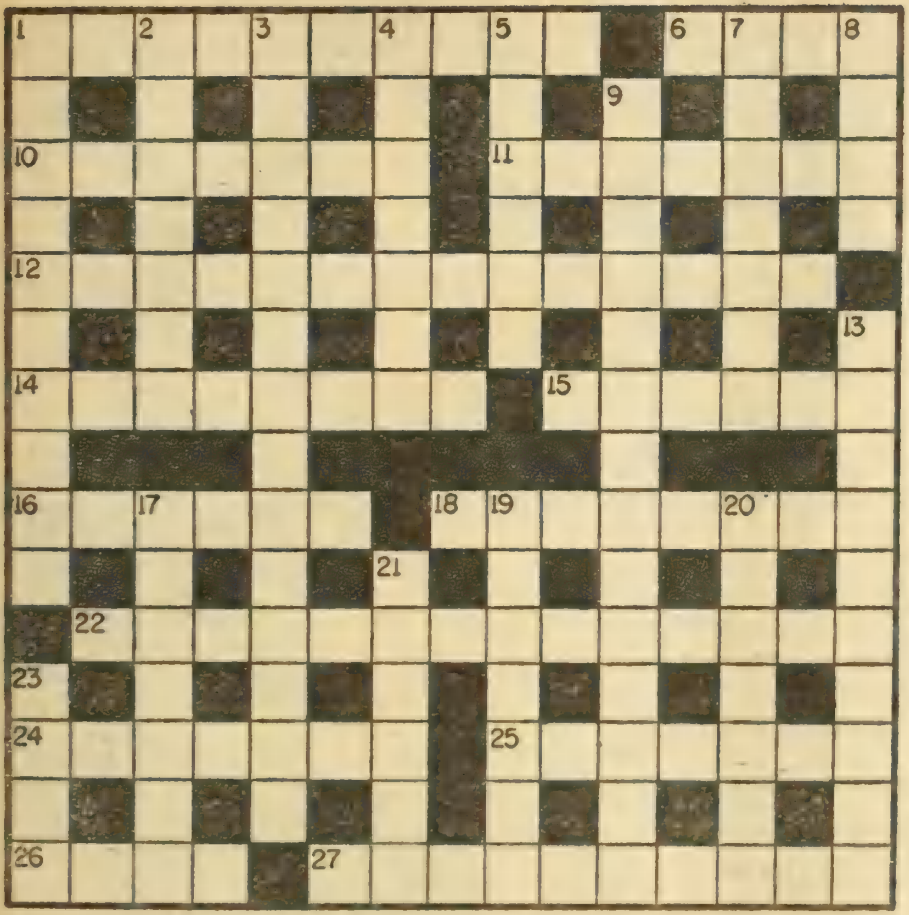
Naturally this item excited my curiosity, and from the agency I got the name of the institution. In response to my inquiry about his motives its president wrote, in part:

> Our board, composed mainly of business men, was afraid that all eligible Communists, *i. e.*, with academic qualifications plus paid-up party membership, would be driven underground or locked up before we could attract one to our small college with its retired situation. Happily, the advertisement to which you refer produced two applicants, and we are taking the one with the best vouched-for aliases, who promises, in spite of his known character, to infiltrate all campus and community organizations he can reach.
>
> Our object in adding this excellent subversive to our staff is readily explained. In a recent faculty survey of our educational offerings it was noted that—without our intending the omission—we had nobody competent to teach the tenets and practices now held to, in greater or lesser degree, by nearly half the human race. Knowing the difficulty in discovering a genuine Communist, we made further effort last semester to have the Soviet (and satellite) systems and culture taught by two members of our regular faculty, supplemented by a former Communist who had been forced to resign from a neighboring institution. Our committee on instruction abandoned this expedient when it was demonstrated, as we had suspected, that our men could not teach the subject with the necessary acquaintance and conviction.
>
> The ex-Communist knew more, but his information was unfortunately out of date and soon he was hopelessly repeating himself. Besides, he was so often called away from the campus to testify against defendants indicted under the Smith and other acts that his course was injuriously interrupted. Moreover, we thought him too eager to glorify free enterprise and to avow his religious devotion. The students themselves complained that this made him worse than useless for our purpose.
>
> From the new man, who has marked conspiratorial talents, we expect not only an ingenious defense of the Communist strategy, but, what is more important, moral fervor in that behalf. Through this means our students may learn of the intentions and resources of those peoples and countries which threaten to overthrow our Western, non-aggressive civilization. I much doubt whether our Communist colleague will make many converts, for his efforts will be countervailed by thirty-seven non-Communist faculty members, and the students are sufficiently mature, we believe, to distinguish folly from wisdom.
>
> We contemplate some trouble, maybe a good deal, from elements in the college constituency, off campus, who are easily led into the current hysteria. But here I look to the influence of our board members to ward off and dissuade any prolonged outcry or hostile investigation.
>
> We hope to be able to work out a student-exchange arrangement with a Soviet-dominated university, perhaps in one of the satellite countries. In the present state of tension, it is too much to expect that we could gain admission of selected scholarship majors to Leningrad, Moscow, or Kiev, or, I fear, persuade any of their promisingly dangerous youngsters to come for a sojourn on our campus.
>
> If you can direct any gifts our way, they will be welcome. On inquiry I find that the chance of securing Moscow gold for educational subversion in this country is practically non-existent. This throws us back on sincere friends of democracy in America who consider that we shall not be able to meet the Communist menace except by understanding it.

New York BROADUS MITCHELL

Crossword Puzzle No. 494

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 These are tricky layers with stones. (10)
6 Most of the rib is considered sacred by the Egyptians. (4)
10 Reichmarks — nothing personal, as far as the German's concerned! (7)
11 Agent in dye, if used with violet. (7)
12 Obviously a fixed cog isn't cut first. (9, 5)
14 Might you have done this incorrectly, as [illegible] good-time Charlie? (8)
15 Properly, it might be given evenly. (6)
16 Noyes' highwayman rode one of moonlight. (6)
18 Is this shape not bad for a carriage? (8)
22 Dragonflies might assist in preventing digital exposition. (7, 7)
24 Cartilage. (7)
25 You might have been wet in an intermediate position. (7)
26 The season of 23? (4)
27 The sort of description Lamb's "Tales" give? (4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 This lad was well versed. (10)
2. Bruited about. (7)
3. You'd never recognize the place! (5, 9)
4 20 might be an example of these loquacious individuals. (7)
5 Smith's description? Possibly! (6)
7 The location of the lost rib. (7)
8 26 People are not likely to be found in this. (4)
9 Not easily found in the vine, innocently disguised. (14)
13 Almost [illegible] awkward a word [illegible] ceaselessness! (10)
17 A Chinese emperor's injunction to his son? (7)
19 You might solve this for X efficiently. (7)
20 A word of advice to those who would have things run smoothly. (3, 4)
21 Temper of a British queen and a little British prince. (6)
23 Time for a mixture of 26. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 493

ACROSS:—1 WREATHED; [illegible] ONEGIN; 9 DIAGRAM; 10 FINNISH; 11 ENTRAIN; 12 RATTAIL; 13 CROSS-PURPOSES; 15 CYCLONE CELLAR; 21 AVATARS; 22 UMPIRES; 23 INSULAR; 24 TROUBLE; 25 ASSESS; 26 ARRESTED.

DOWN:—1 WEDGES; 2 ELASTIC; 3 TORNADO; 4 EDMUND SPENSER; 6 NONSTOP; 7 GUITARS; 8 NIHILIST; 10 FORTUNE HUNTER; 14 SCIATICA; 16 CHASSIS; 17 ORACLES; 18 LAP ROBE; 19 RAREBIT; 20 OSTEND.

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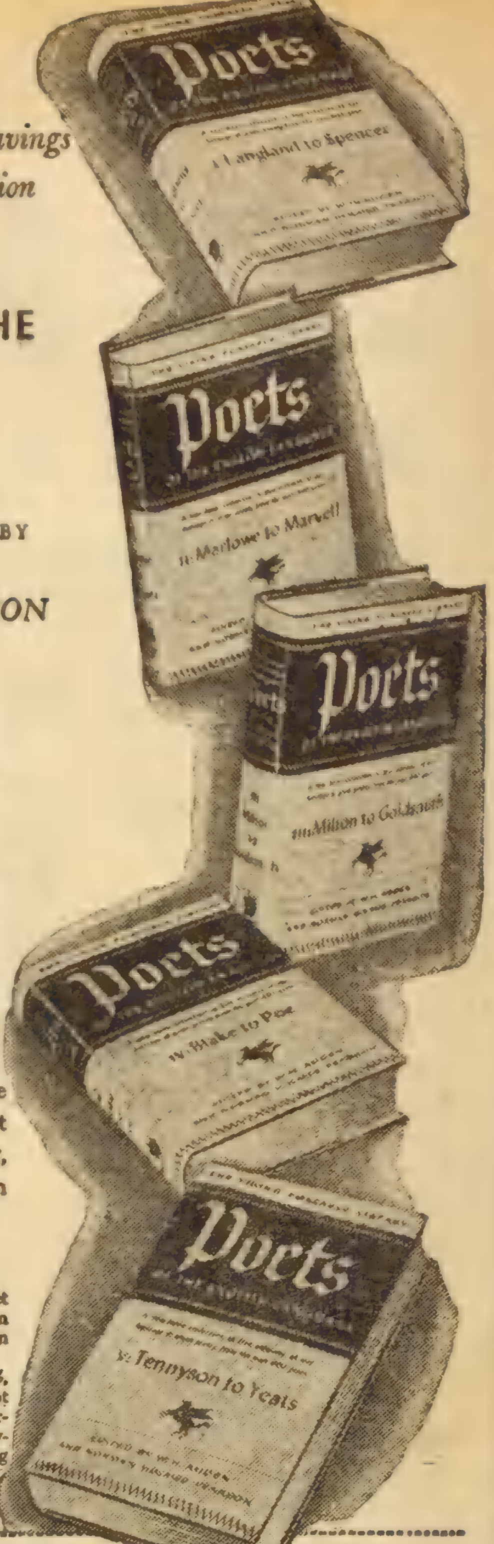

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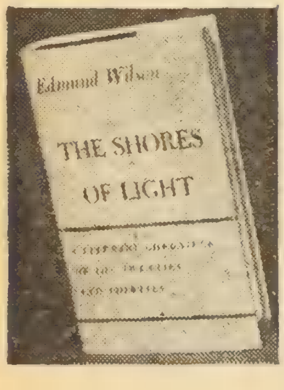

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THE *Nation*

December 20, 1952

SPIES OR SAPPERS?

Who Is Undermining the U. N.?

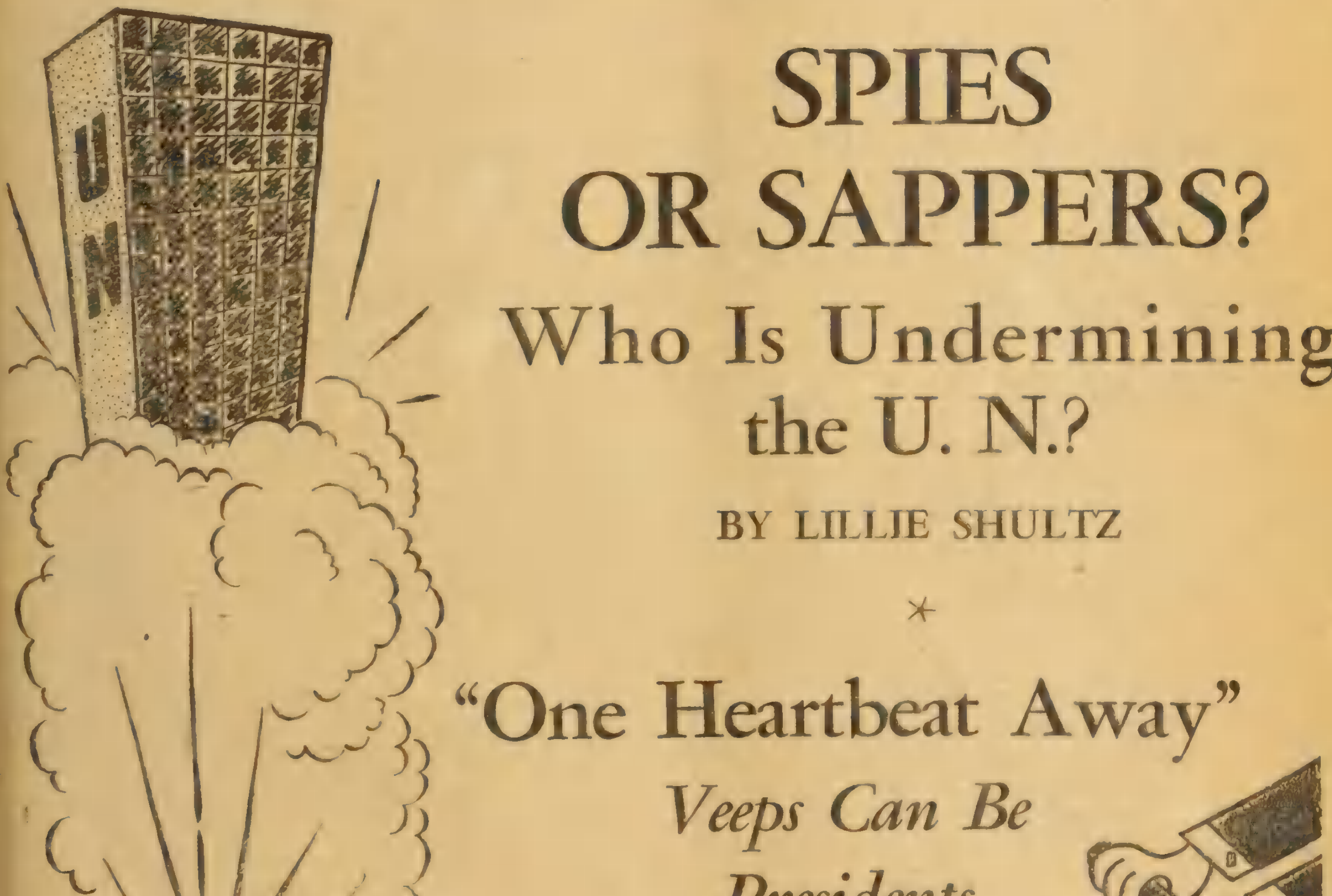
BY LILLIE SHULTZ

*

"One Heartbeat Away"

Veeps Can Be Presidents

BY MONROE E. DEUTSCH



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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Life on the Black List

Hollywood

HOW does it feel to be blacklisted in Hollywood? How does it feel when a producer who has been discussing a job with you for some time suddenly calls you up and explains with embarrassment that it's all off? For a moment you are seized by sheer panic. You are lost. You have no country, no civil rights, no means of livelihood. And you have heard so much about guilt by association that you hesitate to go to see anyone. When you meet an acquaintance you wait to be recognized, not wishing to spread the infection. You feel that like the lepers of the Middle Ages you ought to tinkle a bell and cry out the old warning, "Unclean!" "Unclean!"

But after a while you realize it isn't that way at all. Like so many other things that threaten our freedom, the black list is half reality and half myth.

An actor who had appeared at a televised hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee and been pilloried as a subversive—linked with the betrayers of our atom-bomb secrets and with those who were killing American boys in Korea—went home trembling at the thought of what the half-million television viewers would do to him. He pictured his little bungalow in ruins and an infuriated mob waiting for him.

Nothing of the kind. His neighbor was out mowing the lawn—a burly man who up to this time had never even exchanged a good morning. Now he left his lawnmower and came up to shake the actor's hand. Of course this did not help the actor in his subsequent financial difficulties, but it helped his morale. He could still feel he was a member of the community. He was still an American.

The myth in the black list is the studios' unsupported claim that Americans refuse to patronize pictures in which alleged "Reds" have any part, that they are forced to fire "suspects" to avoid financial loss. Yet almost any evening we blacklisted people can see ourselves in our old movies on television. Do the companies have any difficulty in selling these pictures? And are they not putting us right into people's homes?

The effect of the black list is the real part. After my earning power was cut off, I was forced to cancel some of my insurance policies. My agent told me I could never get them back at the old rates. "Blacklisted people," he said, "are rated like steeplejacks and gangsters; they must pay an additional 50 per cent premium because their chances of living out a normal life are that much lower than the average."

A writer can continue to make a few dollars as long as his typewriter is not confiscated; actors and directors are really on the spot. They can't use pen names—not that a pen name solves everything. A friend of mine has written a novel that seems slated for success and sale to the movies. But to get the film companies to take it he will have to publish it under a pseudonym as a first novel, forfeiting the benefit of his established reputation. Another blacklisted writer took a new name when he began to write for television. His scripts were so good that he was asked to sign a contract. This would have required his appearance at headquarters, and he had to refuse in order to prevent his identity becoming known. Now he is starting all over again under still another name.

Last August the California branch of Amvets, following the lead of the American Legion, called on the heads of motion-picture studios to sign a pledge that they would not employ any person who refused to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee or any other duly constituted government agency investigating charges of alleged subversion.

HOW ARE these vicious attacks being combated? The sterility of the defense is graphically illustrated by a recent proposal of the Motion Picture Industry Council, an association of the guilds and unions working in films. The council's solution was to create a "services committee" which would examine the various black lists, inform the victims, investigate their explanations of past political connections and conduct, and if possible have their names removed from the lists. If the "offense" amounted to nothing more than having been duped into signing a Communist-inspired petition, the committee hoped to be able to get an exoneration. The Screen Writers' Guild, balloting by mail, turned down the proposal. Its president, Mary McCall, put the situation in a nutshell. "This 'services committee,'" she said, "sets up a black list by inference. These people are not being challenged by the government but by the Myron Fagans, the Jack Tenneys, and the Gerald L. K. Smiths. It is time the motion-picture industry refused to be pressured by these groups."

Actors who sit endlessly by a telephone that doesn't ring and never will ring because their names are on some list that they have never been told about know the reality of the black list. The myth is that the American people support the shenanigans of the witch-hunters. As Governor Stevenson said in a campaign speech, the best answer to communism is more democracy.

GUY ENDORE

[*Guy Endore, author of "Babouk," "Methinks the Lady," "The Werewolf of Paris," and other books, has been a successful screen-writer in Hollywood for many years. His article explains why he is not now employed in the industry.*]

With Miss Shultz's article, Spies or Sappers? in this issue, *The Nation* continues its campaign against repression and anti-democratic methods at the U. N. and the pressures from Washington which are largely responsible for them.

Previous articles within the past few months include:

1. The Campaign Against the U. N., by Richard Friedlich, September 20
2. For a Free United Nations, by J. Alvarez del Vayo, October 11
3. Smearing the U. N., editorial, November 1
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6. The U. N. under Siege, editorial, December 13

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JAN

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

Setback for Adenauer

This time Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's proverbial shrewdness has not proved sufficient to overcome the obstacles that block ratification on schedule of the disputed treaties with the West. There is of course not the slightest chance of a favorable vote before the end of the year, and it looks as though he would have to work hard well into 1953 to disentangle himself from the complications that have suddenly arisen. The most serious of these derives from his conflict with the federal Constitutional Court, which makes the problem much more serious than if he merely had to fight his way through the interplay of German politics.

Faced with Socialist opposition to the treaties on constitutional grounds, the Chancellor tried first to win the court to his policy; but when he saw that he risked an adverse decision, he persuaded the President of West Germany, Theodor Heuss, to withdraw his request to the Constitutional Court for an opinion. In doing so Adenauer only gave new weapons to the Social Democrats. Addressing the nation over the radio on December 11, Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the party, assailed what he called the "pernicious tactics" of the government. The Bonn peace contract with the Western allies and the European Defense Community Treaty were under heavier fire than ever.

From the beginning the plan to reconstitute the German army has been resisted everywhere in Europe, but the greatest obstacles to its realization may now prove to be within Germany itself. The only people who take a less gloomy view of the prospect of ratification are those cynics who say that the result of all these difficulties will be to force the United States to pay a higher price for the Germany army on which Washington has built so great a part of its military plan.

Trouble at the Palais Chaillot

The NATO meeting that opened in Paris on Monday was hardly more promising. Hanson W. Baldwin, who is covering it after a careful previous survey in each affected country, wrote in the New York *Times*: "The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is now entering upon the winter of its discontent." This time the non-American members have made no attempt to hide their anxieties, and the opening speech by Premier De Gasperi of Italy pointing out that military effort was not enough and asking for more emphasis on social and political problems won an immediate response.

The European members have also been insisting on the necessity of airing complaints and disagreements that are ordinarily hidden in confidential memoranda. It was the French who took the initiative. Perhaps because they consider themselves insufficiently supported in North Africa and Indo-China, or because they resent being constantly blamed for the rearmament slowdown, they are less interested than usual in diplomatic punctilio. In any case they have put the controversial issue of who is to blame for non-fulfilment of the Lisbon plan in the foreground of the general discussion. While the Americans criticize the Europeans for not pushing military preparation ahead of everything else, the Europeans complain that the Americans have failed to make available promised arms and dollars. Coupled with the uncertainty about the intentions of General Eisenhower and his Administration, this mood of reciprocal disapproval does not augur well for a constructive meeting.

No Witch Hunters Wanted

At a poorly attended meeting on October 17 the Huntington (West Virginia) Post of the American Legion adopted a resolution demanding that the trustees of Marshall College investigate the background of all the speakers to be heard on a college-sponsored forum. It also called attention to the fact that the names of Max Lerner, Margaret Bourke White, and Paul Engle, who had agreed to speak, appear in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In response to this demand, the president of the college promptly announced that the forum series would be canceled. But the student senate and the faculty just as promptly passed resolutions calling upon the Forum Board to reinstate the series. By a vote of approximately 500 to 10 the membership of the forum then adopted a similar resolution, and the series will now be resumed.

In commenting on the membership's action, the student newspaper notes that "witch-hunters . . . are as great a menace to our freedom as any Communist or Communist sympathizer. At least we know what to expect from the

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Reds. But these witch-hunters, who are probably extremely patriotic though misguided Americans, would take away some of our cherished freedoms in order to dig up their red herrings." The students and faculty of Marshall College obviously do not intend to permit the administration to be intimidated by off-campus pressure groups. A few more actions of this kind would go far toward erasing the unpleasant impressions created by the indecent ouster of Dr. Luella Mundell from the State Teachers' College at Fairmont (see *The Nation* of August 9).

The De Luxe War

The Korean War, reports the veteran correspondent Homer Bigart, has become "relatively endurable." It is gratifying to learn that it is now possible to get a fairly good martini at division headquarters and that ice cream is occasionally available "clear down to the platoon level." With good roads, safe lookout posts accessible by jeep, warming tents in which to thaw out, prefabricated bunkers, heated latrines, and other minor miracles, our forces in Korea are obviously fighting a de luxe war. To be sure, the casualties now exceed 128,000, but that is obviously another day's story. What worries us is the idea of the war in Korea becoming a "way of life," a stalemate made less unendurable by modern conveniences and ice cream. While continuing to place the accent on comfort, a little more attention might be paid to achieving a cease-fire by negotiation.

For Solvency, Freer Trade

The final statement of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London has been criticized in the British press as verbose and platitudinous. Nevertheless, it does suggest some important changes in Commonwealth economic policy. That it does so in very cautious terms is understandable, for, as the communiqué hints plainly, the feasibility of these policies will be determined by Washington as much as by London.

Tentatively at any rate the Commonwealth nations have rejected those ideals of self-sufficiency pressed on them by both the Beaverbrook imperialists and the Bevanite leftists. In principle they agree that "a multi-lateral trade-and-payments system should be extended over the widest possible area." Full achievement of this, they recognize, will require the restoration of sterling convertibility and the abolition of the discriminatory trade restrictions that have been used to protect sterling reserves.

The Commonwealth countries propose to help create conditions favorable to convertibility by suppressing internal inflation and encouraging economic development—a pair of policies, incidentally, that do not take kindly to double harness. At the same time they declare that "the rate of progress in removing discrimination will depend on the advance toward equilibrium between the United States and the rest of the world." Further, the pre-conditions of convertibility include adoption by the trading nations of policies "conducive to expansion of world trade" and "the availability of adequate financial support through the International Monetary Fund or otherwise." Clearly this communiqué must be regarded as an urgent memo to the incoming Republican Administration. But before it can receive the attention it deserves, Mr. Eisenhower will have to resolve the inner contradictions of his party on the subject of foreign economic policy. That is likely to prove a long, tough job.

Those Bothersome Briefcases

On December 2, an atomic scientist, homeward bound from Eniwetok burdened with grim and deadly knowledge, left a briefcase containing "top-secret reports" at the Fort De Russy billeting office in Honolulu. A day or so later Foy D. Kohler, a high official in the State Department, was arrested in Arlington, Virginia, on a charge of intoxication and was found to be carrying two "secret" reports in a briefcase. (Classified papers are marked: "top secret," "secret," "confidential," or "restricted," in that order.) "There is no question of Kohler's loyalty or anything like that," reports Michael McDermott, the State Department's press officer; "he has had an excellent performance and security record during twenty-one years of service." Nor, one may be sure, was there any question about the loyalty of the absent-minded atomic scientist. Doubtless both men merited the highest rating as security risks. Yet one missing briefcase could expose this country to dangers which the President's loyalty program, with its threat to civil liberties and the morale of federal employees, could not prevent. Briefcases will be mislaid, and the best of security risks will, near Christmas, take one drink too many. Obviously this is not an argument against reasonable security precautions; nevertheless it should give some pause to the chief victims of the loyalty obsession as they cook up their morbid security projects. Unfortunately it won't.

The Corruption of Business

Recent studies made by the F. B. I. show an "alarming increase" in defalcations and embezzlements. During 1951 the number of embezzlements and shortages in banks and savings associations increased 25 percent, with a total increase of 188 per cent since 1946. Of 19 banks to which the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has given financial assistance in the last six years, 16 had suffered from large defalcations. Last year more than 700 bank officers and employees were involved in criminal embezzlements or similar shortages, most of the offenders being bank officers rather than clerks, tellers, or lesser employees.

The F. B. I. study attracted little attention, but the recent report of the House Judiciary Committee (released on December 5) denouncing "fee-splitting, bribe-taking, and double-dealing" on the part of lawyers in the Department of Justice won headlines from coast to coast. The transgressions detailed are ascribed to the corruption of the "Washington conscience," which sanctions wrongdoing on the "unpardonable justification that everybody is doing it." So long as men in public office set such "hideous examples," the committee declared, "we cannot even begin to think about a solution to the very grave and pressing problem of restoring public confidence in government." But what about public confidence in business? Is the percentage of "hideous examples" among government lawyers greater than among the officers and employees of American banks and other fiduciary institutions? And isn't the "Washington conscience" simply a reflection of the "Main Street conscience"?

From Shape-Up to Shake-Down

THE water-front investigation of the New York State Crime Commission is still in its early stages but it has already uncovered a shocking state of affairs in the world's greatest port. Examination of witnesses, mostly reluctant if not downright balky, has shown that employers and union alike are deeply involved in corruption and that murder, mayhem, and theft run riot in an industry in which a criminal record appears to be the requisite of advancement.

While many new details are being spread on the record, the pattern revealed is familiar enough to those with memories beyond last week's headlines. The rotten state of New York's water front was revealed by several previous investigations, and voluminous information on the subject has been published by enterprising reporters. Seven years ago, in November, 1945, two articles by Maurice Rosenblatt in this magazine gave a vivid account of the methods by which Joe Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, a well-heeled gentleman with excellent political connections, ruled his "kingdom" with the aid of gunmen and racketeers. The root of the evil, Mr. Rosenblatt showed, is the "shape-up" system of hiring which insures a constant over-supply of workers and gives absolute power to the hiring bosses. This system, frequently challenged by rebel rank-and-file movements, has been maintained by an alliance between Ryan and the bosses.

On the West Coast the "shape-up" has been replaced, thanks to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, by a "hiring-hall" system that insures a fair division of available work among all registered longshoremen. One Crime Commission witness, Andrew D. Warwick, president of a stevedoring firm, expressed dislike of the hiring halls but conceded that costs were lower on the West Coast. "I believe," he said, "that if the San Francisco system was adopted in the Port of New York, the efficiency here would increase from $15,000,000 to $25,000,000 a year."

The I. L. W. U. is not run by racketeers, but because some of its leaders are left-wingers it has long been harassed by the Department of Justice, which has taken singularly little interest in the New York water front even though pilferage and smuggling there cause huge losses to the federal Treasury. Perhaps this is because Joe Ryan and his cohorts are exponents of that vociferous patriotism that seemed to Dr. Johnson to be "the last refuge of a scoundrel." Not long ago the I. L. A. won the hearty applause of the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press by refusing to unload cargoes of Russian furs. Now evidence given to the Crime Commission shows that this noble gesture was part of a skin-game: after payment of $70,000 to two mysterious water-front characters, the union boycott was quietly ended.

ON THE water front bribery appears to be a normal if not legitimate business cost. The evidence shows that as much as $20,000 have been paid to shipping-company executives by stevedoring concerns as a means of procuring business. The shipping companies are at the top of the pork barrel, and when their leading officers stoop to such practices it is not surprising to find the rot spreading toward the bottom. In fact, there seem to be illicit profits for all except the real "working stiffs," of whom scarcely one-third earn $3,000 or more a year. Another third, according to a witness before the commission, take home less than $200 a year. "We regard such men as floaters," he said. "They might work on other jobs to make their living. In a war emergency, however, we would be glad to get these men to go to work."

Rank-and-file workers, from whose dues Mr. Ryan as lifetime president of the I. L. A. is paid a salary of $20,000 a year, might well ask for what purpose their employers give him the handsome presents revealed in the testimony before the commission. Is it payment for refraining from demanding better wages and working conditions?

In an article on the investigation in the latest issue of the I. L. A. *Longshore News,* Ryan passes over testimony raising such awkward questions and pours scorn on the commission as a "boondoogling" group, a "haven for retired politicians and ambitious political hacks." He points out that the docks are "just about the most policed area in the country," since not only the New York police but the F. B. I., the Customs Bureau, the Port Security Bureau, and the Coast Guard have "jurisdiction there." "If there were any organized crime on the water front," says Ryan, "these groups would certainly have found it."

Mr. Ryan, we think, has a point, though not the one he is trying to make. The water front is well covered by officers, local and federal, whose job is to detect and prevent crime. How is it, then, that so many criminals operate so freely there? The New York State Crime Commission will not complete its job unless it insists on getting an answer to that question.

Can the Armament Boom Be Leveled Off?

THE Republicans are back in power; the last long-haired professors in Washington are hurriedly packing their belongings; "hard-headed," "practical" corporate executives are swarming through the government agencies; the political climate in Congress and the Administration could not conceivably be more favorable to business, even with Mr. Durkin as Secretary of Labor, and still there are no signs of exuberance in our insatiable "business community." On the contrary, as if mindful of the day of wrath that is to follow the day of sin, thoughtful business men seem to allow their worries about the future to cloud their enjoyment of the present.

Happily, editors of *Fortune* have taken it upon themselves to provide some cheer for their dispirited clients. The magazine's December issue is dedicated to this task, presenting its readers with an "encouraging appraisal of what's ahead." On the basis of a careful inspection of the crystal ball the *Fortune* editors see absolutely no reason for taking a dim view of the future. In any case whatever disagreeable situations may have to be faced will not arise until "late 1955." The reasons for the selection of that soothing date are not disclosed—the available information usually makes it late 1953, when the "building-up" phase of the armament effort is to come to a close and the "maintenance" phase to begin.

Also puzzling is the assumption introduced in passing that forty billion dollars will be spent annually on the military establishment even after the maintenance phase has set in. An awful lot of maintenance can be got for forty billion dollars, particularly if one considers that half of this sum is to be allocated, according to the *Fortune* editors' estimate, to purchases of "hardware." Though technical progress today and consequently obsolescence are extremely rapid, quite a bit of additional building-up would have to take place for forty billion dollars to be spent year in and year out by the military.

Large as this amount would seem if all that mattered was defense, it is disturbingly low from the economic standpoint. Compared with the current level of military spending it represents a cut of some twenty billion dollars. The *Fortune* forecasters, however, are not too alarmed. Consumers' purchases of durable goods are to pick up—although there is not the slightest hint as to where the purchasing power for this expansion is to come from. The low- and middle-income groups, it has been established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, are either barely making ends meet or going into debt; the upper-income groups are pretty well saturated with automobiles and television sets, washing machines and refrigerators. In fact, the *Fortune* analysis itself predicts only a "relatively stable" market for automobiles and a decline in house construction. Yet automobiles account for the lion's share of all spending on durables, and less house construction means fewer kitchen stoves, fewer refrigerators, fewer washing machines.

NOR is it likely that the demand for investment goods, the second pillar of the *Fortune* optimism, will rise sufficiently to offset the drop in military spending and the possible contraction of consumers' spending. The *Fortune* editors point to the ambitious investment plans of the chemical and oil industries. The expansion plans of the former, however, are importantly determined by the level of government spending, while the oil companies are already complaining about mounting excess capacity.

Indeed, *Fortune's* picture of the future will hardly pep up its listless readers. All that it expects is "a gross national product of $348 billion in 1955 [the same as in the fourth quarter of 1952]; a larger labor force, higher productivity, and unemployment possibly around five million." In other words, the "encouraging appraisal of what's ahead" shows a stagnant level of income, sizable and growing unemployment, and ever-increasing danger of a major depression.

But if *Fortune* is doing its best to inspire its readers with the hope that even reduced military spending can be weathered successfully, its contemporary *Business Week* is more outspoken. Discussing Korea on November 29 that journal remarked: "A truce will make the predicted business slide almost certain. It won't alter our rearmament plans materially. We will go ahead, building up here and abroad. But the argument of urgency will become even less persuasive. . . . Failure of cease-fire efforts could be a stimulant. . . ." The pressure for such "stimulants" will increase as the armament prosperity loses its present momentum, and Mr. Dulles seems to be counted on to deliver the required "crises." In the words of *Business Week*, "he advocates freedom to 'counterattack' where desirable. This is risky. He could underestimate Russia. But it's a change from purely defensive diplomacy."

It is playing with fire next to a powder keg to prolong and intensify an armament boom.

Straddle on Tunisia

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE U. N. debate on Tunisia left everybody half satisfied and the problem no nearer a solution. Instead of the Arab-Asian resolution calling upon France "to establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties in Tunisia" and urging the creation of a Commission of Good Offices to help with the negotiations, a Latin American resolution was adopted appealing to the parties concerned "to conduct their relations and to settle their disputes in the spirit of the Charter and to refrain from any acts or measures likely to aggravate the present situation."

The Tunisians had, however, the satisfaction of seeing their nationalist claims given world-wide attention. While only a few months ago the presiding Pakistan delegate was unable to convince his colleagues on the Security Council that Tunisia should even be considered, the question has now been lengthily thrashed out in the Political Committee. The Tunisian dispute was thus elevated from a French colonial squabble to a major international issue. This was hardly calculated to make the French happy, since they had stubbornly insisted that the United Nations lacked jurisdiction; but they were at least spared the diplomatic defeat which adoption of the Arab-Asian resolution would have meant.

While the debate on Tunisia did not produce the intensity of feeling that marked the Korean discussions, it was by no means devoid of importance and interest. The decisive moment was hastened by Washington's intervention. The United States was actually the architect of the Tunisian half-and-half result. If the Americans irritated the French by insisting on a full discussion of the Tunisian problem, they also made sure that the outcome would not be unfavorable to France. Mr. Jessup achieved this difficult balance in an adroit statement. "When a situation," he said, "so deeply disturbs a group of important and respected states that they are moved to take the responsibility for bringing it to the attention of the General Assembly, we are all bound to be concerned. Some may conclude that the proponents' fears and anxieties are unjustified, but if those fears and anxieties remain a fact, they constitute a factor—a disturbing factor—in international relations." This comment was intended to please the Arab-Asian states. It was quickly followed by a paragraph aimed at France: "We have recognized and continue to recognize the existing treaty relationship between France on the one hand and Tunisia on the other. The United States supports the evolutionary development in the relations between France and Tunisia contemplated in the treaties of Le Bardo and La Marsa. We further believe that any development interfering with this orderly process would be the wrong way to deal with the situation." The right way, in the American conception, is the adoption of the Latin American resolution which places France under no obligation whatsoever.

It was the new Administration that spoke through Ambassador Jessup. The appointment of Henry Cabot Lodge as new head of the American delegation to the United Nations was an agreeable surprise to the Quai d'Orsay. During the war, in 1944 and 1945, Mr. Lodge had been in contact with French African officers in Italy, France, and Germany and had been regarded as more responsive to French interests than the old "pro-Arab" group of the State Department. The election of General Eisenhower had been greeted with relief in the circles surrounding the colonial Residents General. They hoped that his accession to the Presidency would mean a triumph of strategic considerations over the moral and juridical scruples that on several occasions had tied the hands of Mr. Acheson.

And incidentally we have witnessed this week a cooling-off of American anti-imperialist ardor in another sphere. The United States led the fight for "moderation" in the Trusteeship Committee, the first setback in the current session, which had been marked by a rising tide of anti-colonialism under the leadership of the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. Cold water was poured on a resolution emanating from this group calling upon the administrating powers and the Trusteeship Council to encourage native participation in their work.

On the anti-colonial side of the Tunisian question were arrayed Mohammed Zafrullah Kahn, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, who formally introduced the Arab-Asian resolution, Mr. Palar of Indonesia, Mrs. Pandit of India, and Mr. Entezzam of Iran. These delegates led the fight for the Tunisian people's right to home rule, if not to total independence (the word "independence" was carefully kept in the background). On the other side, representing the position of France, were the delegates of Britain and Belgium. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd expressed the British point of view with his usual sobriety and effectiveness. The Tunisian question, in his opinion, lay clearly within the domestic jurisdiction of France, and the existence of treaties between France and Tunisia did not suffice to make the issue an international one.

But above the question of jurisdiction is a political question. It is an indisputable fact and a sign of the times that from Rabat to Johannesburg, through Khartum and Nairobi, there is tumult and insecurity. The assassination of Ferhat Hached, the Tunisian labor leader, against which the voices of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and of the pro-Communist French C. G. T. were raised in common protest; the rumors, later flatly denied, that France intends to depose the Bey of Tunis; the mass arrests in Morocco—all these events are facets of the grave political problem that France and Britain face in Africa, irrespective of what has happened or may happen at the United Nations. It is a problem of particular gravity to France, since the loss of Morocco and Tunisia would mean the loss of France's last base as a world power. But England, in its handling of the Indian problem, has shown that another way out exists. In any case, a peaceful solution could hardly be facilitated by the tone of the French note of November 30 peremptorily requesting the Bey to resume negotiations on the basis of the French proposals of last April, which he had already several times rejected.

Ferhat Hached's Death Warrant

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

THEY ambushed Ferhat Hached's on a road, shot him, and battered his face to pulp; he could be recognized only from the papers found on him. These were left on the body so that there would be no mistake about his identity. So far only theories have been offered as to why the leader of the Tunisian Trade Union Federation was murdered. The London *Times* correspondent wrote the next day:

> French official circles point out that the murder might represent a settlement of accounts between rival factions of the Neo-Destourian Party, the ascendency of Ferhat Hached in the party organization in recent months being unlikely to meet with much favor from M. Bourguiba and his followers. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the publicity given to the murder. Another theory is that he may have been a victim of Tunisian Communists, either because they were anxious . . . to stir up confusion or because they wished to retaliate against the U. G. T. T.'s move away from communism.

But when I saw Ferhat Hached in the rickety old wooden house in the Arab part of Tunis which was the headquarters of the federation, he suddenly turned to me at the end of an hour's talk and said with a slightly crooked grin: "And now would you like to see my death warrant?" And he took from his pocket-book a small

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folded sheet and let me read it. The first thing that caught my eye was the scarlet silhouette of a hand, apparently made by a rubber stamp; the text warned all "Tunisian terrorists" that the hand was "red with the blood of the enemies of France." Just as the Tunisian terrorists have been throwing bombs into the houses of Tunisian *beni-oui-ouis* (yes-men), the Red Hand has for the past year been bombing Arab shops and in recent weeks has wrecked the houses of more or less prominent Arab personalities.

CUI PRODEST? Ever since the arrest and deportation of Habib Bourguiba, Ferhat Hached had been the biggest thorn in the flesh of the French settlers and the Residence. The French authorities did not dare arrest him, for he was the main organizer of outside protest against conditions in Tunisia and had numerous contacts in the United States, notably with C. I. O. and A. F. of L. leaders. After serious trouble started last winter, he sent reports to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at Brussels, whose chairman, Mr. Oldenbroek, took a particular interest in the Tunisian federation, the only one of the kind in the Arab world. But for Ferhat Hached's untiring efforts, the Tunisian question might never have received so much world publicity or have been brought up so persistently in the United Nations.

Hached was also one of the most trusted advisers of the Bey and a leading member of his unofficial Crown Council of forty, on whose advice the Bey had rejected the concessions offered by the French government—concessions which had little in common with even the minimum aims of the Tunisian nationalists.

Poor Ferhat Hached! He was not a fire-eater like Bourguiba. I remember him in his tiny office in the Medina on a blazingly hot July morning. He wore a pale-blue shirt, and over it his eyes seemed surprisingly blue. He looked somewhat like a slimmer, fairer, and much younger Raimu—he was only thirty-eight. The "fisher boy from Sfax" spoke perfect French with just a touch of Midi accent. He was a likable fellow, did not seem at all bloodthirsty; he merely wanted the French to be "reasonable" and fulfil their long-standing, never-kept promises of "internal autonomy."

The only way to force their hand, he felt, was to mobilize support abroad, especially in the United States. When I suggested that this might be a dangerous game to play, since "American imperialism" might simply replace "French imperialism" in North Africa, his answer was that, unfortunately, it was the only way to rattle the French effectively and force them to make major concessions. He dismissed American imperialism as "not a very serious danger," adding as an afterthought, "It's a risk we have to take. For though we are more used to the French and would rather deal with them than with the Americans, for the ordinary man in Tunisia things couldn't be worse than they are now."

The French authorities naturally hated him and were unhappy when foreign correspondents went to see him and were "filled up with his propaganda." The federation was hated also by the Tunisian pashas, for it was practically inseparable from the Neo-Destour Party. It was obviously less a trade-union federation in the usual sense than a nationalist organization with a strong financial basis—400,000 members paying dues of 50 or 100 francs a month.

The Communists in Tunisia are weak, but Ferhat Hached was, in any case, determined to have nothing to do with them; he showed me copies of extremely curt letters he had sent them in reply to various offers of "joint action." Determined to be on the best of terms with the American labor movement, he no doubt considered it good policy to be rude to the Communists, but this was hardly a reason for the Communists to murder him. Moreover, up to a point, he was pursuing an anti-colonialist policy similar to their own, and doing it much more effectively. The suggestion that the "followers of Bourguiba might have killed him is crazier still. A large portrait of Bourguiba hung in his office and he was entirely Bourguiba's man.

Since the murder the government has arrested hundreds—not, oddly enough, alleged members of the Red Hand or other French colonialist "self-protection" organizations but Ferhat Hached's immediate followers, including Messadi, his young assistant, with whom I had long talks in Tunis last summer. Everything indicates that the death of Ferhat Hached will unleash that mass repression for which the French extremists in North Africa and the pressure groups in Paris have been thirsting for a long time, and from which they have refrained for purely external reasons. One of the questions widely asked in Paris is has there been a new deal with Washington. Is the Eisenhower Administration going to turn a blind eye to North Africa—possibly in return for a more "reasonable" French attitude toward German rearmament?

Although the French generally have disliked American interference in North Africa, suspecting it of ulterior motives, they are sharply divided into supporters of a liberal policy and supporters of a tough policy toward the Arabs. In the government itself both opinions are represented, with M. Schuman still favoring "negotiations." But the tough policy is clearly gaining the upper hand, the policy of the men who boast that "all is peaceful in Madagascar" now. The 1947 massacres in Madagascar, in which 80,000 men, women, and children died—the governement says, "Nonsense, it was only 20,000—was for them merely a surgical operation essential for the good health and longevity of the French Empire.

Spies or Sappers?

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

United Nations, December 12

THE United Nations, created for peace, is now being stripped for war. The glass palace on the bank of the East River is being readied as Fortress America. To the naked eye the "sandbags" are still invisible. But to the knowing, a call to battle has been sounded, and the accouterments of a war situation are already within the structure. They are wire taps, F. B. I. investigations, and a round-up and purge of Americans and nationals of other countries alleged to be subversive of the interests of the United States.

The equating of the fears of the United States with the interests of the United Nations is the predominant fact which emerges. On whether or not this equation is accepted by the member states of the U. N. depends the future of that body. What has created the crisis which now threatens the future of the U. N. is the insistence of the United States, under the prodding of the McCarrans and McCarthys, that the U. N. purge itself of so-called spies and subversive staff members, Americans or otherwise, in the interest of American security.

The verbal attacks upon the U. N., long current, were brought to a climax this fall with federal grand-jury hearings, followed by hearings before the McCarran Subcommittee on Internal Security. To these hearings Americans on the U. N. staff were summoned, as were officials of the State Department.

As a result of claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment, nine Americans who refused to answer questions put by the McCarran subcommittee were summarily dismissed by the Secretary General under new rules formulated precisely for this purpose by a hand-picked panel of jurists under the pressure of the United States. To accomplish this the Secretary General has abrogated explicit provisions of the Charter and arrogated to himself powers of which he was delimited by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Obviously the international organization cannot be served through the employment of spies of any nationality. But the integrity of the U. N. is destroyed if the tactics of totalitarianism are applied, and if employees, many of them associated with the U. N. since its inception, are fired without a chance to hear the charges against them and to disprove them if they can.

It is difficult to see why an American wishing to subvert the interests of the United States would choose the U. N. as a base of operations. There is no secret information of any intrinsic value in the United Nations. The United Nations was conceived as an instrument of open diplomacy. With few exceptions all its sessions are public. With minor exceptions all its documentation is public. And all its documents, restricted or unrestricted, are available to all the member states including the Soviet bloc. The U. N. has no restricted military information. Even the Korean reports are public.

The hue and cry about subversion in the U. N. would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic, especially if one looks at the figures. There are some 2,000 Americans in a staff of 4,000; about 400 of them are in the 1,344 key posts. According to the testimony of John Hickerson, Under Secretary of State for U. N. Affairs, before the McCarran subcommittee the State Department has supplied information concerning only forty Americans—thirty-seven on security grounds, three on morals charges. Twenty-nine have been fired; twenty before the panel's report. The evidence on those remaining is said to be too flimsy to warrant action.

American employees are the largest national aggregation in the U. N., holding a little more than 28 per cent of key posts. The entire Soviet bloc has exactly seventy employees—nineteen Russians, twenty-eight Poles, and twenty-three Czechoslovaks.

Nor are those who cry for blood satisfied with the pound of flesh already taken. Senator Alexander Wiley, slated to be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, yesterday informed the U. N. that a rider will be introduced at the next Congress barring the use of funds for the U. N. "unless adequate security provisions have been worked out to guarantee that the United Nations and its organs do not remain a base for espionage and subversion." The United States now pays 35.12 per cent of the budget of the U. N.

The discharges begun with Americans are to be extended to foreign nationals on exactly the same grounds. Seemingly the policy of containment is to be applied to the U. N. staff. Alleged Communists are to be ousted and replaced by anti-Communists as a cordon sanitaire around the small residue of East European Communists, who will not be touched unless caught in espionage. Not satisfied with isolating the Soviet government and its bloc in the world at large, we are determined to complete their isolation within the U. N., with the natural consequence of bringing about a situation in which the U. N. will be, not an instrument of conciliation, but an instrument for ostracizing, pursued to a point where the Soviet bloc may be forced out of the U. N.

Is this an exaggerated possibility? The conservative London *Times*, in an editorial of December 2, 1952, voices exactly this apprehension.

> It may well not be intended now to pass every international civil servant through the familiar searching sieve of motives, thoughts, and associations, as well as deeds, but the menace is there. And to exclude any Communist of any nationality from employment at United Nations headquarters—and it is difficult to read any other meaning into the words—would deepen the schism in the United Nations and would eventually drive the Communist powers out.

THE opening act of the current drama at the U. N. began on October 23 when the Secretary General named a panel of three jurists to guide him in dealing with the issue of how personnel should be hired and fired. On November 29 the panel reported. On December 5 Mr. Lie accepted its findings and began a series of discharges.

The jurists proposed that Mr. Lie should discharge any staff member who (1) claims the protection of the Fifth Amendment and refuses to answer whether he has been engaged in espionage or other "subversive" activities in the United States—this applies whether or not the person is a United States citizen and whether or not the protection claimed relates to acts before or after he entered the employment of the United Nations; (2) claims the protection of the Fifth Amendment and refuses to say whether or not he has been a member of the Communist Party in the United States or of some organization declared to be subversive under the McCarran act; (3) is believed by the Secretary General to be engaged in activities involving subversive activities in the United States, regardless of his nationality. Under the recommendations of the panel Mr. Lie is to be guided by an advisory committee of two senior officers of the secretariat, with an independent chairman selected after consultation with the bodies representing the staff. But Mr. Lie is to be the sole and final authority.

The report of the panel specifies that neither the Joint Appeals Board nor the Administrative Tribunal authorized by the General Assembly is to deal with employees in these categories. If these two bodies, set up to review cases of dismissal, should none the less refuse to accept Mr. Lie's decision and order reinstatement, the Secretary General should refuse reinstatement, leaving the Administrative Tribunal to assess damages, if any. Moreover, the Secretary General is advised to *refuse* to place before the Joint Appeals Board or the Administrative Tribunal the evidence on the basis of which he reached his decision. No standards are set up for judgment as to what are or are not subversive activities. There is no right of review or of appeal.

The recommendations of the panel, which Mr. Lie is putting into practice, contravene (1) the Charter provisions as to the standards for the employment of members of the secretariat; (2) the limitation of the authority of the Secretary General as decreed by the Administrative Tribunal, according to which the Secretary General is required to give to any employee the reasons for his discharge, and these reasons are made subject to review and decision by the Administrative Tribunal, whether or not the person involved is a permanent member of the staff or a temporary employee; (3) the fundamental concept of jurisprudence in the United States, namely, that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty.

Mr. Lie was within his rights in seeking the advice of jurists to guide him in staff relations. Where he overstepped his rights was in accepting their recommendations in terms which trespass on the provisions of the Charter, without authorization by the member nations.

Article 100 provides that in the "performance of their duties the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization." The only standards set up by the Charter were "the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity." These provisions were affirmed by the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 2, 1952, which underscored that members of the secretariat are international civil servants called upon at all times to bear this in mind, "while they are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political or religious convictions."

Further it should be recalled that when the preparatory commission was meeting to formulate the Charter, the delegate of Yugoslavia suggested that there should be a provision making the concurrence of member governments necessary before appointment of nationals of any country to the secretariat. This proposal was supported by the Soviet delegate. But the views of Yugoslavia were defeated by a large majority, and Article 100 was then adopted unanimously.

Nowhere in the Charter is there a requirement that the political views of the members of the secretariat should conform to the views of any government. The only stipulation of the Preparatory Commission was that in engaging the staff "the Secretary General should take the necessary steps to insure that no persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities with Fascism or Nazism."

In two respects Mr. Lie, in accepting the decision of the panel of jurists, has gone outside provisions of the Charter. He has added a stricture, neither implicit nor explicit in the Charter, as a barrier to employment in the secretariat—the stricture being against membership in the Communist Party, past, present, or future. Secondly, having been told that he should not seek or receive instructions from any government, he has had since 1949 a secret agreement with the United States whereby the Department of State has identified for him United States citizens employed or being considered for employment who would appear to be Communists, with a view to their elimination.

WHY has Mr. Lie lent himself to a procedure challengeable on legal, ethical, and human grounds? Is it pique at the Russians for their boycott of him? Is it a new bid for an American draft for the top post? Does he believe Communists on the staff are actual security risks, threatening the United States and the United Nations? Has he come to feel that there is no hope of conciliation with the Russians and that the U. N. would be better off without them? Since the future of the U. N. is at stake in the answer to these questions, it is not easy to excuse Mr. Lie's failure to share responsibility with member states before embarking on his present course.

Actually, the real architect of U. N. personnel policy is Byron Price, Assistant Secretary General for Personnel Affairs, who during World War II was in charge of United States censorship. Mr. Price was placed in this post at the direct request of the United States government.

Between grand jury and McCarran subcommittee a close relationship existed; and there is a suspicion that the persons summoned before both groups may have been on lists supplied by Mr. Price's office. Mr. Price is also alleged to maintain the closest connections with the Department of Justice. He is known to believe there are too many foreigners in the U. N. In staff circles he is considered largely responsible for the policies that have caused a deterioration of relations between the staff and the Secretary General and for the attempts to convert the Staff Association, authorized by the General Assembly, into a company union, rubber-stamping all administration personnel policy.

When on December 3 representatives of the Staff Association issued a report in which they expressed their concern over the recommendations of the jurists, the officers of the association were called to account by Mr. Price, who, it is stated, demanded that the association support the administration policy on the score that the American public would not understand their failure to do so.

The staff's views received no place in the panel's recommendations, though not a single indictment has been returned against any American appearing before the grand jury or the McCarran subcommittee.

The demoralization of the staff is growing by leaps and bounds. The common feeling is that F. B. I. agents are now to be found within the U. N. organization, and that wire-tapping is prevalent. The Hickerson testimony lends credence to the report, long current, that an American occupying a key U. N. post is in constant liaison with the F. B. I. That a group of informers is growing up within the organization is also a common belief—informers actuated both by fear and by hope of preferment.

Mr. Price has not hesitated, in replying to questions put to him by the staff committee, to say that he himself had drawn an inference of guilt from the refusal of staff members to answer certain questions. And yet it is worth noting that one of Mr. Lie's counsel, Oscar Schacter, is quoted in the December 3 report of the staff committee as saying that he knew "of no method other than the invoking of the privilege against possible self-incrimination open to persons who did not wish to answer because they felt that the hearing would not constitute a fair trial."

DOES claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment create a presumption of guilt, as assumed by Mr. Price, by the panel of jurists, and now by Mr. Lie?

Some discharged members of the staff, queried as to why they invoked the Fifth Amendment, stated that they feared the possibility of entrapment which might lead to a perjury charge. Robert Morris, counsel to the McCarran committee, in an interview which appeared in the *U. S. News and World Report* of December 5, 1952, pointed out that if a witness commits perjury before his committee he can be indicted by a grand jury. Considering the committee's customary exhaustive review of past events, in which every witness is required to be of infallible memory, the danger of punishable perjury is not fancied but real.

Mr. Morris also pointed out that a person who admitted membership in the Communist Party would immediately be queried as to who was in the Communist Party with him. Refusal to answer would make that person "susceptible" to a contempt motion. And there is the further fact that under a strict construction of the Smith act, a present member of the Communist Party might be subject to indictment.

Nor is denial of membership in the Communist Party a guaranty of safety from inquisition. In other words, every person queried by the McCarran subcommittee is in personal danger of being accused of perjury or contempt if he fails to turn informer.

Harold H. Corbin, distinguished trial lawyer, in a letter which appeared in the New York *Times* on December 7, reminded us that the Fifth Amendment was adopted as a protection against "the inquisitorial and manifestly unjust methods of interrogating witnesses, the temptation of prosecutors to press, browbeat, and entrap them into fatal contradictions, and against the zeal of the prosecutor and public clamor for the punishment of crime." Challenging the findings of the panel with respect to the Fifth Amendment, he said: "It ignores the fact that our highest courts have repeatedly announced the fallacy of the doctrine pronounced yesterday by the eminent members of the United Nations panel. The pitfalls and dangers of testifying are so obscure and so manifold that experienced lawyers do not permit a client to thus testify, however certain they may be of his innocence."

The present personnel policy must inevitably lead to the transformation of the U. N. from a free and independent international body for international peace into an appendage registering the fears of the United States. But this will happen unless the U. N. itself resists.

The staff members who have been discharged are seeking a review of their cases by the Administrative Tribunal. That the Administrative Tribunal constitutes a formidable obstacle is recognized both by the United States and by Mr. Lie. Mr. Hickerson, in his December 10 testimony, stated that Mr. Lie was hampered in his findings by the Administrative Tribunal's decision that "the Secretary General is required to make a statement of cause in discharging an employee." Mr. Lie has recognized its importance by appearing before the Fifth Committee to request the appointment of a committee "to examine the premise of the Administrative Tribunal in the total administrative structure." Apparently an effort is to be made to scrap the Tribunal or curtail its powers.

The real question is whether the member states will follow the lead of Mr. Lie and yield to the panic current in some quarters in the United States or stand with Senator Lodge, who takes the view that the United Nations, imperfect though it is, is our only instrument for peace, has already curbed aggression, and would have to be created if it did not already exist. Senator Lodge, President-elect Eisenhower's new appointee as United States representative in the United Nations, said on December 10 that while the U. N. had not lived up to all that was hoped for it, it was nevertheless "the world's greatest adventure in building collective strength," and that the Soviet Union had refrained from "open, armed aggression" largely because the General Assembly of the United Nations constituted "a very real deterrent."

The issue has reached such proportions as to require full discussion by the delegates of the member states. If they choose to put the staff of the U. N. in the kind of strait-jacket urged by some Congressional leaders, then at least the decision, right or wrong, will have been taken by those upon whom the future of the U. N. depends.

Veeps Can Become Presidents

BY MONROE E. DEUTSCH

THE importance of the office of Vice-President of the United States is often underestimated, particularly at the time of national elections. Attention is concentrated on the candidates for the Presidency, and only a casual glance is cast at the ability and attainments of their running-mates. We should never forget, however, that the Vice-President has a good chance of being elevated to the Presidency during his term of office.

Up to the present we have had thirty-two Presidents. Seven of these have died in office—William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Warren G. Harding, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—almost exactly 22 per cent of the total number. Three of them were assassinated, and there have been efforts to murder other Presidents—for example, Roosevelt and Truman. Does this not make greater care in selecting the Vice-President a real need?

The nominee for the Presidency is always given free rein to choose who shall make the race with him. This year the grounds for his decision were obvious in each case. California was a doubtful state with a large electoral vote; the Republicans hoped that a native son would carry the state for the ticket. The Democrats took a man from a section of the country usually Democratic but disaffected four years ago and irritated by certain incidents in the convention. Would either man have been thought of as Presidential timber? I think it is honest to say that both were chosen simply because they could help the party to elect its candidate for the Presidency.

Most voters make up their mind on the basis of confidence in the Presidential candidate. A few, however, may so thoroughly dislike the Vice-Presidential candidate that they refuse to vote for the man they consider the better fitted for the Presidency out of fear that the second man on the ticket might succeed him. It seems clear, therefore, that the "package deal" should be abandoned and the people be allowed to vote separately for the President and Vice-President.

Walter Lippmann, in his column "Today and Tomorrow," has supported the proposal of Charles Warren and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., that when a vacancy occurs in the office of President, it should be filled by the Vice-President only until the next Congressional election, and that then a new President should be elected. As Mr. Lippmann pointed out, this would assure that "the rhythm of the constitutional term of the President and of the one-third of the Senate and of the House would not be altered." In my judgment, however, there are numerous objections to this plan. We should still have a man whom

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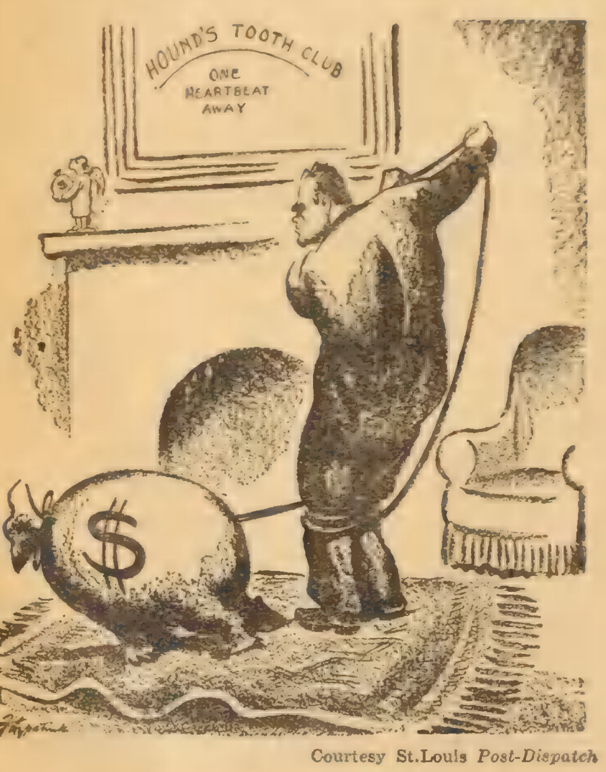
MONROE E. DEUTSCH was vice-president and provost of the University of California from 1930-1947. He is the author of several books, including "Our Legacy of Religious Freedom" and "The College from Within."

we never thought of for President holding the office for perhaps as long as two years; had the proposed plan been in operation when President Roosevelt died, the period would have been a year and nine months. In other words, we should not be eliminating the evil but only reducing the time it would afflict us. On the other hand, the President might die only a few months, or even weeks, before the next Congressional election. Think of the confusion into which the nation would be plunged if a new President had to be chosen immediately!

Moreover, a Vice-President who succeeded to the Presidency would find it comparatively easy to secure control of the party machine and win the coming nomination. Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, and Harry S. Truman all obtained the nomination on the first ballot. The man in office always has a powerful grip on the party. As a result, the undesirable features of the present system would be perpetuated.

Of course we might dispense entirely with the office of Vice-President and provide for a new election if the President dies. But that would take time, and in the interim action on matters of the highest importance might be held up.

THE other alternative—the separate election of the Vice-President—appears preferable. Against this it is argued that a man of the opposite party from the President might be chosen. That is possible but not very probable. Thirty-six states now elect their Lieutenant Governor separately from the Governor, but in only four of them—Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, and Washington—were the two of different parties in 1952. Usually the electorate swings toward one party and carries into office most of that party's candidates. However, and this is important, if the candidate for the secondary post is elected separately, he must stand on his own feet and be judged on his own qualifications. And if at extremely rare intervals a Vice-President of the opposite party should succeed to the vacant Presidency, the situation would not be strikingly different from that after a general election which turns out the party in power and puts in the opposition.



Courtesy St.Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Dicky Boy and His Pooch

It must be remembered, too, that under the present law the third in line of succession is the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who not infrequently has been of the opposite party from his two superiors. To cite a recent example, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., a Republican, presided over the House while Truman, a Democrat, was President, and at that time, in the absence of a Vice-President, Speaker Martin would have succeeded to the Presidency.

If we desire to secure as Vice-Presidents men of Presidential caliber, additional powers must be attached to the office. A man worthy to be President should not be expected to confine himself to acting as presiding officer of the Senate and voting only in case of a tie. If he is of the same party as the President, he should be a full member of the Cabinet. Certain duties should automatically go with the Vice-Presidency—perhaps membership in our delegation to the United Nations, or the chairmanship of the National Security Council, or the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. Such activities would not only make the position more attractive to an able man but qualify him to assume the Presidency should a vacancy occur.

Interesting evidence for the need of reform in our system of electing Vice-Presidents is found in the rating of our Presidents made by fifty-five eminent authorities on American history (published in *Life*, November 1, 1948). Twenty-nine Presidents were compared, William Henry Harrison and James A. Garfield being omitted because they served for such a short period and Harry Truman because he was still in office. Of these twenty-nine, six were rated "great"; four, "near great"; eleven, "average"; six, "below average"; two, "failures." Not one of the six Vice-Presidents elevated to the Presidency was in the "great" category, and only one (Theodore Roosevelt) was among the "near great." Two (Johnson and Arthur) were "average," and three (Tyler, Coolidge, Fillmore) were "below average." Thus half the Vice-Presidents who succeeded to the Presidency were rated below average. The classification apparently demonstrates that the men named for the Vice-Presidency are very seldom well qualified to become President. The nation must consider some other method of selection to guarantee that the Presidency is filled by men worthy of it.

Radio in Eclipse

BY MILTON R. MOSKOWITZ

Chicago

WITH customary hoopla the National Broadcasting Company has signed Robert Sherwood to write nine original plays for television. Both Mr. Sherwood and NBC said the event was something of a milestone because the three-time winner of a Pulitzer Prize will be allowed to work independently of sponsors and advertising agencies. (Advertisers will be given the opportunity to sponsor the plays after Mr. Sherwood has completed them.)

Frank Folsom, president of the Radio Corporation of America, parent company of NBC, told the press the network was happy to give Mr. Sherwood the freedom which "all fine authors require to create works of art." The admission that fine authors need freedom from commercialism to produce works of art comes rather belatedly; up to now the broadcasting industry has seldom acted on that principle.

Five years ago Llewellyn White wrote an important book called "The American Radio." Published as a report of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, it documented the advertisers' strangle-hold on radio programming. The broadcasters ignored this criticism, but Mr. Sherwood, when he signed his NBC contract, emphasized the very situation that Mr. White had exposed. "When you are dealing with sponsors and advertising agencies," the playwright pointed out, "you are dealing with people whose primary interest is not what you write in television. Their primary interest is in selling their product. We want to do the best possible work on NBC television, and having done that, let the sponsor come along."

It would be pleasant to think that the NBC-Sherwood contract signified a change from past practices in the broadcasting industry. Unfortunately, all signs point to an even greater emphasis on commercialism. The major radio networks are scraping the bottom of the barrel in an attempt to compete with their own creation, television. *Advertising Age* in its annual broadcasting issue reported that in 1951 advertisers' payments for time were off $9,000,000, or 5 per cent, from 1950 and $24,000,000, or 12.2 per cent, from 1948, and that in the first nine months of 1952 they were off another 10.6 per cent. In other words, advertisers are convinced that radio cannot hold its audience and are taking their money elsewhere.

Procter and Gamble, radio's biggest customer, bluntly told the Columbia Broadcasting System last spring that unless rates were cut, it would cancel some of its programs. CBS jumped at the crack of the whip and slashed night costs to advertisers 25 per cent. The other networks—NBC, ABC, and Mutual—followed suit. But despite the cheaper rates, advertisers still look upon radio as an overpriced medium. Procter and Gamble has just announced that as of December 26 it is omitting two of its three night shows on CBS radio.

The defection of listeners, and consequently of advertisers, is a serious matter for radio. It is typical of the industry, though, that instead of trying to build up loyal audiences, it is spending all its efforts on retaining the favor of advertisers. The absurdity of this course escapes executives who have long been serving those "whose primary interest is in selling their product." Thus, the quality of the radio networks' programs has reached a new low. With the exception of four CBS shows, all their programs this fall had what the trade calls a "track record"; radio is evidently afraid to do any experimenting.

In their effort to save advertisers money the networks are paring production and talent costs to the bone. This is one of the chief reasons for the influx of five-minute news strips. Half-hour dramatic programs on CBS and NBC are being put together for as little as $2,000 a week, one-third of what such shows used to cost advertisers. The networks have found that a good way to cut costs is to use old programs. "The First Nighter," now heard on NBC, is repeating scripts that have been heard for twenty years. Two soap companies are being allowed to save dollars by presenting the same soap opera over CBS and NBC at different times of the day.

As the result of radio's policy of "sponsors at any cost" the industry's code of ethics has been gutted. For two years Charles Antell knocked vainly on the door of radio with his fifteen-minute straight commercial programs. Now the networks and stations take his business willingly. WMAQ, the NBC station in Chicago, told *Advertising Age* that it used one Antell program but listener protest was so heavy that it has never done it again. Other radio stations have not shown even this scrap of respect for listeners' opinions.

"He who pays the piper, calls the tune" is radio's motto, and that is why there is little hope of the public's getting any programs that are informative, educational, or really entertaining. Even when faced with a decline in listeners, broadcasters refuse to see creative programming as an alternative. There is another factor at work, too. In 1951 for the first time the major networks made a bigger profit on their TV operations than on AM. This will mean an even greater commitment of available resources to the new medium, although it will not guarantee imaginative television programs. Apparently radio has thrown in the towel. A sign should be tacked up on the doors of all stations: "Creative people, keep out!"

MILTON R. MOSKOWITZ is an associate editor of Advertising Age.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Muskets and Mechanical Men

THE WORLD OF ELI WHITNEY. By Jeannette Mirsky and Allan Nevins. The Macmillan Company. $5.75.

AS BIOGRAPHY "The World of Eli Whitney" is not especially interesting. Although its authors make skilful use of the known facts of Whitney's life and draw in addition upon some of his hitherto unpublished letters, he remains a shadowy figure. In company with Miss Mirsky and Mr. Nevins we follow his career dutifully but with scant excitement from the New England farm where he was born to the Litchfield schoolhouse where he earned part of the money to complete his education and then to Yale. We see him, somewhat at loose ends thereafter, go South as a tutor and almost casually invent the cotton gin on the estate of General Greene's widow. Litigation arising from this invention dominates and embitters much of the rest of his life. The remainder of his energy he expends in manufacturing large quantities of muskets by ingenious application of the principle of interchangeable parts—that modest precursor of mass production by assembly-line methods. Romance, though suspected by the authors, cannot be proved important to him, and he is fifty-two when he finally marries. Little contemporary evidence on his personal qualities survives, and his letters paint the disagreeable portrait of a man eager to grasp the main chance, politic in his opinions, and prone to bouts of hypochondria liberally laced with self-pity. We must keep reminding ourselves throughout that this stodgy personage changed the face of the South and speeded the birth of industrialism in the North.

As soon as Miss Mirsky and Mr. Nevins shift their attention to the cotton gin and interchangeable parts, the pace of their book quickens and its import becomes clear. Their sketch of the industrial history of England and the United States in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century is informative in itself. They use it to demonstrate how the rise of cotton mills in England and the need of the American South for a marketable crop combined to create the opportunity for Whitney's simple device, the cotton gin.

Even more pivotal to American development are Whitney's adventures in gun-making. Whitney was very far from the impractical and impecunious inventor of legend. His entire musketry operation was a triumph of long-range planning in the best tradition of the modern entrepreneur. He rationalized alike the technical and the financial routine of the large enterprise: his notions of cost accounting and inventory control, to pick examples, were much ahead of his time. And early recognizing that business men cannot afford the luxury of political partisanship, he enjoyed the simultaneous friendship of Oliver Wolcott, embittered federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, fervent republican. He lobbied, initiated training programs for his workmen, founded the machine-tool industry, and created a family business which prospered for several generations after his death. The methods in which he pioneered led directly to the masses of clocks, shoe machines, sewing-machines, and agricultural implements which soon flowed from the factories of the North.

All this is an enthralling story whose grip is tightened by its authors' dexterity in the manipulation of background material. An attentive reader will learn much about the patent laws of the period and American credit institutions, as well as the state of the industrial arts. Connoisseurs of educational experience will delight in Whitney's letters to his nephew at Yale on the proper deportment of a gentleman. "You will make it a solemn point . . . to avoid the use of profane language. . . . Strive to render your voice harmonious and *pleasant,* but let it be *natural.* . . . I am extremely sorry to learn that you have contracted a habit of sitting, walking, and standing very *crooked.* You must make a fixed, *unalterable resolution* to change this habit. . . ."

It is finally clear why Eli Whitney's life fails to compel the interest ordinarily taken in the actions of the eminent. Whitney was so absorbed in his work and so much the captive of his own inquiring mind and ingenious hands that in the end he rationalized his own activities almost as effectively as the manufacture of muskets. He fabricated his own personality as an incident to the construction of cotton gins and guns and so turned himself into an exceptionally efficient machine tool. We are then left less with an individual than with a type, the hard-driving, dedicated big business man. Whitney must have been among the first, as he was one of the most successful, of his breed.

The central virtue of this impressive book lies in its isolation of that moment in American development when South and North began to adopt new modes of livelihood. The historical accident that one man played a strategic role in both regions justifies the biographical form in which this piece of economic history is cast, although its central figure fails to betray more than a semblance of human form.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

The Masters in Color

GREAT PAINTINGS FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART. By Huntington Cairns and John Walker. The Macmillan Company. $15.

ART TREASURES FROM THE METROPOLITAN. Presented by the Curatorial Staff. Abrams. $12.50.

HERE are two de luxe volumes for the Christmas trade. Each makes available through a hundred color plates, more or less, a selection of masterpieces owned by our two—or two of our—leading art museums. The volume from Washington is the second of a series begun in 1944. The volume from New York is identical in format to the Abrams publication on the Louvre.

The texts are entirely different in character. Each National Gallery picture is prefaced by a quotation from literature, mythology, biography, art history, and criticism—whatever Huntington Cairns finds an appropriate pairing. The volume on the Metropolitan is of course much more extensive in historical scope. It is wisely divided into sections, one for each curatorial department, and each has its quota of introductory text and, at the back of the book, its detailed notes.

On the whole the eighty-five plates from the National Gallery are successful color reproductions. Exception may be taken to the plate of El Greco's Laocoön, which was made before the picture was cleaned at least two years ago. Its present radiant condition may be seen opposite page 120 of the Abrams publication on El Greco (1950). Considering the price of the book, a more up-to-date reproduction was surely in order. Without meaning to be tedious, I must also complain about the advisability of pairing Virgil's famous description with El Greco's version of the story, at least without some comment. El Greco follows neither the antique marble, which he doubtless had seen forty years earlier in Rome, nor Virgil himself. The physical combat is sublimated, the three figures are in psychological isolation, and the serpents lash only the design of the picture—not Laocoön and his sons—with their elliptical rhythms. Some sentences of Lessing, though he never heard of El Greco, would have made an excellent complement to Virgil.

The general run of Cairns's selections is, however, stimulating and informative. Highly recommended are the Japanese critic Yashiro on Botticelli, and Julian Huxley on the courting habits of a certain bird, paired with a Terborch love scene.

Color plates are more numerous in the Metropolitan volume, and they cover a broader historical scope, not being restricted to painting or to Western culture. They are of uneven quality. The decorative arts and polychromed sculpture are splendidly reproduced, but on the whole the plates of paintings are less successful than those of the National Gallery volume. Although the decision to avoid the glare of glossy surface is laudable, too many of the plates are blurred by faulty registration or too heavily printed in one or another of the colors employed. After complaining about bleached (Courbet) and overdark plates (Pesellino, Crivelli, Steen), it is a pleasure to welcome such accurate reproductions as those of Sassetta, Poussin, Hals, David, Cézanne, and Seurat. The perils of color printing can be gauged by comparing the plate of the profile portrait by Pollaiuolo with the same plate on the jacket.

All of which leads to an obvious inference: color plates are no substitute for visits to museums. I do not warm up, however, to the theory espoused by many writers and art teachers that an excellent black and white reproduction of a painting is preferable to a good color plate.

Costs being what they are, the publishers have supplemented the 130 color pages with 80 monochrome illustrations. These are of the highest fidelity. The total gives an excellent impression of the scope, the quality, and the variety of the collections of the Metropolitan. American art is not included, but a succeeding volume is announced.

An introductory essay by Edith Standen contrives to be witty, sage, and graceful all at once on a theme that could easily have become ponderous—the history and organization of the Metropolitan. I seem to find her deft touch in the sectional essays as well.

The publication of this book was successfully timed to coincide with an exhibition at the Metropolitan of the original objects which it illustrates. In view of the complications on both sides of this joint venture, congratulations are in order. S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Biography of Napoleon

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. By J. M. Thompson. Oxford University Press. $6.

I ACCEPTED the assignment to review this book with reluctance: after thirty years of omnivorous Napoleonic readings I had sworn off the stuff. Yet I read every word of Thompson's 440 pages. I need say no more in praise of a most unusual book.

The work left me fascinated and puzzled. Not about Napoleon—there are as many Napoleons as there are scholars or readers—but about J. M. Thompson. Every book on that subject is a "portrait of the artist on a Napoleonic background": inclusions and omissions trace a sure outline of the writer's personality. J. M. Thompson exists, but I cannot picture him. Obviously he is scholarly, equable, equitable. There is no righteous indignation in him, no hero worship, no cynicism. He is free from eloquence, sentiment, irony, and pity. His sole desire is to find out "how things actually happened." But the selection of the "things" is unaccountable. Most military events are minimized: Thompson is no Oman and no Fletcher Pratt. But the emphasis is not on diplomacy, politics, economics, or culture either; and least of all on psychology, individual or collective. Thompson follows a thread of his own, and keeps his own counsel. Perhaps he is not aware of his own secret.

We wonder for instance why the peace of Amiens, "received in England with demonstrations of joy risen almost to madness," should be dismissed with a casual reference, a single paragraph. The first seven chapters and the last three are strictly chronological; but the five in between are topical—a mixed method which involves many repetitions and some confusion.

For Thompson the climax of Napoleon's career came, not in 1811 or

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1809 or 1805, but in 1802. The Empire merely covered with a dazzling cloak a steady deterioration—weariness at home, mounting resistance abroad. I agree. But I would go farther back. Napoleon is but one figure in the mighty drama that began in 1789. The wrong choice was taken, against Carnot's advice, in 1795, when the government followed the will-o'-the-wisp of the "natural frontiers." Not even a wiser Napoleon could have made this unnatural extension of France acceptable either to the dynasties or to the peoples. Napoleon fought brilliantly a losing battle on an issue which had been determined when he was still a fledgling brigadier. Perhaps the fatal decision came even earlier, when England, in 1793, elected to stand with European reaction against the French Revolution. With England as a benevolent neutral, Danton rather than Robespierre might have steered the course of France, and there would have been no Napoleon. It was Burke who begat the Empire.

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Thompson is completely free from the delusions of the "legend." He shows its inception in St. Helena. Its growth—beyond the scope of this book—was due to two causes. The first was reaction: the Holy Alliance in defense of the Free World supported all the Francos, Syngman Rhees, and Chiang Kai-sheks of those days. The second was romanticism: Napoleon became one of the great myths of the time, like Don Juan, Faust, and Prometheus, and with the same disregard of historical realities.

Reticent to the end, Thompson reserves the moralizing for the very last sentence, and that a quotation from Marshal Foch: "He forgot that war is not the highest aim, for peace is above war." In contemporary terms, Napoleon was one of those "realists" who hold that there is no substitute for victory, and that you cannot negotiate except from a position of strength, when discussion becomes dictation. So he perished by the sword.

ALBERT GUERARD

A New Venture

ALL MY ENEMIES. By Stanley Baron. Ballantine Books. Cloth, $1.50; Paper, 35 cents.

MR. BARON'S second novel comes to us under the imprint of a new publishing house, distinguished from other publishers by its announced policy of printing novels in two editions: a trade edition for the bookstores at $1.50 to $2 and a paperbound edition at 35 to 50 cents for the magazine outlets and wherever paper-covered books are sold. Obviously in this kind of venture both the author and his publisher are taking a chance—the author with his reputation, the publisher with his money—at least until it can be determined how the public is going to react.

"All My Enemies" is a spy thriller, in mood and temper very similar to the "entertainments" of Graham Greene. I have no hesitation in asserting that Mr. Baron is better at entertaining than Mr. Greene. Scene after scene is brought off with a crispness and a surefooted confidence in his material that mark Mr. Baron as a writer of distinction: a tense Jewish family dinner in the Bronx, a bleak day on the boardwalk at Atlantic City, a train ride from New York to Philadelphia, a walk in Central Park.

Although some 75 to 100 pages elapse before we find out what Schneider, the Communist agent, is up to, we are caught up from the very outset in his rapid adjustment to the bewildering complexities of New York life; and we are not forced to plow through any of the portentous pseudo-philosophizing that mars Mr. Greene's stories. Schneider is a thinking man, but Mr. Baron does not make the mistake of injecting irrelevant ideas into the story, or at least not until it is too late to matter much.

In the course of carrying out his assignment—to establish contact with Dr. Tellermann, an eminent bacteriologist who has been barred from his research because of a previous meaningless Communist affiliation, and to persuade him to flee to Russia to carry on his work in biological warfare—Schneider meets some fascinating people. One is his former mistress, an ex-Communist who is now cooperating with the F. B. I. and earning her living by writing political analyses of Eastern Europe; another is a simple Italian manicurist with whom he becomes involved on the most available level because she is lonely and trusts him implicitly. In neither case is there any genuine reason for Schneider to become enmeshed other than the building of a tense plot situation, but even while we recognize the dangers in his basically senseless activities, we are grateful for the opportunity to meet these people, particularly the political woman, a real flesh-and-blood person.

But our gratitude cannot run away with us, and in the end we must recognize that Mr. Baron's plot is claptrap, and that we have been held to the end only by his admirable intelligence and by the respect he has for the English language. Unfortunately Mr. Baron's interests seem to end where those of the really serious novelist would begin: we are of course interested in the hunter and the hunted from the beginning of their life and death game, and we are fascinated by any glimpses we may be given into their minds, but for us the game cannot end with the discovery of the pumpkin papers. What did Alger Hiss think when the papers were turned up? What did he think during his trials? When he went to jail?

What did Fuchs think when he was convicted? Were his confession and repentance genuine? And what of Pontecorvo and the two English diplomats *after* they had made their way behind the Iron Curtain? These questions are not raised by either Schneider or Tellermann, the scientist. They are questions of life and death, questions which must torture the human spirit, and it must make us uneasy when they, and the terrible predicaments from which they arise, are trifled with—even by such skilful triflers as Mr. Baron. He has the ability to do much more, and it is to be hoped that he will.

Meanwhile it will be interesting to observe whether the Ballantine dual-edition idea catches hold. There is no reason why fast-moving and well-written novels like Mr. Baron's should not do well in paper covers, but the very practicality of publishing them simultaneously in hard-covered editions that sell for half the price of other novels may defeat itself. It has never been demonstrated that American book buyers will buy hard-cover novels primarily because they are cheap and convenient—although the margins in this particular volume are narrow and the type a little too small for comfort; but it has been demonstrated that they will buy books as gifts, as prestige items, and as a source of pleasure through the years, none of which qualifications are as yet met to a substantial degree by the new Ballantine list. These, however, are the kind of objections that are always raised to new ideas, and everyone who believes in making good books widely available will hope that Ballantine Books can prove them to be irrelevant objections.

HARVEY SWADOS

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HARVEY SWADOS recently published a short story in *New American Writing*.

Films

MANNY FARBER

I DON'T understand the belt people get out of overwrought, feminine pictures, but "My Cousin Rachel" must be regarded as a skilful blend of suspense, romantic acting, and infallible middle-brow direction. The first hour of the picture—which recalls "Rebecca," which in turn recalls "Jane Eyre"—tells us that a naturally sulky boy could be upset by a woman who seems to have poisoned the boy's beloved guardian after driving him crazy, spending his money, and carrying on with an Italian lawyer. After that, the boy falls in love with the Wicked Woman, and the second hour finds him living through a small-scale hell. The picture happens to be a mystery, but because it is tied to the wispy conventions of romantic fiction, it never gets on the road. There is a reliance on candlelit scenes which probably made for thrilling literary descriptions, but it means that the actor has to wade through a choppy filigree of lights and shadows before he can steal a crucial letter or jealously peer up at a boudoir window. The situations are of a type that could be rehearsed in chairs, the few active ones having a tendency to seem silly in a medium that depends so heavily on authenticity. For instance, the meatiest romantic sequence shows the hero climbing to a balcony at midnight, throwing a ton of the family jewels at the siren's feet, and then kissing her with such force that the camera lens begins to perspire and the scene fades off into a blur. Richard Burton, in the anguished hero's role, has an active grace, and can do anything Montgomery Clift invented—looking and listening with the wide-awake surprise of a woodpecker who has just happened into an oil field—with more style and masculinity. Olivia de Havilland does not seem either charming or wicked, but now that she has been through Shaw-Shakespeare, she can musicalize every sentence, without seeming to know what she is saying, and move with the firm, cold conviction of an actress who has finally overcome an inferiority complex.

"Above and Beyond" stalks a real-life hero named Paul W. Tibbetts, Jr., in a picture that is interesting despite its lack of filmic virtues. The history it simplifies begins at the atom-bomb proving ground and goes on to Hiroshima, and I suppose part of the entertainment lies in watching M-G-M make a valiant attempt to dodge the reverential clichés of shrines-to-the-living. At the start Tibbetts's wife is worrying over whether her marriage is on the rocks, and then via a two-hour-six-minute flashback we see her husband tangle with the big brass, B-29's, and security agents, acquire a reputation as a swelled-up perfectionist disciplinarian, neglect his marriage, and generally worry-frown his way through the difficulties of running the bomb tests at Wendover, Utah. Robert Taylor ushers in the atomic age with a good, negative performance that consists of trying not to look too communicative, handsome, or triumphant.

At no point does the camera tell the story; the film is done in clear, sunny shots with the main fact always anchored firmly in the center of the screen. Anyone who remembers early air films like

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"Only Angels Have Wings" is bound to miss the loose-jointed animation of a Grant or Cagney, the climactic excitement of watching a box-kite plane take off in a storm from a postage-stamp airfield, such visual inventions as a hawk smashing through the glass of a plane, and the unforgettable tempo of the crash ending in "Ceiling Zero." This script is on the mild side all the way ("Dimples eight two from north Tinian tower"); when the first shock wave from the bomb hits the Enola Gay, a white light fills the plane—the camera seems to have snapped suddenly—and then the movie settles back into its precise treading of general facts. It might have been more interesting if someone had been more faithful to trivia—like showing the human side of the fateful crew that started chomping on ham sandwiches and no doubt wondered whether radioactivity would make them sterile. But the script skips from the newsreel record of Hiroshima back to Tinian, where you see Tibbetts walking toward a four-star general and another decoration. Also, there is a remarkable reluctance by M-G-M to credit anyone (Truman, Stimson) but Mr. Tibbetts for the terrible decision of killing so many Japs with one efficient maneuver.

Though no one can make a certain kind of tragical-comical-pastoral picture like the French, "Jeux Interdits" is the only one I have liked since "Goupi Mains Rouge." The story—about the morbid entertainments of a five-year-old girl whose parents have been machine-gunned in an air raid and an eleven-year-old peasant boy who takes her home—has been managed by René Clément in the shocking but convincing style of the "Red Hands" film. The most remarkable performance is that of a peasant father (Lucien Hubert) who seems to be created out of unfertile country earth. His manner—the cigarette that drips off the front of his lip, the way he beats up his kids with a mellow brutality, his way of wasting through the hours between supper and sleep—is achieved with the most frugal type of pantomime. Yet it tells you all that exasperates him about his family and all that he has picked up in wisdom through a lifetime. The homely settings are photographed in crude darks and lights so that the scenes of children fleeing down a country road at night give the scary, bleak, adventuresome feeling of country life to a degree that must be recalled from childhood experience.

Most of my reservations are small: there is a cartoon quality about the farmers' feud, and at least three of the teen-agers think it is right to play country kids as morons. The only major dislike has to do with Director René Clément's glibness with difficult effects. As a result the movie goes precious in those places where it should be plainly and simply terrifying, as when the five-year-old starts down a long, completely vertical ladder and later when she reacts to violence with the cheek-clawing hysteria of an over-protected spinster. Nevertheless, his best effects are quite simple and original; these usually have to do with showing the fleeting emotions of small children when their games are a sort of startling mimicry of what is going on in the adult world. The two stars, Brigette Fossey and Georges Poujouly, manage to be natural, comic, and utterly moving in a hair-raising way without even trying. You should see this film, even at art-theater prices.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VERDI'S earlier works were once described by Bernard Shaw as "that ultra-classical product of Romanticism, the grandiose Italian opera in which the executive art consists in a splendid display of personal heroics." That grandiose quality and the splendid display of heroics are things one has to hear as well as see; indeed if one doesn't hear them in the music there is little use in one's seeing them on the stage. And the Metropolitan's new "Forza del Destino" is defeated throughout, first of all, by the performance of the orchestral part under Stiedry's nerveless direction—the complete lack of cohesive tension, sharpness, and power, as distinguished from the mere raucous noise that is produced occasionally. In addition there is Milanov's singing, not a splendid display but a painful struggle—or at least it is painful for me to listen to a voice which has lost all its former loveliness and flexibility maneuver and scoop and push in the production of sounds that at best are no longer agreeable even in mezza voce and are cold even when powerful and clear, and that at worst are tremulously shrill and not absolutely on pitch. Even Tucker's singing, though clear and secure, sounds constricted as though from strain; and his voice lacks sensuous warmth and luster. That sensuous beauty—refreshing the ear as water the parched earth—one hears only in Warren's singing, but only in the few quiet passages: most of the time one hears the bawling that forces his voice into a huge, clouding, ear-shattering vibrato.

Nor is the stage production—made sumptuous and distinguished by Berman's sets and costumes—at all times dramatically effective. Its worst failure is the act with the three scenes at Velletri, in which one sees not only feeble and laughable details of stage action contrived by Dr. Graf but some absurdities that are a consequence of the combining of the three scenes into one. Its announced purpose is to eliminate the interruptions for change of scenery (and incidentally it saves the cost of two sets); but what it does is to present as one continuous sequence the events in three places separated by intervals of time—with the result that whereas formerly, as Verdi had it, one saw Don Alvaro carried off on a stretcher badly wounded and then saw him, after the interval of sufficient time indicated by the lowered curtain, reappear in a different place recovered from his wound, now at the Metropolitan one sees him carried off and, absurdly, walk back on in the same scene a few minutes later. What happens in this work is preposterous enough without bright new ideas that convert even the occasional bit of sense in it to additional nonsense.

Tuning in for the broadcast of a later performance of "Forza" I heard Mr. Bing, in his little speech of welcome to the radio audience, say that no better singers could be heard anywhere in the world today than those who were to sing the leading roles that afternoon. My first thought was that Mr. Bing undoubtedly knew better than he spoke—knew, for example, of Renata Tebaldi and knew that she was a better singer than Milanov today—until I remembered his engagement of the tenor Del Monaco. My further thought was of the danger of telling the public Milanov's tremulous shrillness was the best singing it could hear anywhere: the public might, in Shaw's words, say reverently, "This is classical music. This is above our heads, this is," and decide not to listen to it anymore—until I remembered that the public applauds bad singing as loudly as good, Del Monaco as much as Bjoerling, Milanov as much as Steber. And my final thought was that an enlightened director presenting opera to such an unenlightened public will not take advantage of its lack of discrimination but will rather try to develop in it the discrimination it lacks—will try, that is, by letting the public hear only what is good, to give it the ability to perceive that something is bad (which requires, of course, that he himself be aware of the difference between Del Monaco's hard-voiced yelling and Bjoerling's lustrous-voiced lyricism).

With ballet at City Center the objective is similar, the method different. A management which would like the people who are impressed by public representations of private neuroses and corny cuteness and humor to acquire a susceptibility to, and taste for, poetic suggestion through dancing, is right in presenting the dance ballets of Balanchine on programs with the others. It is right first of all because of the obligation to present the work of other choreographers than Balanchine—certainly when this work is as pleasant and engaging as "Mother Goose" or "Cakewalk," and even when it is as bad as some of Robbins's pretentious pieces but the product of gifts which he may again use in the unpretentious way that produced "Fancy Free" and his brilliant ballets in musical shows. It is right also because when people come to see "The Age of Anxiety" and "The Cage" they also see "Sinfonie Concertante" and "Four Temperaments," and—no less important—provide some of the money needed to keep "Sinfonie Concertante" and "Four Temperaments" on view. And the method seems to have worked and to be paying off: the programs composed preponderantly of Balanchine pieces have attracted so much larger audiences this year that the engagement has been extended indefinitely. The fact that some of those pieces aren't scheduled during the first weeks of the extension doesn't mean that the method has been abandoned after it has succeeded: presumably it is in order to make room for a few novelties; and "Card Game," "Orpheus," "Sinfonie Concertante," and "Caracole," (with, one hopes also, "Divertimento") will reappear in later weeks.

Meanwhile an additional word to complete my report on Balanchine's "Metamorphoses." Except for the quite lovely music for the wonderful supported adagio the Hindemith score is poor; and its astonishing banal proclamations in the final movement have defeated Balanchine completely. But the earlier music has stimulated him to produce two scenes which I see as large-scale developments of what he did with the American musical show style in "Card Game"—energetic, eccentric, and jazzy, and with a spectacular theatrical brilliance from Karinska's costumes and Jean Rosenthal's lighting.

CORRECTION: In last week's issue of *The Nation* "Religion in 20th-Century America" was mistakenly identified as published by Howard University Press. Harvard University Press is the publisher.

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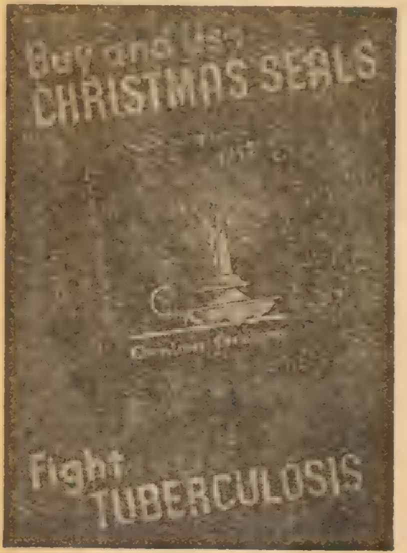

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Political Tests for Musicians

Dear Sirs: The Toronto Symphony Orchestra is one of the greatest cultural achievements of Canadian musicians and their supporting public. Today that body is endangered by its refusal to reengage six artists simply because, out of a season of eighty concerts, they cannot meet one engagement in Detroit. The United States immigration authorities, for unexplained reasons, have refused them border-crossing permits. The usual contract permits several absences in a season for reasons beyond the artists' control. Actually, there is seldom a full complement at any performance.

No question of the competence of these musicians is involved. They are all Canadian citizens and have served with the orchestra for several years. If these dismissals are carried through, it will mean that any musician, before being employed by the Toronto Symphony, will have to meet unknown requirements laid down in some other country before his talents as a Canadian musician are recognized. If this is tolerated, Canadian talent will go to waste, and our leading musical body will deteriorate. The unexplained action of an immigration authority other than Canadian must not be allowed to decide whether Canadians are to be permitted to hear Canadian musicians, or to employ them. In such an atmosphere no art or artist can thrive.

Toronto HENRY F. BIRD

Lincoln Students Support Mugo

Dear Sirs: I am writing to express my appreciation of Professor St. Clair Drake's article entitled The Terror That Walks by Day in the November 29 issue of *The Nation*. The Student Senate of Lincoln University has passed a resolution in support of Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, and we sincerely hope that Mugo will be able to complete his education here at Lincoln University so that he may some day help his people. The resolution reads as follows:

> We the Student Senate of Lincoln University hereby express our wholehearted support for Mr. Mugo Gatheru in his efforts to remain in the United States of America in order to obtain an American education. We are proud to state that we have a strong faith in Mr. Gatheru's integrity as an individual and in his ability as a college student.
>
> Mr. Gatheru hopes some day to help educate his people so that they may be able to help in the democratic progress of mankind, and we have a sincere faith in his desire to do this. To this end, we feel that the deportation order sent to Mr. Gatheru by the United States Immigration Bureau should be reconsidered and subsequently revoked.
>
> A democratic Africa can only be obtained through the hard and sincere work of its educated men, and we therefore hope that Mr. Gatheru will be able to take part in this democratic progress.
>
> [*Signed*] STUDENT SENATE BODY,
> Lincoln University

As Professor Drake pointed out in his article, it will be very difficult for Mugo-son-of-Gatheru to believe in the true meaning of the Statue of Liberty if the United States Immigration Bureau allows itself to do the dirty work of the Kenya government—a government that is opposed to everything the Statue of Liberty stands for.

MARTIN L. KILSON, JR.

Lincoln University, Pa.

For a Vocal Opposition

Dear Sirs: I am writing to you in the belief that your readers may be interested in an organization formed in Wisconsin last week. With the thought that the people who voted for Stevenson were inspired by his magnificent radio addresses, "Dollars for Sense" was organized to raise money to keep Governor Stevenson talking sense to the American people. If all the people who voted for Stevenson contributed one dollar apiece, a fund of over twenty-six million dollars would be raised.

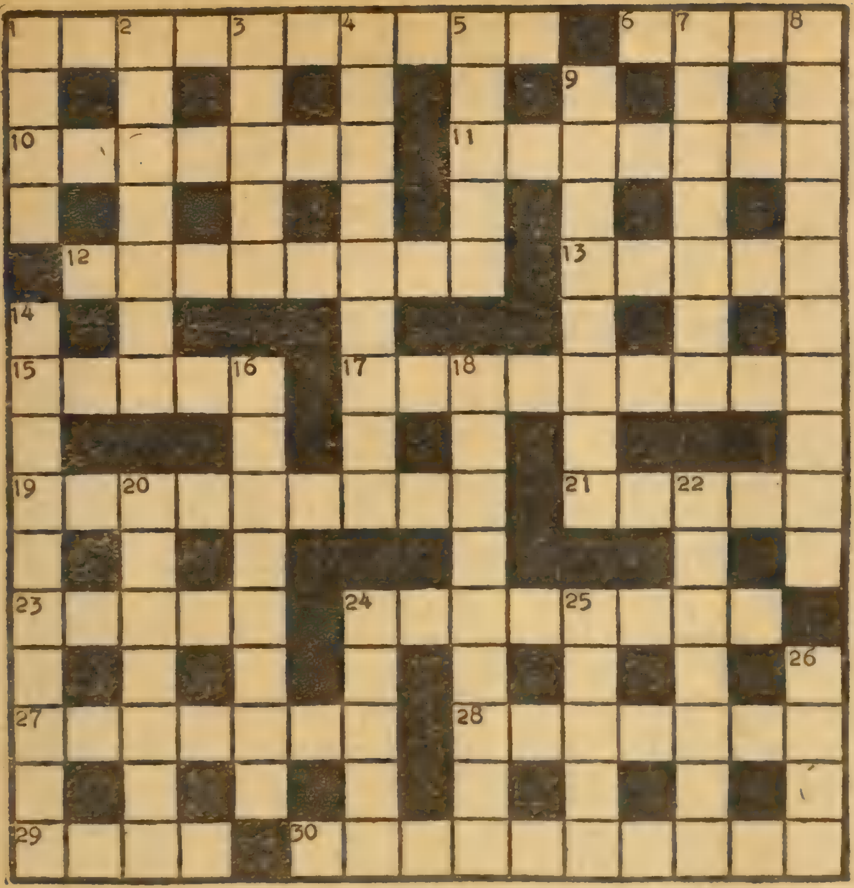
The plan was launched in Madison, Wisconsin, at a post-election meeting of persons bearing no party label and was received with great enthusiasm. As a result of stories carried by the wire services, contributions and offers of help have been received from all parts of the country.

I hope that every reader of *The Nation* who wants Governor Stevenson to continue to talk sense to the American people will send his dollar to "Dollars for Sense," 911 Swarthmore Court, Madison, Wisconsin.

HAROLD R. WOLFE,
Chairman, "Dollars for Sense"
Madison, Wis.

Crossword Puzzle No. 495

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Latin-American cave-human? You shouldn't be surprised with one! (4-3, 3)
6, 12 and 24 across. How to hang on to more than one fool? (4, 4, 4, 5, 3)
10 Influential, if good. (7)
11 In the water, it's a bad matter that bears a little weight first. (7)
12 See 6
13 Originally square for the inverse of *mu*. (5)
15 Furnished with propelling blades. (5)
17 Descriptive of layers. (9)
19 Sounds like one who believes conditions are favorable might be lamenting, yet they might represent your aims. (5-4)
21 Short trees. (5)
23 Barely a head, by the sound of it, but it's 15. (5)
24 See 6.
27 I retain it, but it's sometimes not easy to overcome. (7)
28 Ivan Skavar was a wily one! (7)
29 See 18 down
30 A ridge on the Little Big Horn for Long Yellow Hair? (10)

DOWN

1 He's always bringing up the subject of Christmas! (4)
2 See 18 down.
3 The Waldorf's was famous. (5)
4 Note—it's my profession! (9)
5 Granulated sugar? (5)
7 Grass to spare, obviously! (7)
8 Does he teach ancient history? (4, 6)
9 Either the little mother or the short street, indicating a mourning period. (4-4)
14 Combs out, in scarcely any tangle. (10)
16 What seems dreary? This sort of tale does. (8)
18, 2 down and 29 across. What happens if you avoid applying it to the grindstone? (3, 2, 4, 3, 4, 4)
20 Openings, with you surrounded by sweethearts. (7)
22 The mainland portion of Spanish Guinea. (3, 4)
24 Expect to find a carol singer here? (5)
25 Liliaceous if a plant, magnoliaceous if a tree. (5)
26 Just a trifle put on before others. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 494

ACROSS:—1 STRATAGEMS; [illegible] IBIS; 10 REMARKS; 11 GENTIAN; 12 PERMANENT TOOTH; 14 HEDONIST; 15 EVELYN; 16 RIBBON; 18 STANHOPE; 22 DARNING NEEDLES; 24 GRISTLE; 25 BETWEEN; 26 SAGE; 27 PLAY BY PLAY.

DOWN:—1 SHROPSHIRE; 2 RUMORED; 3 TERRA INCOGNITA; 4 GUSHERS; 5 MIGHTY; 7 BRISTOL; 8 SANE; 9 INCONVENIENTLY; 13 INCESSANCY; 17 BEAMING; 19 TENABLY; 20 OIL WELL; 21 ANNEAL; 23 AGES.

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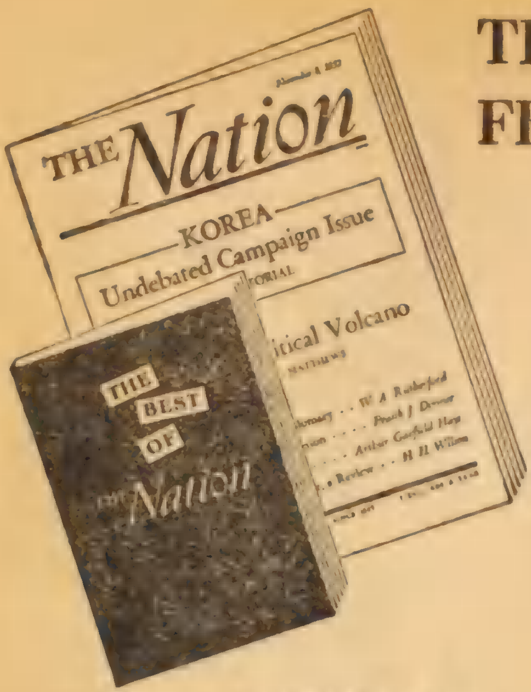

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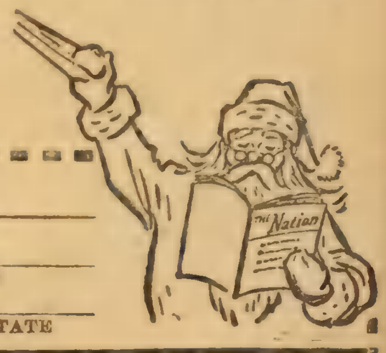

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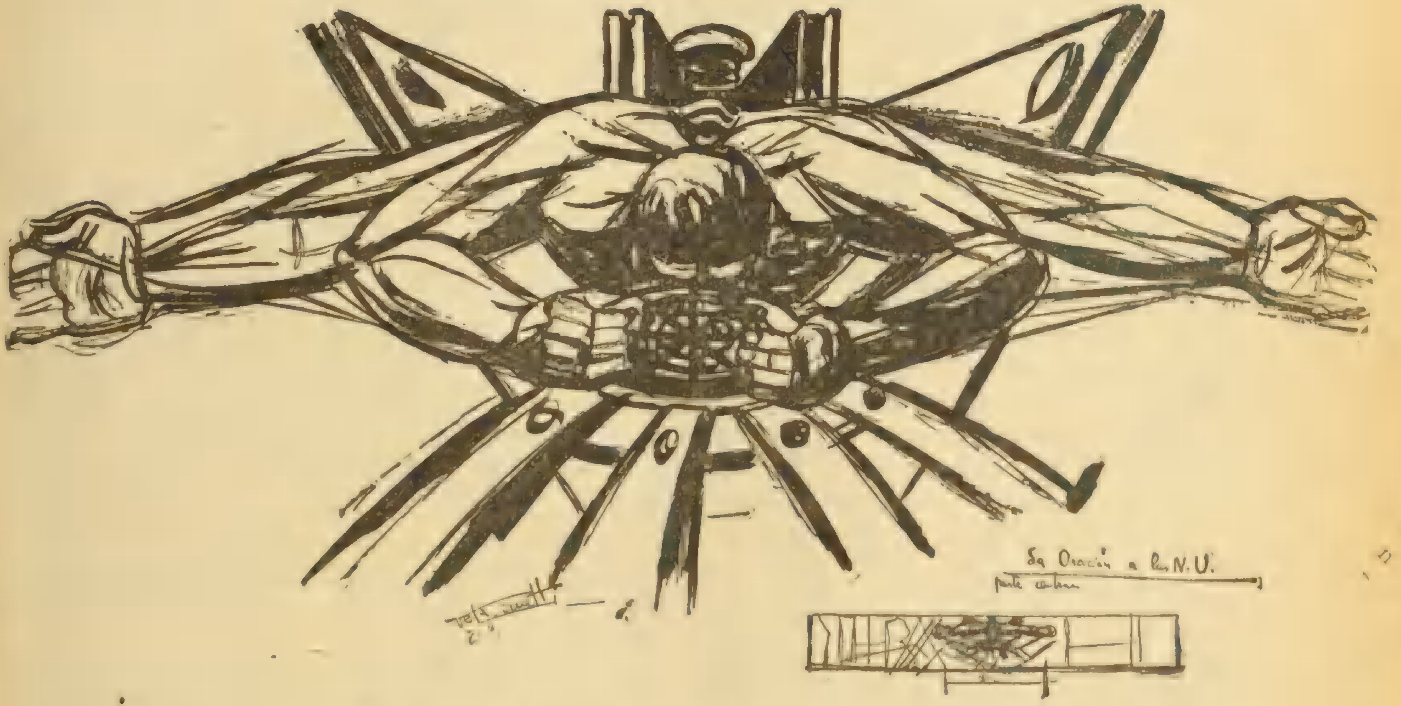
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AMERICAN CHRISTMAS, 1952

WHEN the wise old kings of Egypt decided to have a ball, I'm assured, they placed a mummy at the head of the table to remind themselves, even at the height of the festivities, of their own mortality. We might today with equal wisdom, in this our own season of celebration, nod respectfully toward the head of our own high-heaped board. Lest we also prove too proud.

For ball or no ball, any season at all, we live today in a laboratory of human suffering as vast and terrible as that in which Dickens and Dostoevski wrote, the only real difference being that the England of Dickens and the Russia of Dostoevski could not afford the sound screens and the smoke screens with which we so ingeniously conceal our true condition from ourselves.

So accustomed have we become to the testimony of the photo-weeklies, backed by witnesses from radio and TV, establishing us as the happiest, healthiest, sanest, wealthiest, most inventive, fun-loving, and tolerant folk yet to grace the earth of man that we tend to forget that these are bought-and-paid-for witnesses and that all their testimony is perjured.

FOR IT IS NOT in the afternoon in Naples nor yet at evening in Marseilles, not in Indian hovels half sunk in an ancestral civilization's ruined halls or within lion-colored tents pitched down the Sahara's endless edge that we find faces debauched by sheer uselessness. Not in the backwash of poverty and war but in the backwash of prosperity and progress.

Here in the back streets and the boulevards of New York and Chicago and Los Angeles, unused, unusable, and useless faces, so purposeless yet so smug, harassed, or half-dehumanized, so self-satisfied yet somehow so abject—for complacency struggles strangely there with guilt. Faces of the American Century, full of such an immense irresponsibility toward themselves.

As though the human cost of our marvelous technology has indeed been much too great.

Do American faces so often look so lost because they are most tragically trapped between a very real dread of coming alive to something more than merely existing and an equal dread of going down to the grave without having done more than merely exist?

If so, this is truly the great American disease, and would account in part for the fact that we lead the world today in incidence of insanity, criminality, alcoholism, narcoticism, cancer, homicide, and perversion in sex as well as perversion just for the pure hell of the thing.

NEVER BEFORE till here and now have men and women been so divided by the discrepancy between life and the representation of life.

Nowhere has any people set itself a moral code so rigid while applying it so flexibly.

Never has any people been so outwardly confident that God is on its side while inwardly terrified lest He be not.

"It is as if we are being endowed with a vast and thoroughly appointed body," Walt Whitman prophesied, "and left with little or no soul."

A consideration recently emphasized by William Faulkner when he observed, in accepting the Nobel Prize for Literature, that "the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the heart in conflict with itself. They write not of life but of lust. Not of the heart but of the glands."

I PURELY DOUBT that the young man or woman writing today has forgotten a thing. More likely, he is simply so intimidated by our souped-up drive toward conformity that he declines any risk which might conceivably imperil his livelihood.

For how can he write of the heart and yet conform? There are no Broyles bills for the heart. Its loyalty cannot be bounded by precinct or ward. The heart has but one nationality and that humanity's.

Yet, precisely as the Russians drive blindly to penalize all independence of action and thought, our specialists press the stethescope of constituted authority to the American breast in the hope of catching the faint murmur of dissent.

The condition of liberty is the capacity to doubt one's own faith and to doubt it out loud as well.

The Out-Loud Doubters who took American thought out of the vault where the McCarthys and McCarrans of their time had locked it—Dreiser and Mencken and Sinclair Lewis and Lincoln Steffens—are down in the dust of the '20's.

And again the anonymous little men in the clean white collars will assure us, through editorial and rotogravure, that only by superbazooka and thunderjet can our famous American way of life be saved.

That if we can but build a space platform before anyone else we shall thus insure national contentment for keeps.

A Carthaginian faith in the ships of trade and the chariots of war as sound as Whittaker Chambers. As misleading as MacArthur. As complacent as Capehart. As suicidal as Forrestal. As false as McCarthy.

"Now git out of the way," Mr. Dooley once doubted out loud, "for here comes Property, drunk 'n raisin' Cain."

BUT BEHIND Property's billboards and Property's headlines and Property's pulpits and Property's arsenals, the people of Dostoevski and Dickens yet endure the ancestral problems of the heart.

It is there that the young man or woman seeking to report the American Century truthfully today will have to seek, if it is the truth he seeks.

A Merry Christmas to all. And to all a good night.

NELSON ALGREN

[*Mr. Algren was asked recently by the editor of the Chicago* Daily News *to comment on the state of American writing today. His reply appeared in the* Daily News *on December 3 and is reprinted above with the author's and the paper's permission. Mr. Algren is the author of "The Man with the Golden Arm," which won the National Book Award in 1949 as the most distinguished American novel of the year.*]

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 27, 1952 NUMBER 26

The Bill of Rights: Burial or Resurrection?

ON DECEMBER 15, in an impressive ceremony, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence were removed from the Library of Congress and placed in a shrine under the dome of the National Archives Building in Washington. Sealed in a purified helium atmosphere between sheets of glass, the sacred documents will now be protected against chemical decay and insect damage. At night they will be lowered into an ingenious fifty-ton safe manufactured by the Mosler Safe Company, makers of the gold-storage vaults at Fort Knox, and guaranteed to provide "security against almost every conceivable hazard."

But there are certain hazards which even the guaranties of the Mosler Safe Company do not cover. One of them is complacency. On the occasion of this 161st anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union has announced that according to newspaper editors in nineteen cities civil liberties in general are better safeguarded today than they were a year ago. Do the national and local officers of the A. C. L. U. actually share this judgment? It was only the other day that Justice William O. Douglas, in an address before the Authors' Guild of America, said that the pulse beat of freedom is feebler now than at any other time in the history of the United States. And the A. C. L. U. apparently forgot to poll the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, which in a fine editorial titled A Living Bill of Rights has declared that "the almost hysterical attack on civil liberties threatening the United States today" is "no longer a nibbling at the Bill of Rights, but a threat to engulf and destroy it."

An even greater danger than complacency is found in the attitude of persons who, while professing undying devotion to the liberties of prosperous majorities, refuse to stand up for those of despised minorities. These are the people who, as President Truman observed in his speech dedicating the new shrine, believe that the immortal phrase, "we, the people," should be amended to read: "some of the people of the United States, but not including those we disapprove of or disagree with, do ordain and establish the Constitution." "They are people," as Mr. Truman put it, "who believe it is too dangerous to proclaim liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants."

Exceptions to the unequivocal, unconditional, and unqualified guaranties of the Bill of Rights, if tolerated too long, will sooner or later lead to its destruction. This—the fundamental point about constitutional freedoms—was stated with great force and clarity by Justice Hugo Black in his concurring opinion in the recent Supreme Court decision invalidating Oklahoma's loyalty oath, one of the few hopeful omens for civil liberties in 1952. "We must have freedom of speech for all," Justice Black pointed out, "or we will in the long run have it for none but the cringing and the craven. . . . The right to speak on matters of public concern must be wholly free or eventually it will be wholly lost." The moment we say that those who have been labeled "subversive" have all the rights of other citizens *except* that they may not be teachers or government employees or work in industrial plants or travel abroad or publish books or give lectures or appear on radio programs, we have destroyed the underlying principle of the Bill of Rights. Painful as it may be, we must either defend the civil liberties of all citizens who are adult, competent (in the perhaps too generous sense that they have not yet been committed to institutions), and law-abiding or forfeit our right as individuals to claim the protection of those guaranties.

ALONG with complacency and cowardice, blindness to reality is a major threat to the Bill of Rights today. Many opinion leaders feel compelled to assume that every measure proposed in the name of national security is actually intended to achieve that end. To assume this is in many cases to assume also the necessity for the particular measure, even though it may appear dangerous in principle. Once this concession is made, opposition to the measure on its merits is no longer possible. Even the skeptic is driven to accept it as a weapon to be

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applied *only* against so-called subversives. Thus measures are adopted and practices are sanctioned in the name of national security which in total effect abrogate the Bill of Rights, and because this happens bit by bit, almost by stealth, the public is all too little aware of the direction and end result of the process.

Plain speech is needed if this business of amending the Bill of Rights by indirection is to be stopped. It was time that someone said what Justice Black said in the opinion from which we quoted above, that "test oaths are notorious tools of tyranny . . . which should be unspeakably odious to a free people." Test oaths and similar measures, he added, are aimed "at coercing and controlling the minds of men," not at safeguarding the nation against spies and traitors. "The real explanation," to quote again from the editorial of the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, "of this threat to American traditions of freedom is in the ruthless exploitation of the Communist scare by politicians who know that fear is a potent force, especially in the jittery atmosphere created by discovery of mass-destruction weapons. . . . But subversion and espionage are not the concern of most of these political opportunists. They do not deal with overt acts of treason, which the law recognizes and punishes. They seek to make capital of what they regard as treasonable thoughts."

THOSE who believe that McCarthy's prime aim is to safeguard America against enemies, foreign and domestic, reveal a credulity as great as that of the Germans who thought Hitler was simply a misguided and emotional patriot. Our freedom is our security. Every restriction on free speech has a direct relevance to national security. To deny the rights guaranteed by the first ten amendments is, as President Truman has said, "worse than dangerous, it is absolutely fatal to liberty. The eternal threat to liberty should not drive us into suppressing liberty at home. Those who want the government to regulate matters of the mind and spirit are like men who are so afraid of being murdered that they commit suicide to avoid assassination." Again and again in his dedication speech the President warned that in enshrining our sacred documents we should not make of them "mummies in their glass cases" or "curiosities" or "glass idols." We confess to have been bothered by the same misgivings.

If General Eisenhower intends to check the inroads that have been made on civil liberties in the last four years he will lose no time in implementing Senator Lodge's suggestion that a commission of distinguished citizens, from all walks of life, be appointed to survey the problem of freedom and security. Let this commission, working with the Fund for the Republic just set up by the Ford Foundation, roll back the fog of fear which today obscures the vision of freedom in America.

In the meantime let the President-elect use his great prestige, while it is still intact, to demand an abatement of the witch hunt. Let him heed the words of the *Post-Gazette:* "The ultimate aim of most of these Congressional inquisitions is to confuse and divide the American people. They are intended to strike heavily at the free exchange of ideas and information, to intimidate all critics of political, economic, and social orthodoxy, to take the guts and meaning out of the Bill of Rights." The General can assume that the Bill of Rights has now been adequately protected against the ravages of time and the possibility of physical destruction. His task is to see that the rights which it guarantees are respected by the government and freely exercised by the people.

The Shape of Things

Peace vs. Power Politics

The stultifying effect of power blocs, large and small, was dramatically demonstrated when the General Assembly failed to muster a two-thirds' majority for a resolution calling upon the Arab states and Israel to attempt to settle their differences by direct negotiations. The resolution violated the rights neither of the Arab states nor of Israel and rescinded no previous resolutions of the United Nations.

From the violent opposition organized by the Arab states it was clear that they knew negotiation was inevitable and must eventually produce a settlement. Why they fought the inevitable is also clear. Hatred of Israel has been a lightning rod used by the Arab governments to divert the rising anger of their people against misery and corruption.

Despite Arab opposition the resolution, introduced by a group of neutral powers, was adopted in the Ad Hoc Committee by a vote of thirty-two to thirteen. A last-minute maneuver, however, produced its defeat in the plenary session by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-one, with fifteen abstentions. The final vote saw the Arab-Asian bloc, except for Burma, spearheaded by the Soviet bloc, in solid opposition to twenty-four countries led by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.

The only state which gained anything from the result is the Soviet Union. Every Arab news-agency dispatch from the U. N. gave Russia credit for the victory, thus raising its stock sky-high in the Arab world. The irony is that fifteen states, all opposed to the Soviet Union, should by their abstentions have given Moscow this prize, among them twelve which abstained in deference to the Vatican, the other three being Turkey, Greece, and Nationalist China. The Russians had taken no part in the debate, had abstained on the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee, and had voted against the amendment on the internationalization of Jerusalem in the plenary session. Their vote against the resolution as a whole, explained by them as opposition to the continuance of the Conciliation Commission, was carefully calculated to seize the sudden opportunity to win the Arab public without effort and without cost.

If the U. N. has not the courage to ask two groups of states to try to settle their differences around the conference table, how can it hope to settle the more fundamental issues behind the cold war?

Dilemmas in Oil

Iran continues to involve the State Department in a series of interlocking dilemmas. The department sympathizes with Britain's position since it, too, is concerned with defending the sanctity of international contracts; at the same time it fears that Whitehall, by sticking so firmly to its legal rights, will force Iran into the Soviet orbit. Thus its recent cautious announcement that independent American companies might buy Iranian oil, if they cared to shoulder the legal risks, was in part a sign to Premier Mossadegh that the United States was not towing the British line completely.

But this move must also be considered in relation to the current anti-trust case against the international oil cartel of which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is an integral part. What is the logic, Justice may very well have asked State, of discouraging independents from cutting into a monopoly which we are trying to prove illegal?

Yet the Anglo-Dutch-American group of giant international oil corporations is so powerfully entrenched that no solution of the Iranian problem may be possible without its cooperation. According to the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 22 a forthcoming offer to Iran will be based squarely on recognition of the cartel's total domination of world oil markets. Mossadegh is to be told, it is said, that Iran will never be able to sell more than a fraction of its oil unless it can use the transport and marketing facilities of the cartel which, in order to protect contracts in other Middle Eastern countries, will limit Iran's profits to fifty per cent of the gross. Further, Iran is to be warned that if a settlement is delayed much longer, the increased output of other fields will make Iranian production superfluous and unmarketable.

If this report proves correct, it would seem that the United States government has surrendered to the oil cartel, the continued prosecution of which will become a farce, and is asking Iran to follow its example.

"Cold War and Hot Emotions"

The Supreme Court in an eight-to-nothing decision has ruled that Oklahoma's loyalty oath is unconstitutional (see Oklahoma Loyalty Oath, *The Nation,* August 11, 1951). The decision indicates that the court has finally become concerned over the implications of its ill-considered decisions upholding the Los Angeles loyalty oath (the Garner case), New York's Feinberg law, and the Maryland statute requiring candidates for public office to take a test oath. The court seeks to distinguish the Oklahoma oath from the rest on the ground that the statute failed to make knowledge a factor in applying the doctrine of guilt by association. For instance, a teacher might join an organization without knowing that it had been listed as subversive or the organization might have ceased to be regarded as subversive or might not have been under subversive control during the time the teacher belonged to it.

The court has also come to recognize that the exclusion of a person from government employment on the ground of disloyalty is tantamount to a general blacklisting. "The stain is a deep one," says Justice Tom Clark, who wrote the opinion, ". . . a badge of infamy." Showing some sensitivity on the score that as Attorney General he drafted the loyalty order and prepared the first major list of "subversive" organizations, Justice Clark protests that the list was intended to have only "a limited evidentiary use" under the federal loyalty program. The protest is not impressive. Having carelessly lighted the fuse of a time-bomb, Justice Clark now says in effect that the explosion injured more persons than he had intended. The Oklahoma decision may point the way to an eventual reversal of the earlier decisions on loyalty oaths. Like the legislation and executive orders with which they deal, these decisions were clearly products of what Justice Clark now calls a time of "cold war and hot emotions."

Mr. Lie in Hot Water

The personnel policy of the United Nations is now certain to have a hearing at the resumed session of the General Assembly scheduled for February 24. Moreover, twenty of the twenty-nine persons discharged under the new policy adopted by Trygve Lie will have their cases reviewed by the U. N. Administrative Tribunal.

After notice had been served upon him by India, the Netherlands, and New Zealand that they would ask the steering committee to add the item to the agenda, Mr. Lie hurriedly made the request himself. Few issues have stirred the U. N. as profoundly as the personnel issue. In a preliminary hearing before the Fifth Committee delegation after delegation, large and small, made clear to Mr. Lie their common belief that he had exceeded his authority and had acted outside the Charter, and that the issue was one which could undermine the international organization itself.

The inclusion of the item on the February agenda is no assurance, however, that the recommendations of the panel of jurists, discussed in last week's issue, will be scrapped, or indeed that the Assembly will not be confronted with a *fait accompli.* Mr. Lie stoutly maintains that he alone has the authority to decide personnel questions and gives no assurance that he will desist from firing staff members under the recommendations now challenged. Moreover, it is clear that the pressures upon him to apply these recommendations will continue.

The State and Justice departments and the federal Civil Service Commission are collaborating, at the request of President Truman, on a plan to guarantee a "maximum of security" in the selection of United States citizens for employment at the United Nations. The plan itself has not been disclosed, but its very existence has no justification under the Charter. When completed it will no doubt be communicated to Mr. Lie and, if his present mood prevails, will probably be applied.

Pongam: Stupidity Plus Brutality

As usual the Russians in the U. N. made the worst of a good bargain. By holding the General Assembly in session all night for a last-minute debate on its charge of "mass-murder" against the United States, and by the violence of its attack, Russia managed to get a forty-five-to-five vote against its resolution of censure. Even the Arab-Asian countries, usually critical of American handling of the Korean war and especially sensitive to charges of brutality, voted with the West.

Whatever its propaganda effect in Communist areas of the world, the Russian move had the general result, we believe, of handing the United States a tactical advantage it does not deserve. For Gromyko's speech tended to blur rather than highlight the tragic incident on Pongam Island, where more than 200 interned Communist civilians were killed or wounded by guards acting under American orders. Whatever the official explanations, most normal people reject the idea that unarmed men must be mowed down by machine-gun fire in order to stop them from demonstrating and otherwise disobeying orders. Even if they were "fanatical," even if their eyes were "glazed," even if they were acting under orders and planning a mass escape, it is difficult to accept the military view that they could be subdued only by being killed. It is a fact that no milder methods were tried, apparently because the steep hills made the use of tear gas and other non-lethal weapons difficult. Nor has it been explained why the prisoners, known to be hardshell Communists, should have been kept in such large units or the camps established on such rough and unmanageable terrain.

One need not accept Mr. Gromyko's preposterous charge that the United States is engaged in the "systematic extermination" of Communist prisoners, to admit that this second major killing within a year is a poor way of demonstrating our tender concern over the fate of Communist prisoners of war who might be repatriated against their will.

Austerity, Everywhere but in Washington

Pope Pius XII has approved style and dress modifications that will reduce the cost of a cardinal's wardrobe by about $1,000. The trains of the scarlet and violet cassocks which were formerly twenty feet in length may now be reduced by half, and the cardinal's violet robes may be made of wool instead of watered silk. The world situation being what it is, the Pope has enjoined "a sober tenor of life upon all and a measured and austere one particularly upon the clergy." At the same time from London comes word that Queen Elizabeth has given those peers who plan to attend but not to participate in the coronation ceremonies permission to dispense with costly robes of state. Peeresses may turn up wearing a tasseled velvet headpiece (price about $10) instead of the customary coronet (price $100 and up). All in all, the peeresses will save about $600, while hard-up peers will now be able to attend minus the conventional velvet robes trimmed with miniver and ermine. The keynote everywhere this year is austerity—everywhere, that is, except in Washington where the costliest inauguration in American history is being planned. To Europe we might now well say, in the spirit of the McCarran-Walters act, send us no more of your tired, your poor, your huddled masses; send us instead your robes of crimson velvet and violet watered silk, and any unused coronets you happen to have around.

Scholars and Statesmen Beware!

Both Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent are basically victims of the recently revived notion that scapegoats must be found whenever a nation changes its foreign policy. From Prague to Washington, last year's official policies can easily become this year's treasons. Lattimore was indicted, not because of discrepancies in his testimony, but because he had thought the "wrong" thoughts and come to conclusions of which the China Lobby did not approve. Scholarly research has now become an aspect of the science of policy. Let the research worker take care what facts he collects, what conclusions he draws.

Now that we are committed to the idea of prosecuting the architects of abandoned policies, logic demands that we hold the principals accountable too. Let General George C. Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Mr. Truman be brought to trial with Lattimore; let the Loyalty Review Board test their loyalty. They made the decisions; the policy was theirs. Lattimore and Vincent have been traduced by appointees of an Administration for which they are merely the stand-ins or substitute targets. Will the principals permit the proxies to stand trial for them or, while they still have the power, will they reverse these indefensible actions? Let them act now.

Proposals for Peace–1

[*Recently* The Nation *asked a number of men who influence the world's thinking what specific proposals, in their opinion, offered the best hope of bringing peace to the world. The following statement, first of the series, is by Lord John Boyd Orr, former director general of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1949. Other suggestions will be printed in subsequent issues.*]

THE people of all countries want peace above all else because they realize that a war with modern weapons would be the ultimate horror and that no country would escape. But the enormous powers which science has let loose cannot be bottled up again. At present they are being used for armament. If this continues, the piled-up bombs and shells will explode in another world war.

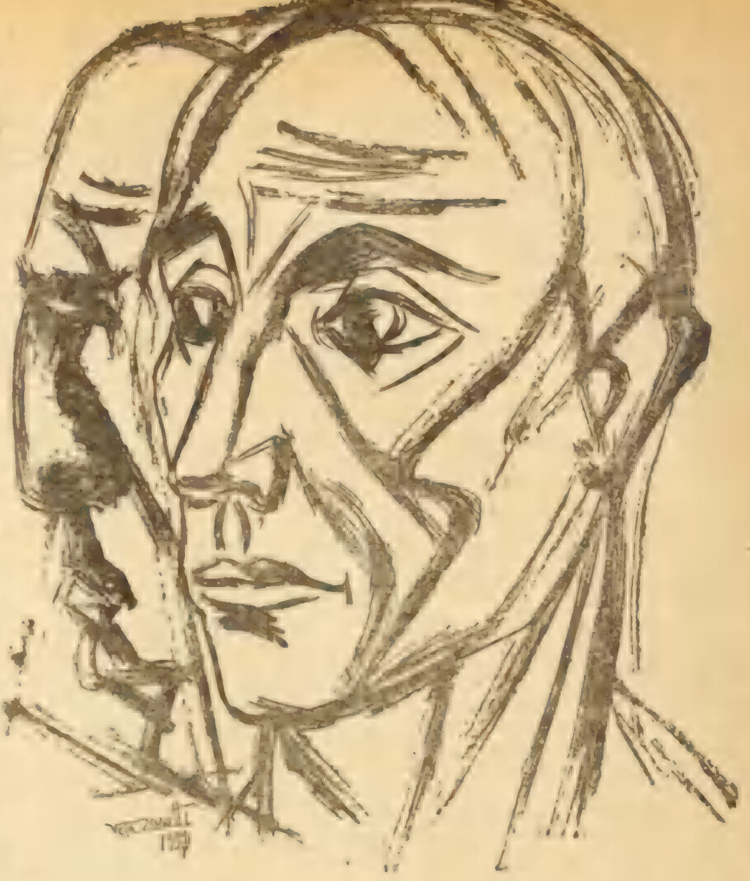
The best chance for peace lies in diverting the powers of science to constructive ends. The organization for this is at hand in the U. N. specialized agencies, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, established to put an end to hunger, the World Health Organization, established to eliminate preventable disease, and the World Bank, established to finance the development of the wealth of the earth for the benefit of all.

The U. N. has failed to fulfil the high hopes which it inspired not so much because the politicians have not resolved the conflict between capitalism and communism as because governments have refused to cooperate in the concrete measures these agencies were designed to carry through. Such cooperation would lead to a lessening of the political tension and be a first stage in the functional evolution of some form of world government, without which, as Churchill has said, there is no hope for the future.

A world food plan is the easiest way to begin. Increasing the world's food supply would stimulate industrial development and world trade. The United States, Russia, and China, for example, export food; Great Britain and India import it from all three. An international authority based on the U. N. specialized agencies and given limited power and funds to apply modern science to increase the world's food supply would be a realistic approach to the problem of what to do with the forces of science. It would be a first step to a dynamic peace, the only kind of peace possible in this modern age.

It would be putting into practice for 365 days of the year the peace and good-will to men we talk about on Christmas Day.

MURAL FOR PEACE



NOTHING in this mural is meant to be ingratiating or elegant, much less "decorative"; nothing appears as finished or perfect. It tries to present the anguish of man today, face to face with his future.

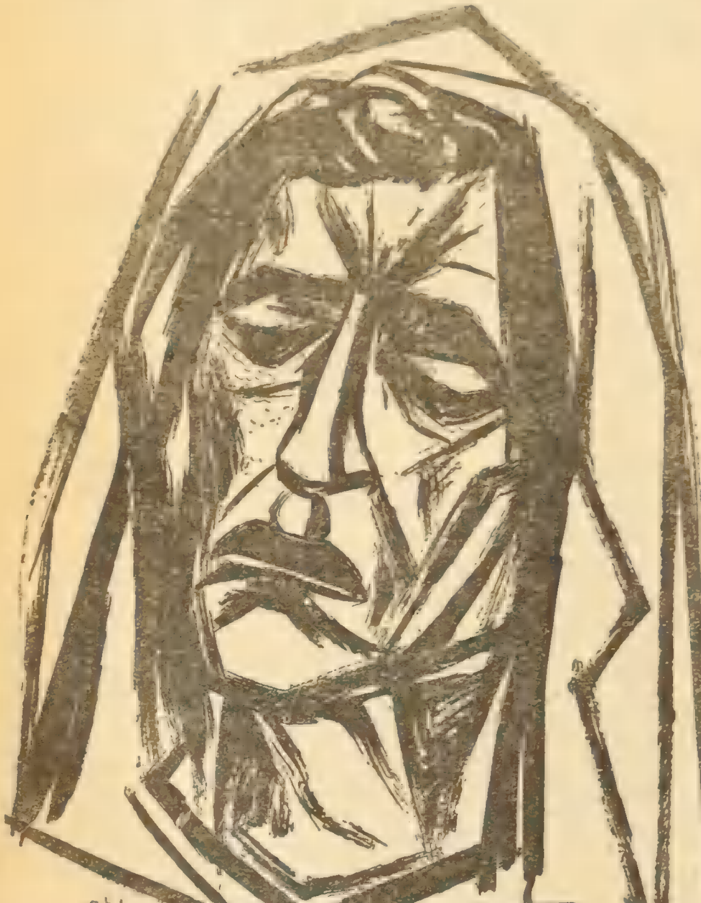
I wish to exalt the anonymous victims of the concentration camps—Americans, Europeans, Asians. And to exalt them with the same conviction and courage with which the artists of the past exalted the Christian martyrs. I condemn that brutal way of annihilating an idea or a race.

Man today cries for peace, that peace which, as Spinoza put it, "is not the absence of war but a state of mind."

Condemnation, exaltation, tense and anguished hope—these are the framework of the mural. Not ruins, nor weapons, nor death—those worn-out symbols. I paint man, only man, asking peace from men; asking pity with hand stretched out, wounded, blind, and ashamed.

The mural really presents the struggle against a world darkened by the shadows of hunger, of ignorance, of despotism—the three graces that attract war. Neither races nor colors of skin are in it; man is one, hope is one. I paint justice calling for respect for the rights of man—the rights he acquired simply by being born.

I realize that my mural will be ugly to many, that the figures which fill it accuse him who looks at it. This will not be so for that immense humanity, its wounds still unhealed, which was the protagonist of the last war. My mural has children, women, and men, all fighters; never before has barbarism so greedily engulfed supposed non-combatants.



If contemplation of the mural by the hundreds of persons who daily may see it kindles pity and understanding in a single spectator, I shall feel myself a soldier of peace.

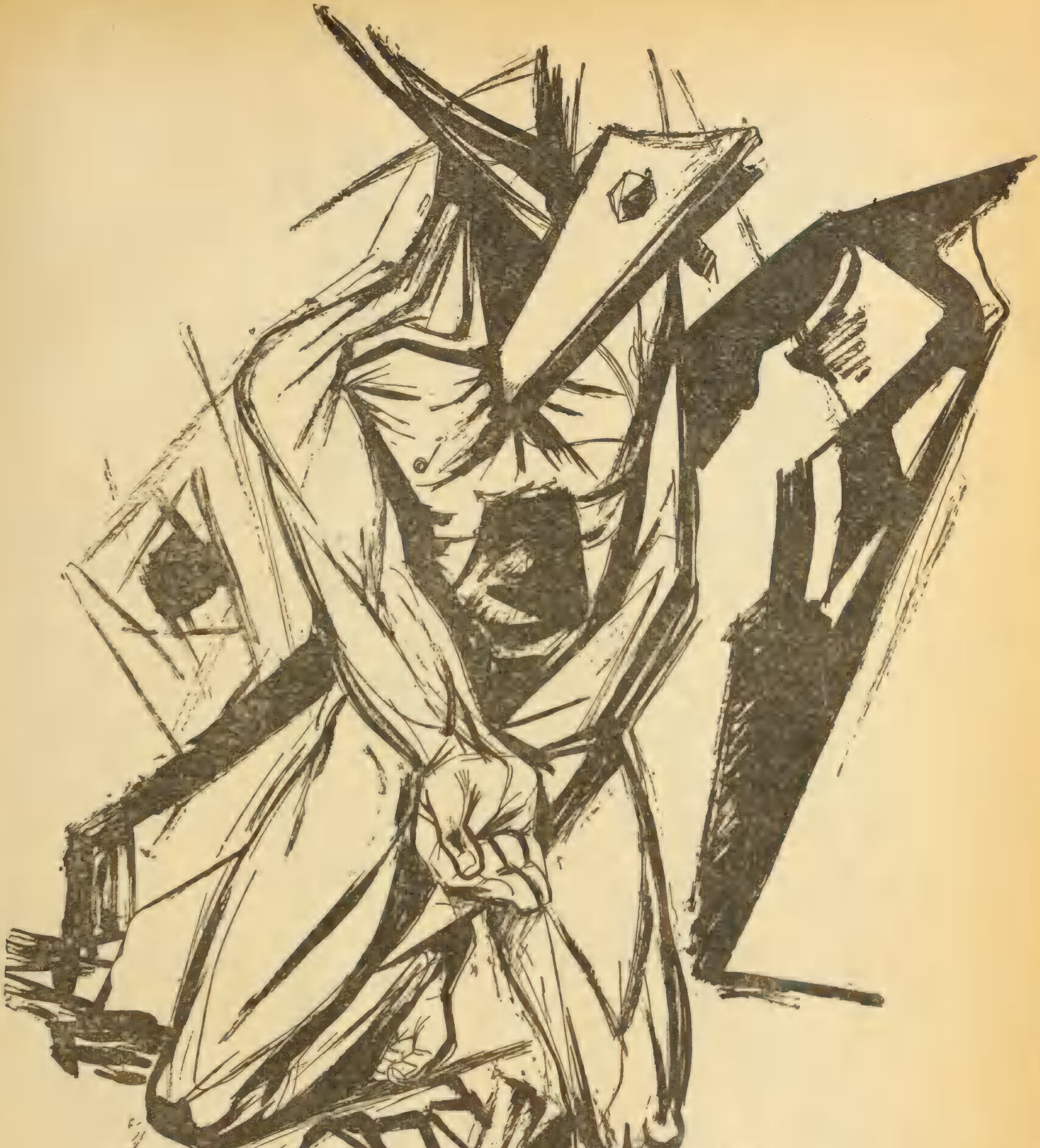
VELA ZANETTI

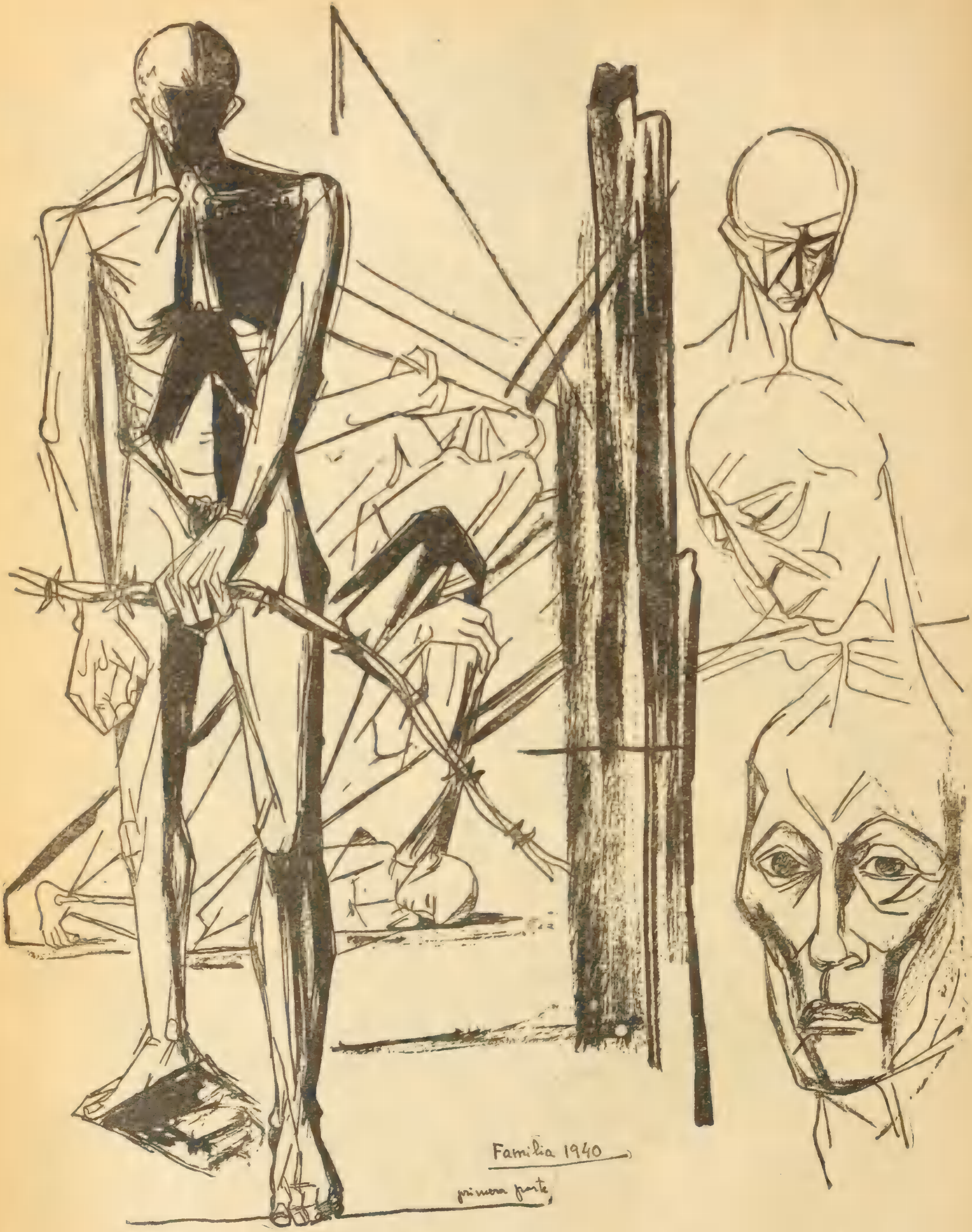
Last year Trygve Lie announced that the commission of art experts of the U. N. had approved the sketches of Vela Zanetti for a mural painting in the Secretariat Building.

Zanetti was born in León, Spain, in 1913. After studying under the famous Spanish teacher and critic, Bartolome Cossio, he went to Italy on a scholarship granted him by his native town, and on his return painted his first murals in León.

In 1939, after the defeat of the Republic, he emigrated to the Dominican Republic. During the next twelve years he painted more than fifty murals there—in the prison cell of Tirso de Molina, in University City, in churches, and elsewhere. In recognition of his work the government appointed him professor at the School of Fine Arts and, in 1949, director.

The Guggenheim Foundation then gave him a fellowship in art, and the jury asked him to paint a mural in the United States. Knowing his record, Wallace K. Harrison, directing architect of the United Nations, invited him to submit the sketches of the mural he is now painting. The reproductions on these pages are the first that have been offered to the public view.


Vela Zanetti
New York. 1951
Hombre pidiendo PAZ
Mural U.N.
1-1/2 m.


Familia 1940
primera parte

Homage to Orwell

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

THE resurrection of buried literary works is not without its dangers. Anything George Orwell wrote is worth reprinting, and we can all give two cheers for the American edition of "Homage to Catalonia," which was first published in England in 1938. The danger in this case is that Orwell was writing in a white heat about a confused, unimportant, and obscure incident in the Spanish Civil War. There are fewer people in the United States today who know about it than can work out Einstein's theory of relativity. Proof of this can be found in Lionel Trilling's introduction to the book.

Orwell has become a minor classic, and his experience in Catalonia was a turning point in his life. Without it, we would not have had "Animal Farm" and "1984." Moreover, the Spanish Civil War, whatever one's sympathies, holds a major place in our hectic century. It was the rehearsal for World War II, and because of the role played by Russia and the Communists, the Spanish Civil War has been twisted into a monstrous caricature of fascism versus communism.

Trilling's error—and other critics have fallen into it, too—was to take Orwell literally and uncritically; to assume that because Orwell was in one corner of Spain for a small part of the war he must have known everything about it, and that his story of the betrayal of the social revolution by the Communists must have been true. Orwell's book is being used today as a club to beat those who had other ideas about the war and those who did their best to describe it while it was taking place.

This is a pity, for "Homage to Catalonia" is an honest, vivid, personal account of one man's bitter experience in the Spanish Civil War. If people read it for its literary value, they will have a rewarding experience. If they read it as history, they will be either misled or confused. Orwell went to Spain thoroughly ignorant of politics; he came away still ignorant, but with one priceless piece of wisdom—that communism is a counter-revolutionary movement. Unfortunately for today's readers, he reached this valid conclusion from false premises.

Orwell was a volunteer with a Loyalist militia outfit from December, 1936, to May, 1937. He spent all his time either on the Aragon front or in Barcelona; so he was restricted to a small group of men in a small part of Spain during five months of a war that lasted thirty-two months. In the end he was severely wounded, pursued by the police, and barely succeeded in fleeing to France. At all times he was wonderfully brave, and as patient, decent, honest, and fair-minded as a human being could be.

What happened is that Orwell got caught up in the partisan politics of Loyalist Spain. "When I came to Spain," he wrote, "and for some time afterwards, I was not only uninterested in the political situation but unaware of it. I knew there was a war on, but I had no notion what kind of war. . . . I knew that I was serving in something called the P. O. U. M. (I had only joined the P. O. U. M. militia rather than any other because I happened to arrive in Barcelona with I. L. P. papers), but I did not realize that there were serious differences between the political parties."

The result was tragic for Orwell. He was a passionate rebel at heart who was convinced victory could be attained only by a working-class revolution against feudalism, reaction, and conservatism. In fact, it was a civil war with profound and explosive international ramifications; he wanted to fight it as an internal class struggle. From the beginning Orwell was doomed, and anyone who knew what was at stake and what problems were involved could have told him so the day he appeared in Barcelona.

The Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (P. O. U. M.) was more complicated than Orwell realized. It was orginally a dissident Communist outfit, but it was also dissident, fractional purist-Socialist, mixed up with dissident Anarchists, with Trotskyists and dissident Trotskyists, with ex-Communists and an agglomeration of non-affiliates, men who sought revolution or adventure or merely a haven at a time when it was dangerous not to belong to some leftist or trade-union political movement. The other parties were all very choosy about members; the P. O. U. M. was not, which was why it attracted many foreigners—Germans, Belgians, and English—who were in Catalonia when the war began or who came in later. The P. O. U. M. was also, paradoxically, the most pedantically Marxist of all the Spanish revolutionary parties.

Orwell did not realize it, but the P. O. U. M. was already on the downhill path when he joined the militia, and the disintegration had gone very far by the time of the May, 1937, uprising in Barcelona. It had relatively few members, little trade-union influence, and no more than 7,000 or 8,000 men at the front. The real struggle in Catalonia was between the two great left movements

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—the Communist-dominated Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya (P. S. U. C.) and the Anarchist Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (C. N. T.). The P. O. U. M. was caught in the struggle and smashed. A few weeks before Orwell arrived in Barcelona the P. O. U. M. had been ejected from the government (December 19, 1936). At that time its leaders baldly stated: "You cannot govern without the P. O. U. M. and you cannot govern against the P. O. U. M." Then they set out to try to prove it.

Orwell put the P. O. U. M. program into one sentence—and thereby inadvertently condemned it: "The war and the revolution are inseparable." The fact was that the war—that is victory in the war—and the revolution were incompatible. The Loyalists were losing the war because of the revolution. The great popular uprisings of the early months—the militias, the volunteers, the seizure and partition of big landholdings, the occupation of factories, the camaraderie, the heroism—all these things had saved the republic. However, by the time Orwell reached Barcelona the vital need was for unity, discipline, and efficiency. Franco was winning, partly because of German and Italian help, but also because the Rebels, as they were called then, had a unified command. The Loyalists were faced with the necessity of organizing a centralized administration and command or losing the war quickly.

Meanwhile, in September and October, 1936, Stalin began to send arms to Spain. This immediately put the Spanish Communist Party in the ascendancy. The Russians naturally channeled their aid through the Communists, who used their advantage to strengthen their own movement. To Orwell this was a tragedy, because they were Communists and because they were out for themselves. To Spain it happened to be an advantage, because the Communists were the best soldiers, the best administrators, and—this was a paramount consideration —because they were out to win the war first and worry about the revolution afterward, if at all. There was no use saying then, or now, that they were wrong because their motives were crooked and their final aims were evil. "The thing for which the Communists were working," Orwell wrote, "was not to postpone the Spanish revolution till a more suitable time but to make sure that it never happened." Which did not alter the fact that Communist tactics were probably right during the war.

Orwell felt the power of the Communists but never grasped the fact that the government was not run or controlled by Communists. He learned that after he wrote this book. If he had stayed in Spain long enough to see Stalin pulling up his stakes and slacking off on his aid, he would have noted the weakening of the Spanish Communist Party and the strengthening of the Republicans and Socialists. It was my opinion—and many observers shared it—that Spain never would have gone Communist if the Loyalists had won the war. There was sound basis for this belief, which is another reason why it is important to recognize the episodic character of Orwell's book.

THE blow was struck in the uprising of May 5-7, 1937, in Barcelona. Here, again, the complications were extraordinary. The Valencia government had to get control of Catalonia and bring the Anarchists into line. The P. O. U. M. was numerically small and ideologically insignificant and it was not Anarchist, but it was revolutionary and was believed by the government to contain traitorous elements working for Franco and even for Germany and Italy. The fighting began as a quarrel arising from a misunderstanding between the central authorities and the Anarchists. The powerful Communist P. S. U. C. immediately jumped to the government side, and the puny P. O. U. M. got itself involved on the Anarchist side. Within three days at least four hundred and perhaps twice that many people were killed, which made it one of the most sanguinary cases of street fighting in history. It ended when the government sent in detachments of soldiers to restore and maintain order.

Nobody—and this goes for George Orwell—ever knew in detail what happened or why it happened. Orwell spent the whole time on the roof of P. O. U. M. headquarters in the Hotel Falcón waiting to be attacked; he never fired a shot in earnest, nor was he shot at. He got his information on what happened later from his P. O. U. M. friends and—being as always painfully honest—from whatever other sources he could. But the book adds nothing to what was known. The account furnished by the government side was just as detailed and more authoritative and plausible. The suppression of the P. O. U. M. afterward was not a pure Communist plot, as Orwell supposed. It had the support of the U. G. T.—the major Socialist labor organization of Spain—as well as of the government authorities, who were not under Communist domination. In fact, the P. O. U. M. found no friends in its agony—which was significant.

There is no better explanation of the outcome than Orwell's own statement after it was over: "The Barcelona fighting had given the Valencia government the long-wanted excuse to assume fuller control of Catalonia." For the first time in five months Orwell saw the Spanish Republican flag!

Orwell had recognized from the beginning that, although he did not understand or like everything he saw, it was "a state of affairs worth fighting for." And he never regretted having fought for it, in spite of what happened to him. Spain worked its magic on Orwell, as it did on all of us. He caught the greatness of that time and he has imprisoned it in these pages. Yet the introducer and most of the critics missed it, missed the forest for some grubby trees that came at the end of the journey. Spain did not live up to the hopes, the desires, the ideals, the (alas!) illusions that all, Orwell included, harbored.

There is no denying that he, personally, had the greatest possible provocation. Horrible injustices were committed, and Orwell and a number of the people he knew suffered from them. That is why this book is one of the most damning to have been written and printed about the Loyalists. It is also a reason for its value as a historical document, and it therefore becomes especially necessary to balance it truly, place it where it belongs. Yet, at the very end, Orwell could write from outside:

> It sounds like lunacy, but the thing that both of us wanted [his wife was with him] was to be back in Spain. . . . Curiously enough, the whole experience has left me with not less but more belief in the decency of human beings. And I hope the account I have given is not too misleading. . . . In case I have not said this somewhere earlier in the book I will say it now: beware of my partisanship, my mistakes of fact and the distortion inevitably caused by my having seen only one corner of events. And beware of exactly the same things when you read any other book on this period of the Spanish war.

ONE must add a postscript to all this, for I have not seen any evidence that Professor Trilling or the critics knew that Orwell became acquainted with some of the Spanish Republican exiles in London in the early years of World War II. After finishing this article, I wrote to Dr. Juan Negrín, the last Premier of Republican Spain, asking him to tell me what he remembered about Orwell. I give here the pertinent extracts from Dr. Negrín's reply, which he is kindly letting me quote.

> As far as I recollect, I first met Orwell some time after August or September, 1940. He was presented to me as an editorialist of the *Observer,* and I was told that he had been in Spain during our war. I did not catch that he had been there, not as a reporter or writer, but as a volunteer in a fighting unit, and I believe I was not aware of that circumstance till I read his book on Catalonia, months after his death.
>
> After we got acquainted, we met several times, and I venture to say that a reciprocal current of esteem, sympathy, and even friendship was established. . . .
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> Spain was often a matter of conversation, generally in connection with the daily developments of the World War, and occasionally recalling bygone episodes of our civil strife. I remember now that when this point was touched, he was very eager to inquire about the policy, internal and external, of the government I headed, the changes in the line of conduct of the war which I introduced, our problems and difficulties, the many mistakes I later realized to have committed, which I frankly confessed to him, though some of them were unavoidable and would have had to be repeated, once more, even after the previous experiences; our way of handling the motley conglomerate of incompatible parties, labor unions, and dissident groups and also the frequently self-appointed, largely unconstitutional, local and regional "governments" with which we had to deal; our foreign policy, especially our relations with Russia, having to take into account that the U. S. S. R. was the only great power supporting us internationally and prepared to provide us, on the basis of cash payment—we never asked it gratuitously of anyone—with the necessary weapons; the causes of our defeat. . . .
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> I have the impression that Orwell was satisfied with my explanations, given to him without reserve, with all latitude, but strictly confidentially. Unfortunately, at the time his book was unknown to me; otherwise I would have been doing the questioning. . . .
>
> After reading his book, I did not change my opinion about Orwell—a decent and righteous gentleman, biased by a too rigid, puritanical frame, gifted with a candor bordering on naivete, highly critical but blindly credulous, morbidly individualistic (an Englishman!) but submitting lazily and without discernment to the atmosphere of the gregarious community in which he voluntarily and instinctively anchors himself, and so supremely honest and self-denying that he would not hesitate to change his mind once he perceived himself to be wrong. . . .
>
> He came to the chaotic front of Aragon under the tutelage of a group *possibly* infiltrated by German agents (reread what he says about Germans moving freely from one side to the other and what the Nazis officially stated after the war about their activities on our side) but *certainly* controlled by elements very allergic, not only to Stalinism (this was more often than not a pure pretext) but to anything that meant a united and supreme direction of the struggle under a common discipline.
>
> Putting all this together, one gets more than enough to justify the distorted image in Orwell's mind of the happenings of 1937 in Barcelona.

Remember?

On April 27, 1950, Herbert Hoover, speaking at the sixty-fourth convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in New York, proposed that the United Nations "should be reorganized without the Communist nations in it." According to a report in the New York *Times* of April 28, the audience "interrupted frequently with applause, especially when he outlined his program for reconstituting the United Nations." The next day the *World-Telegram* and *Sun* ran an editorial headed "Mr. Hoover's Great Idea," the New York *Daily Mirror* hailed the suggestion with enthusiasm, and the New York *Daily News* thought the United Nations' "Manhattan palace" might be taken over and converted into "several hundred comfortable apartments" to relieve the housing shortage. From London, Trygve Lie said that if Mr. Hoover's suggestion were carried out, there "would no longer be one world organization."—*The Nation,* May 6, 1950.

Tomorrow's Storms

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, December 20

AS IN previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Political Committee has once more stolen the show. Attention was concentrated on Korea not only because the prestige of the United Nations was involved in finding a solution but also because everybody realized that as long as the Korean war goes on there is risk of a general conflagration in Asia. Then came Tunis and Morocco, which, while less momentous than Korea, kept the Political Committee in the headlines. The press has therefore paid little attention to the work of other committees, though important discussions have taken place in several of them. One of the most interesting debates of the session occurred in the Second Committee on the apparently arid issue of nationalization.

The essence of the resolution finally approved, against the wish of the United States delegation, was summed up in the following paragraph:

> The General Assembly, remembering that the right of peoples freely to use and exploit their natural resources is inherent in their sovereignty and is in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; recommends all member states, in the exercise of their right freely to use and exploit their natural wealth and resources wherever deemed desirable by them for their own progress and economic development, to have due regard, consistently with their sovereignty, to the need for the maintenance of mutual confidence and economic cooperation among nations; recommends further all member states to refrain from acts, direct or indirect, designed to impede the exercise of sovereignty of any state over its natural resources.

The last phrase strikes directly at the big foreign firms which are fighting nationalization in countries possessing valuable resources and at the diplomacy which supports such firms.

What took the committee, and especially the United States, by surprise was the aggressive backing given the resolution by the Latin American republics—precisely the countries which Washington is most interested in preserving from permeation by subversive economic ideas. It was Uruguay, staunch friend of the United States and stablest of South American democracies, that took the lead. Angel María Cusano, the Uruguayan delegate, recalled that his country had always met its commitments to foreign capital and had no intention of changing, but he insisted that it would be perilous to ignore the importance of the trend now making headway in Latin America. He proceeded to describe in detail how his country had nationalized its public utilities and some of its basic industries, in particular the electric-power industry, transport, telegraph and telephone services, water supply, fuel and alcohol industries, and fisheries. Most of these had been previously operated by private firms heavily financed by British capital.

Uruguay immediately found itself strongly supported by Bolivia. Fulfilling its election promise—a not very common procedure in the Western Hemisphere—the new Bolivian government headed by Paz Estenssoro on October 31 of this year nationalized the three big tin-production companies—Patino, Hochschild, and Aramayo. Against this the companies, backed by United States corporations associated with them, protested with all their might, but to no avail. Bolivia's support of the nationalization resolution was strengthened by its own recent action.

Dr. Hernán Siles Zuazo, vice-president and head of the Bolivian delegation, said that when his country nationalized its greatest industry and chief export, the Bolivian people felt free for the first time in their history. He replied energetically to critics of his government, insisting that nationalization had been carried out in strict accordance with international and domestic law. Two universally accepted principles had been reaffirmed: first, that compensation for expropriation should not be granted on the basis of the original value of the concession; and, second, that expropriation, properly compensated, of properties and installations belonging to private enterprises was always legal if in the public interest.

Obviously not expecting such a firm stand by the Latin Americans, Mr. Isador Lubin, for the United States, criticized the resolution on the ground that it threatened the rights of private investors. But the support he received from the great powers, excluding Russia, could not stop the movement for economic independence of the lesser powers.

The vote in the Second Committee must have surprised the United States still more, for the resolution was adopted by thirty-one to one—the American delegate casting the single negative vote. All but two Latin American states voted for the resolution; the abstentions numbered nineteen. The outcome served notice on private investors that the states determined to establish their right to nationalize industries and resources far outnumber those which, like Bolivia, have already done so. Here we have one more evidence of the revolutionary process now going on throughout the world, which cannot be minimized or dismissed as the result of Communist agitation. Americans would be well advised to see it also as a warning of what is taking place in Latin America. First came the "storm over Asia," next the "storm over Africa." In Latin America the winds are turning to gales, sweeping over those who would build the future of private enterprise on the exploitation of the peoples in the underdeveloped countries.

Whose Wars?

BY ROBERT S. LYND

MOST foreign wars have been fought for reasons above the heads of the citizens and soldiers of the countries involved. So long as they occurred one at a time, it was relatively easy to get domestic support for the needed steps—soldiers, taxes, and the dislocation of life—on the ground that, in an otherwise peaceful world, the enemy was arbitrarily stirring up trouble. So the colonial-empire system was built and maintained. After all, so ran the reasoning, native peoples only rot in their own backyard environments, and their children and grandchildren would reap the benefits of the economic development and civilized policing that accompany colonialism. It was "civilization's" war, and gain both for conquerors and conquered resulted. Thus bit by bit world order was being created.

Today industrialized societies are moving slowly toward what is hopefully called the welfare state, while the "backward areas" of the world are changing rapidly in their respective versions of progress. E. H. Carr, one of the most enlightened and perceptive writers of our time, rightly calls the second trend "the colonial revolution." In Chapter 5 of his trenchant little book on "The New Society" he discusses the causes and character of this colonial awakening:

> . . . we must start [he says] from an analysis of nineteenth-century society with its division of the world into advanced industrial and backward colonial peoples. This division of function, broadly corresponding with a division of color, was the basis of the world economy. . . . Nor was this division seriously challenged till the new century opened. Then something began to stir. . . .
>
> It was Japanese action in the Second World War which brought the colonial revolution in Asia to a head. The emancipation of Asia from the white race was loudly proclaimed; and after the victory it proved quite impossible to restore white supremacy, either military or economic, over the greater part of Asia. The movement has become a general revolt against political, economic, and racial inequality; color is at least as important a factor as communism. The colonial revolution . . . is on the march in Africa as well. . . .
>
> We shall be mistaken if we regard the Soviet Union as a prime mover in these developments. In the present configuration of world politics, the Soviet Union profits from the clash between Asia and the Western world and will do everything to intensify it. But Russia did not create the colonial revolution and cannot even now control its course. It might easily take lines unwelcome and embarrassing to Moscow if Western pressure were removed.
>
> The underlying essence of the colonial revolution is today economic rather than political. . . . Political independence and political equality are no longer enough. These achievements . . . are now seen to be hollow and unreal unless they are backed up by the reality of economic independence and economic equality.

In the face of such a momentous and humanly vital development, what are citizens of democracies to do when they are asked to approve and send their sons to die in twentieth-century colonial wars?

With General Eisenhower, a life-long military man of limited vision, in the White House and a new and more "positive" foreign policy in the making, it would appear that we had better stop viewing Western military ventures in Asia and Africa as isolated policing actions. They are part of the pattern of the twentieth century unrolling about—and over—our lives. The London *Economist*, referring to the French war in Indo-China, observed recently: "In human terms the losses have been appalling; before the start of the most recent campaigns well over 30,000 French soldiers and some 1,500 officers had died. This latter figure means that the graduating classes of France's military academy at St. Cyr are sent directly to Indo-China, and that few survive to grow into future staff officers and generals." In this country we have watched the casualty totals mount in Korea in a war that the recent election suggests the American people do not want.

There would seem to be at least the possibility that we are involved in a rapidly broadening counter-war against the long overdue world colonial revolution. And the plain fact is that we citizens are not being told what is being undertaken or in response to what pressures. I for one, a reasonably intelligent citizen, do not know why peace has not been achieved in Korea. Are we really to believe that the return of prisoners is the obstacle? Is there a bigger pot cooking, and, if so, who is stoking the fire? Why is Formosa so jubilant over General Eisenhower's election?

Silence is kept, of course, for "reasons of state," "top secret." But are we to accept and believe the news handouts that may be preparing us for a third world war—as Britons accepted the need seventy-five years ago for a policing action in a corner of Africa? As Mr. Carr points out, the dream that we Americans can treat this as "our century" and repeat the pattern of Britain's nineteenth-century colonial expansion is an empty one, be-

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cause the world has moved far beyond the conditions that made Britain's imperialism possible. And even if we could repeat that pattern, do we citizens want to do it?

WHOSE chestnuts are in the fire? The third generation of Rockefellers are engaged in developments in Latin America, the so-called "China Lobby" is doing business in Asia, and American capital is moving rapidly into Africa. Basil Davidson, a well-informed analyst of conditions in Central Africa, identified the financial interests operating in Central Africa and described the pressure for federation they are exerting in an article in the London *New Statesman and Nation* of August 9. He reported in this connection that some of the biggest mining companies were moving their home offices from London to the Rhodesias. One of these, Tanganyika Concessions, called "Tanks" for short in the business and financial world, is, he reported, "the biggest financial holding corporation in tropical Africa."

> "Tanks" have issued 3,831,412 ordinary shares. In April, 1950, the British government sold 1,677,961 of these shares, which it then owned, to an Anglo-Belgian group. And in November, 1950—the date of geographical transfer—it was announced that 600,000 of this block of shares which the British government had sold had again been sold to an American group headed by Ladenburg Thalman and Company and Lazard Frères, in association with the international Basic Economy Corporation and Mr. David Rockefeller—in short, to the Rockefeller interests in one form or another.
>
> But that, again, is not the whole story. For the British interests mainly concerned in "Tanks," acquiring their shares through the good offices of the British government, are mainly those which have hitherto dominated the economic development of Central Africa—the Oppenheimer gold and copper-mining interests, for example, and the British South Africa Company, which still retains all mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia and in 16,000 square miles of Nyasaland. These are the interests which have pressed, and are pressing, hardest for Central African federation, for those political guaranties of economic dominion without which it might be hard to insure the necessary flow of capital.
>
> Gradually and unobtrusively, the last few years have brought about a new and powerful alignment of monopolistic mining capital in East and Central Africa. The alignment comes together at the top in "Tanks"—so that half a dozen men . . . are not so far today from controlling the economic destiny of these territories. They have had, and are having, close support from the United States. . . .
>
> Now, it is no secret that the Americans have expressed themselves privately in favor of federation; nor is it difficult to see why. These loans [from E. C. A.], like British capital in the past, flow into precisely the same socio-economic structure of "white supremacy" and "cheap African labor" against which the Africans now struggle—and *for* which the supporters of federation are vehemently united. All that changes is the principal source of imperialistic capital: this becomes American. The Americans thus cash in on imperialist exploitation without incurring the public odium of doing so. . . .
>
> Anyone who cares to spend an hour or so with the "Stock Exchange Yearbook" can very soon convince himself that this close and intelligent tie-up in mining interests really does exist. He will find a careful system of interlocking directorates between such units as "Tanks," the British South Africa Company, and the Anglo-American Corporation. . . .
>
> What is new about this situation is not the fact or manner of exploitation but the skilfully engineered concentration of interests—British, American, Belgian, South African—in a region of great mineral wealth over a part of which the British electorate holds a protectorate and is pledged to advance the interests of the African inhabitants. There can be little doubt that what the federationists have in mind is rapid transition to Dominion status—when the paper safeguards in the present federation proposals would be worth even less than they are today, would, in fact, be worth nothing at all—and that the steady transfer of company headquarters to Southern Rhodesia is designed to give this potential Dominion a position of power and standing in the financial world. We are faced, indeed, with a well-prepared plan to saddle the whole of British Central Africa with a financial oligarchy designed to carry imperialist venture into a new phase. . . .
>
> If federation were to go through, these great financial interests would have a clear path before them. . . . For this is not to be the federation of free men, but of vested interest—Federation Ltd.

None of this would have sounded ominous to an Englishman in the nineteenth century. Should it sound ominous to Americans in the middle of the twentieth century, in view of the present state of the world? It does to me. If democracy means anything at all, this is setting back the clock disastrously. It is asking for trouble in a world in which colonial people need and have the right to develop their own potentials, and in which "trouble" means the renewal of colonial wars on a large and inhuman scale.

And what may a young American citizen now say when commanded by his government to serve as a soldier? Is it compatible with democratic responsibility for a citizen to accept "reasons of state" as docilely as did the Englishman of 1850? Many men subject to military service have been well indoctrinated and will believe and do what they are told. But what about the others, those educated to the point where they read Carr and Davidson and, in the main, agree with them? What does integrity in a democratic context prompt young men to do in the present international situation? Suppose, for instance, a young man called up for military service were to say, without cowardice and in all honesty: "This is 1952. You, my country to which I am deeply committed, have brought me up to believe in democracy and have educated me to act responsibly. I cannot become a soldier in your wars until you convince me that more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible."

Does official Washington have an honest and adequate answer to such a question? Frankly, I do not know. But I do not like the look of the things that are happening, and the election results deepen my skepticism. When and how in this managed society of "top secrets" and public-relations hand-outs does a citizen brace his feet and ask "Why?"

How to Traduce Teachers

BY BROADUS MITCHELL

THE dismissal of a score of teachers suspected of Communist connections from the New York City schools and municipal colleges has conspicuous features of cruelty and stupidity. Those turned out lose both purse and good name. Those who eject them enjoy nods of approval now, to suffer in reputation some years hence.

The more widespread effect of this seizure of intolerance is less evident to the public gaze but is more serious. The process of persecution has gone on long enough to cause the substitution of caution for candor in the classroom. This is the testimony of informed observers; it appears in the silencing of leaders and groups that could be expected to protest; and it is illustrated in minor meaningful episodes. Many who see the vast machine of New York public education functioning seemingly as usual will scout this report as imaginary. But one who works at the trade can recognize the signs of palsy. The people who are footing the bill are cheated when forthright teachers become furtive.

All over the country self-appointed censors have inveighed against textbooks and educators declared to be subversive. When they are outsiders and volunteers their character is plain, and they have been discredited in responsible quarters. They pervert Pasadena and are condemned. New York, by contrast, has an inside job. Here it is official, seeks to appear even routine. Prime movers are in the Board of Education, the Board of Higher Education, and the Regents at Albany. Their allies are the usual ones, religious, reactionary, and patriotic, but screened this time by governmental sanction.

What is happening to accused teachers in New York City schools and colleges would be less depressing if it provoked more open controversy. As distinguished from a few years ago, when leading educational spokesmen and organized bodies remonstrated, now the woeful spectacle of sudden arraignment followed often by summary trial and swift dismissal proceeds with little remark. The Board of Education barber calls, "Next!" A new customer takes the chair and is promptly clipped.

One must sift accumulating files of reports, releases, policy statements, rulings, and decisions to be able to set down precisely the methods used to oust New York City teachers suspected of subversive beliefs or connections. The instruments are three:

1. *A regulation of the Board of Education.* This is the oldest device. In a policy declaration of a year ago a by-law is so construed as to subject the accused to new perils. The interpretation says that "where substantial reason exists to believe that a teacher is or has engaged" in an illegal act or conspiracy, "it is the duty of the Superintendent . . . to inquire as to such participation and the extent thereof. . . . Any failure or refusal on the part of the teacher to reveal the facts must be regarded as an act of insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher, subjecting such teacher to disciplinary proceedings provided by law." The policy declaration and the practice show that the stigmatized conduct is chiefly membership—certainly present and possibly past—in the Communist Party. Refusal to answer questions about such a connection is followed by suspension and reference to the board for final action.

What happens is that the superintendent, on information which he thinks sufficient, directs a teacher to appear before a person on the staff of the corporation counsel who has been assigned to work with the board. The teacher is asked whether he is or has ever been a member of the Communist Party, whether he has attended certain meetings, known particular persons, and more to the same effect. If he refuses to answer, he is suspended by the superintendent, and a trial examiner is appointed by the Board of Education. In the "trial" that follows, the city's case rests simply on proof that the accused refused to answer. The examiner hears witnesses called by the teacher's counsel—colleagues, supervisors, community leaders, students. Invariably the testimony has revealed an unblemished record, but this is declared irrelevant, and the result is always conviction and dismissal.

2. *Section 903 of the city charter.* This may be invoked in the wake of a Congressional investigating committee. The section was inserted in the charter in the early thirties as a result of the Seabury investigation of corruption

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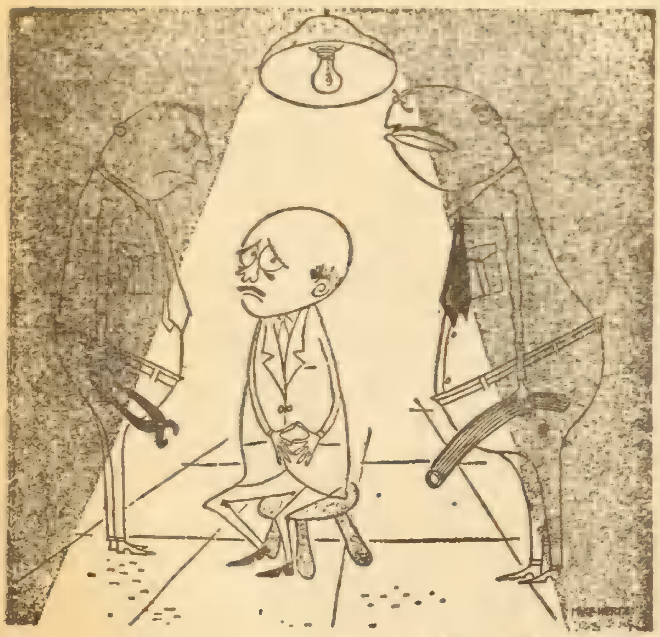
in the municipal government and was intended, historically and textually, to prevent officials and other employees of the city from escaping punishment by refusing to appear before a proper inquiring body or to reply to questions on the ground of self-incrimination. The questions must concern "the property, government, or affairs of the city . . . or . . . official conduct of any officer or employee. . . ." If one refuses to respond, "his term or tenure of office . . . shall terminate. . . ."

Under Section 903 the teacher who has refused to answer the McCarran subcommittee, citing, say, the Fifth Amendment, is summoned to identify the transcript of his hearing. A few days later he is informed that his post is vacated. Section 903 is held to be self-executing. It has been the contention of defendants that Section 903 does not apply. First, they are not officers or employees of the city but of the Board of Education, which is a creation of the state government. Second, questions about possible membership in the Communist Party are not concerned with "property, government, or affairs of the city." However, Corporation Counsel Denis M. Hurley has ruled that interrogation on membership in the Communist Party "constitutes an inquiry into the employee's official conduct, within the purview of . . . Section 903."

This section has been used against all six teachers who have been dismissed from the municipal colleges by the Board of Higher Education, which is distinct from but in this particular observes the same procedure as the Board of Education that has jurisdiction over the elementary and high schools. These teachers invoked the Fifth Amendment, among other constitutional privileges, when questioned by the Senate subcommittee.



Courtesy of Queens College *Crown*

"Have you ever taught or openly advocated freedom of thought in your classroom?"

3. *The Feinberg law.* This was enacted in 1949 by the New York legislature and directs the Board of Regents to institute certain procedures to enforce two existing sections of the education law proscribing seditious utterances and connections. The Feinberg law was held unconstitutional by two state courts but was later sustained by the United States Supreme Court. The Regents must, after notice and hearing, promulgate a list of subversive organizations. Membership in any one of these will constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification for a position in the school system unless it has been canceled within a ten-day grace period. School authorities must report annually on "the extent to which . . . provisions of the law have been enforced."

This law was opposed by both the teachers' unions because it sets up a spy system that will dissuade teachers from expressing themselves on controversial subjects and gives the Regents, other boards, and supervisory officers arbitrary power. Further, it proclaims guilt by association, a thing unknown to the tenure law.

For an extraordinary reason the Feinberg act, though framed as the chief means of eliminating supposed subversive teachers, at present is inoperative. The Board of Regents did not implement the statute during the pendency of the legal proceedings. It began hearings on December 4 to determine whether the Communist Party should be placed on its list of "subversive organizations," but the hearings were adjourned until January 1, 1953. On September 26, Lewis A. Wilson, state Commissioner of Education, had vacated a stay granted in March to a group of teachers who had been suspended or were being investigated. In lifting the stay the Commissioner said that the New York City Board of Education might make its own list of "organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force" and question "any teacher as to his or her membership in any organization which it suspects is in such category." Charles A. Brind, Jr., counsel to the state Education Department, in a speech to school superintendents on September 30 seemed to give this permission the widest application: any school board may promulgate its own subversive list, including merely suspicious organizations, and dismiss those who belong to them. He added, however, that the school board must prove the organization in question is subversive. The New York *Times* criticized Wilson's September 26 ruling in an editorial printed on October 3 headed "Confusion Worse Confounded."

As a matter of fact, the New York City Board of Education has made no list and probably will make none. It will leave this ticklish task to tardy action by the Regents, since the board applying such a list must be prepared to prove in court that the included organizations are subversive. Further, the Feinberg law prescribes procedures which are likely to prove lengthy, expensive, and problematical in the outcome, whereas the dismissal of suspected teachers under the regulation of the board regarding "insubordination" is sure and under Section 903 of the charter is also swift.

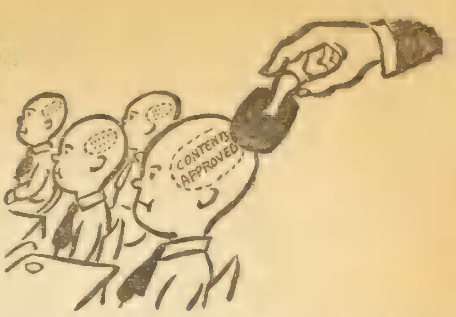
THUS far, in the current "drive" against supposed subversive teachers in the public schools, sixteen have been dismissed, twelve are under suspension. Ten resigned after being summoned for questioning; seven retired. Half a dozen convinced their superiors that they had broken with the Communist Party, but others are under investigation. Six faculty members have been dismissed by the Board of Higher Education from the municipal colleges.

The same issue is involved in the case of two members of the faculty of Rutgers University who will be dismissed unless they answer questions regarding alleged Communist affiliations put to them by the McCarran committee. One has been on the faculty for twenty-five years.

All the teachers dismissed from the public schools on charges connected with suspected subversive beliefs and associations are members, most of them active members, or officers of the Teachers' Union, Local 555, U. P. W. The parent body of this local was expelled from the C. I. O. Almost all the work and expense of defending and supporting financially the suspended and dismissed teachers have been borne by the union. Although it has been officially discountenanced by the Board of Education and joining it or continuing in it has met strong official discouragement, few members have dropped out and it succeeds in collecting emergency funds.

The zeal and resourcefulness of officers and members stand in contrast to the more passive position of the Teachers' Guild (A. F. of L.) on the issue of freedom in the schools. The Guild has remonstrated against the Feinberg law and against refusal of the Board of Education to recognize the rival Teachers' Union, but except for "suggesting" procedural protection it has left accused teachers to their fate. The decision has been made by small majorities in test votes in the delegate body; a shift of perhaps 5 per cent would have yielded a different result. Recently an opposition slate wanted, among other reforms, more affirmative action on academic freedom, but it made a poor showing in the balloting. The Guild appears not to object to dismissal for what is taken to be *proved* membership in the Communist Party. So far as teachers dropped for *supposed* subversion are concerned, the Guild has passed by on the other side.

The Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union is preparing a public announcement of policy on pending dismissals. From past performance it may be expected to denounce attacks on teachers for mere membership, actual or alleged, in the Communist Party. Some doubt about the A. C. L. U.'s ultimate position has been aroused by a recent speech of Patrick Malin, its director. Mr. Malin said that membership in an organization might be made the starting-point "in a careful investigation of all factors relevant to judging a particular person's capacity for honest performance of a particular teaching task" (New York *Times*, December 7).



The enemies of these school and college teachers are not easily embarrassed by lack of logic in their indictments. But they are hard put to devise arguments when they cannot present any facts against the conduct of the accused as teachers and scholars during many years of service. Thus critics are driven to peripheral, hole-and-corner alarms, conjectural, vague, and inconsistent: a person who has joined the Communist Party has surrendered intellectual independence, has engaged to teach propaganda—though during his ten, twenty, thirty years in the classroom no such offense was detected in spite of an elaborate system of supervision.

If you point this out, you are met with a smile. The insinuations of the captive mind are cunning, so infinitely patient and subtle that at no point may the abuse be determined. But this proves too much. Any experienced teacher knows that the touch must be palpable indeed to be felt. Anyhow, if insidious "indoctrination" was known to be practiced, why has the small army of principals, assistant superintendents, associate superintendents, superintendents, deans, presidents, and board members not taken the field long since?

The Communist Party, it is said, is not a political persuasion; it is a spy ring. But, unhappily, it is legal. If a teacher, who should command respect for his integrity in all relations of life, declines to answer a question as to his beliefs and associations put by any public inquisitor, he is "irresponsible" and therefore unfit. No lack of professional responsibility has been shown; the accused has not purloined school property or poisoned the minds of his pupils. The question "Are you now and have you ever been, etc." may be improper, but all grounds of refusal to respond are equally fatal. If a committee of roving Senators does not crush the witness for contempt, a superintendent or president or board is at hand to dismiss him for what is held to be confession of guilt.

The fact is that the present frenzy is another chapter in the long history of intolerance. Defendants have varied in their attachment and teaching—Quakers, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Masons, Socialists, Abolitionists, pacifists, evolutionists, and many more. The air is charged with fear, the crime is dissent, and the real victim is public morals.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POEMS - - - BY ABBIE HUSTON EVANS

Return to Life

The southwest wind blows in from the sea unceasing,
The brown hawk falls in the field. Once more I live.
Like a hand pulled free from a glove I finger edges,
Ease and expand like a dry sponge drinking water.
Now like a too tight cord that can untwist
Its tortured length, and spinning round and round
Resign old tension back into the air,
I am escaped from the thumb and finger of life.
Shaken loose like a tassel at last, I hang, I swing;
A breath can whiff me round, this way or that.

While the robin calls with his colored note for rain
And the bright cattle watch me from the pasture,
The cranberry's cold little apples deep in the marsh
Feel good to my hand that goes groping, sun beats on my shoulder,
Heat flatters my cheeks, pouring up from the floor of the meadow.
Seeing the boxberry plums hid under the leaves,
And this year's arbutus plants, crisped, hugging the bank,
And the lady's-slipper leaves, paired, wedged in the mold,
I dally along at my ease, keeping step with the sun;
I make free with myself at last; I see that we are friends.

Clearing After Rain

After warm rain, now that the chill is rising
On the meadow down below, see what a scouring
Away of tarnish from the silver-azure
Inverted bell of heaven; and below us,
Time's reel run backward, in a flash behold
Earth smoking from creation, thousand-fissured.

Folds, points, tree-islands, lapped in shreds and tatters
Of vapor bearing south, oppose their dogged
And long-determined bulks to what is weightless.
See now direction regiment confusion:
Cloud remnants troop off marshaled; from the wood-lot
And the ridge behind it dragging vapors travel
In leaning crowds that press across the meadow,
Knowing where the river is, going to find it.

In the least twirl of a mist thread down the field,
The slant, the leaning, the most slow prostration,
Nothing is left to chance. I have been told it,
And now I see it. Thus does nature do.
The curls of children are her finger-work,
The continents her homework, and the stars
Her oldest work of all; what look like lapses
No hugger-mugger, but brief variants
Pulled back into the pattern, given time.
Slow order is her madness, under all
Working her ends out till the heavens fall.

Pebbles from Sister Island

Eight miles off shore,
Worn down to velvet by the thumb and finger
Of the sea incessant-shaping, tight-grained, polished,
Foreign to granite (these are granite's grinders),
Powdered with salt they lie up. The steep beach
Is strange with jasper and outlandish stone
Dim-colored, brown-flecked, olive, chiefly black,
Most like old pagan basalt from the depths
Bared when the the moon tore free.

The night Columbus talked with Isabella
These rocks were slatting on the coast of Maine.
When Rome fell, and Atlantis, they were here.
They rode the glacier down from Canada,
Maybe, in state; and dropped in the sack of the sea.
To-fro, to-fro, interminably washing,
Hurled and haled back with screeching from the shore,
To-fro, to-fro, they carved the great pink-granite
Platform of the island into hollows
Till it stands up from the glass floor of the sea
Like something out of Dali.

On the foot-rule of time scaled to the vast they are new,
But their newness is nothing to mine; I tremble before
Their hoary generation. None the less
Let me hold them in my hand a moment, sense
Duration, through delight of touch approve
The buffing of the lapidary sea,
Darkly partake of the being of first rock.

This World

Early and late the backdrop is for joy;
The makings of wonder hang up on the air.
Fine, fine, like something seen from under the hand
On a morning in autumn, early, waits this world.

The heart sings out to see it hanging there
Half-apparition, marks it for its own,
Accepts the marvel freely as a child
That bends above the fadeless rock with laughter.

The forestage is the trouble; man made that,
And cannot blame another. (This I knew,
Returning to the changeless purpled mountain.)
Inept, impatient, like a fractious child

He tangles ropes and cords into a knot
That all but stops the play. Yet all the while
The makings of wonder hang up on the air,
Early and late the backdrop is for joy.

This Bridgehead Generation

We are too near. In the face of what we see
Silence is better than the sound of words.
Homer himself sang not till Trojan swords
Were long since rust in an old century.

Not till the tumult dies and under green
Lie all of us, and time has brought to birth
Poets whose frame-dust slumbers deep in earth
Can men make song of what our eyes have seen.

Euroclydon

The east-northeaster pounds the coast tonight,
Thudding and grinding at the knees of islands;
It sets the bell-buoys clanging and calls out
The gruff storm-warnings up and down the coast.
—So this, none else, was Paul's Euroclydon,
That old tempestuous wind that leaped from Crete
And heaped the seas up till they broke the ship,
But not the man. —Pull out the Book again:
"When the south wind blew softly—" (O sweet words!
The spring is in them. Hark!)—"we loosed from Crete."

I sit and listen while Euroclydon,
That old storm-wind that had a name of its own
Two thousand years before I yet had mine,
Pelts on my pane with blizzard snow like grit,
Shrieks down my chimney, grips my house foursquare,
And pants against my door.
Old tiger, hail!

The Muted Thunderer

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES. Volume IV. *THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY AND BEYOND, 1912-1948.* The Macmillan Company. $14.

THE *TIMES,* published continuously at Printing House Square, London since 1785, is more than a newspaper: it is a national institution that has long played a role, sometimes a highly creditable one, sometimes the reverse, in the shaping of British policy and even in its implementation. Consequently the history of the *Times* provides the student of modern Britain, and indeed of the modern world, with an indispensable supplement to the history of *its* times.

With Volume IV—physically two volumes—this great work, begun in 1931, is brought temporarily to a close. Let us hope that when the paper's 200th anniversary comes around in 1985 there will be a new edition compensating for some of the deficiencies in the present one and bringing the record up to date. For while this final volume deals fully with the domestic affairs of Printing House Square and the international policies of the paper, only one chapter describes its reactions to the advance of the labor movement. Home affairs from 1920 to 1939, including such topics as the two first Labor governments, the general strike of 1926, and the great depression are barely mentioned.

One reason for these omissions is that the anonymous but extremely competent members of the *Times* staff who have compiled this volume built their story around the two contrasting personalities who dominated the paper during the period surveyed—Lord Northcliffe and Geoffrey Dawson, the latter editor from 1912 to 1920 and again from 1923 to 1941. This design while detracting from the reference value of the work does give it a very dramatic focus.

Despite its title page, Volume IV actually covers only twenty-seven years, from 1912 to the outbreak of World War II, apart from some brief notes about subsequent staff changes. The first ten of these years were marked by a fairly constant struggle for the soul of the *Times* between Lord Northcliffe, who had acquired control in 1908, and the senior editorial staff. Northcliffe's goal was the transformation of the paper into a personal, popular organ which he could play in harmony with the *Daily Mail* and his other shrill Fleet Street instruments. A great technician, he did succeed in brightening its make-up, discouraging its long-windedness, and adding to its readability. But Northcliffe failed to change the institutional attitudes of the *Times* or to shake its fundamental traditions.

Dawson, one of the remarkable group of young imperialists—Lord Lothian and John Buchan were others—who helped Lord Milner pacify South Africa after the Boer War, succeeded the historian, Buckle, as editor in 1912. He was an able man of limited sympathies, whose friendships were confined to a small upper-class circle and who was deplorably ignorant of the non-British world.

In the early days of the First World War, Dawson and Northcliffe cooperated successfully. They were united by their dislike of Asquith and together did much to engineer his displacement as Prime Minister by Lloyd George in 1916. This, perhaps, was Northcliffe's most triumphant hour. "It quickly became a commonplace of politics," write the authors of this history, "that Northcliffe regarded himself as the Napoleon of Fleet Street, and he, as quickly, accommodated himself to the comparison. . . . His most loyal friends could not fail to notice what some of his critics called megalomania."

When Lloyd George ungratefully refused to accept the guidance of Northcliffe, he, in turn, became the object of a press vendetta. In this Dawson refused to join: indeed, he took so paternal an interest in the welfare of the Lloyd George coalition that his owner warned him sharply to guard the *Times's* reputation for independence. After this relations cooled rapidly, until in early 1919 Dawson was badgered into resignation.

His successor was the foreign editor, the brilliant Henry Wickham Steed, who had a wider knowledge of Europe than almost any other living Englishman. On the whole he and Northcliffe saw eye to eye on such matters as the peace treaty and the Irish question, to the settlement of which the *Times* contributed notably by its constructive criticism of government policies. But Steed too suffered from the growing mental instability of his chief, which reached a dramatic climax in June, 1922, when Northcliffe was discovered in a Paris hotel waving a revolver at a shadow which he mistook for an intruder.

Northcliffe died two months later, and almost before he was buried a Homeric battle, described here with illuminating detail, began for control of the *Times*. His brother, Lord Rothermere, put in a fantastically high bid, but thanks to the financial backing of Major J. J. Astor, M. P., it was met by John Walter, representative of the paper's founding family, who held an option under the terms of Northcliffe's will.

Thus the *Times* returned to safe conservative hands, and its future was protected by the institution of a permanent committee of dignitaries—the Lord Chancellor, the Governor of the Bank of England, and so forth—with power to veto transfers of the controlling stock. Steed was dismissed and Dawson brought back to restore and preserve the tradition, with fuller powers than any editor had enjoyed previously. His immediate aim was to introduce in Printing House Square an era "of steadiness; in his own words, 'even of stodginess,'" and he succeeded admirably. The voice of the old "Thunderer" was seldom raised above a low rumble.

More and more Dawson gathered the threads of the *Times* into his own hands. Thus, after the death of Harold Williams, the foreign editor, in 1928, he directed the paper's international department himself with the aid of his assistant editor, Robert Barrington-Ward, whose chief foreign contacts were with German nationalists and who was afflicted with an exaggerated form of that guilt complex in regard to Germany that was common in Britain between the wars.

Faced by the challenge of Nazism, the *Times* aided and abetted the appeasement policies of the National Government, justifying them on the ground that they reflected "average British opinion." But while Dawson professed merely to follow public opinion, he was helping to confuse and etherize it. He ignored the private warnings of his able and alert European staff and toned down or suppressed their dispatches. As this book puts it with admirable candor, "the effect of Baldwin's and Chamberlain's policy, and of Dawson and B-W's [Barrington-Ward's] leaders was to lead the British people to believe in a Germany that never existed."

In 1852, when Napoleon III complained to the British government about adverse comments in the *Times*, Henry Reeve, the foreign editor, replied by stating his conception of the responsibilities of journalists. "To find out the true state of facts, to report them with fidelity, to apply to them strict and fixed principles of justice, humanity, and law, to inform as far as possible the very conscience of nations, and to call down the judgment of the world on what is false, or base, or tyrannical, appear to me to be the first duties of those who write."

Eighty-five years later, after some sharp attacks on the *Times* by the Nazi press, Dawson wrote his Berlin correspondent: "It would really interest me to know precisely what it is in the *Times* that has produced this antagonism in Germany. *I did my utmost, night after night, to keep out of the paper anything that might hurt their susceptibilities*" (my italics). How miserably this confession contrasts with the ideals voiced by Reeve! How muted was the Thunderer! How Barnes and Delane, those great if sometimes wrongheaded editors, must have squirmed in their graves as their successor destroyed the kernel of the tradition they had established, preserving only its husk!

KEITH HUTCHISON

Two Frames of Reference

RELIGION AND THE MODERN MIND. By W. T. Stace. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

WHEN historical criticism of the Bible began to go to work on the foundations of religious fundamentalism; when Comte built a new church on the rock of scientific positivism; when Darwinism seemed to eliminate God or cosmic purpose as unnecessary hypotheses for an explanation of the origin and evolution of life; when Marxism began to expose the social-political roots of religious beliefs and institutions in order to reject all religion as an opiate, a sentiment subsequently echoed by Freud's description of religion as a mass neurosis; when Nietzsche formally opened the history of the next two hundred years of "nihilism" with the declaration that "God is dead"; and when Dostoevski, tormented by the implications of religious and moral nihilism, finally retreated into the Grand Inquisitor's world of miracle, mystery, and authority—when the nineteenth century produced these and other reactions to traditional religious beliefs and practices, the stage was set for the conflict between "religion" and the "modern mind," to which the present work is addressed and on which we have already accumulated an enormous literature.

Professor Stace holds that in order to understand this formidable assault upon traditional religion, we must go back to the origins of the "modern mind" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this, I think, he is quite right. What came to a full flowering, as it were, of agnosticism, skepticism, positivism, naturalism, and atheism during the last hundred years had its seeds in the intellectual changes produced by the astonishing rise and expansion of the physical sciences during the "century of genius"—as Whitehead called the seventeenth century in "Science and the Modern World." The present work, like Whitehead's, is an essay in intellectual rather than social history. It is constructed around three major lines of thought, showing the impact of modern science upon the crucial ideas of medieval Christianity, analyzing the validity of the anti-religious inferences drawn from the scientific view of the world, and attempting a definition of the respective functions and merits of religion and science in the contemporary intellectual situation.

This is done very well. Though concentrating upon a few central ideas, Professor Stace deals with a vast segment of intellectual history, displaying a critical, versatile mind and an admirably lucid prose, devoid of the usual professional jargon, which makes his ideas perfectly clear and the book eminently readable. As far as I can see he is primarily interested in getting across two conclusions, the first being that the scientific repudiation of religious concepts is not justified. If science is believed to refute the ideas of God, cosmic purpose, and an objective morality, this conclusion, according to Mr. Stace, rests upon psychological rather than logical inferences. Secondly, he tries to reconcile religion and science by introducing a radical dualism between "two frames of reference"—a natural, temporal order of reality, "revealed to the intellect and science," and an eternal order, "revealed in the mystic experience of the saint." Since each forms a different kind of reality and is validated by different kinds of experiences, there need not and cannot be any conflict or contradiction.

These points are worked out in detail and often with subtle, enjoyable ingenuity; but it is only fair to add that the final outcome is not altogether novel. Religion in the cross-currents of the "modern mind" has been compelled to reaffirm its position in one of two ways: either by appealing to official mystery and miracle (as in the recent encyclicals of the Pope) or by withdrawing into the private mystery of mysticism. Neither position seems to advance the problem much beyond age-old controversy. Moreover, it is perhaps pertinent to suggest that the general theme of this work rests on a premise which is highly questionable. It is apparently still taken for granted by a great many people, including Mr. Stace, that religion must be "defended" against science. I have come to doubt seriously whether there is much point to this assumption. When the scientific assault upon religion gathered its full momentum during the nineteenth century, there were, roughly speaking, two opposing reactions. Some—the pessimists—feared that the implications of science would undermine and destroy all traditional beliefs and institutions. Others—the optimists or "pragmatists"—hoped that science would do so to build new and better ones. Neither the fears of the one side nor the hopes of the other have been borne out by the facts. If there has been a general trend worth analyzing, I submit it is perhaps not that which the present work shares with so many others, to wit, how the interpretations of science constitute a *menace* to religion and other non-scientific beliefs, but the very opposite one, to wit, how remarkably well the scientific methods and bodies of knowledge have been subordinated to or integrated into the traditional non-scientific beliefs and institutions—whether religious or political. HANS MEYERHOFF

"The Greatest Little People . . ."

SECRET TIBET. By Fosco Maraini. Translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher. Illustrated with Seventy Photographs by the Author. Viking Press. $6.50.

THE title of this book is meant to be a paradox, and it is explained in a conversation between the author and Princess Pemá Chöki of Sikkim, who provides a faint odor of romance throughout the volume. She had just presented him with a number of Tibetan books.

"The whole of Tibet is in the books I'm giving you. We are so different from what people imagine us to be, you know. Often, when I read books written about us by foreigners, I think that they don't understand us at all. A country of saints and ascetics who care nothing for the world, indeed! Ah, you must read the life of Milarepa if you want to understand us. Greed, magic spells, passion, revenge, crimes, love, envy, torture. . . . Besides, what need would there be to preach the law to us so much if we were always good and full of virtue?"

"But that is just why Tibet is so fascinating," I replied. "Would the Tibetans be at all interesting if they were merely figures in a tapestry or in literary miniatures? The fascinating thing about Tibet is its delightful, disastrous, irrepressible humanity. Perhaps one day I shall write a book and call it 'Secret Tibet.' The secret will be, not the strange things that it will reveal, but the normal things in it—real people, flesh and blood, love, desire, repentance, pride, and cowardice. You know what I mean?"

"Yes, but you mustn't forget that religion and the gods have extreme importance in our country."

"Gods never impoverish a people but always enrich it. The invisible gives meaning and depth to the visible. Man only really lives when he lives in a cosmic drama."

"To sum it all up then, considering that there are so few of us, and that we have created so many beautiful things, might one also perhaps say that the Tibetans are the greatest little people in the world?"

The scenes of the book are the mountains, bare or forested or snow-covered; the hard stony plains; the dirty villages; the forbidding temples. The characters are lamas, medicine men, officials, villagers, but mostly lamas. More than once the author comments on the dirt with which human beings are encrusted and the diseases they suffer—his lamas are far different from the one memorialized by Ogden Nash, who had "no need for penicillin." The major subject matter of the book is religion and the art associated with it. There is a brief, clear account of the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine which Lamaism exemplifies, and numerous specific illustrations of Lamaism as practiced by lamas and served by the laity. Its macabre and erotic symbolism, which strikes any visitor as its most conspicuous feature, is described as it appears in ceremony, sculpture, and painting.

The book, however, is not a treatise on religion, art, sociology. It is primarily the record of an artistic temperament

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stimulated by overwhelming scenery and a self-confident culture. In this sense it is a travel book, but not one that chronicles the stages of the journey, the physical difficulties encountered, the health precautions required. It is an account of Tibet and its people on the subtlest human level.

Presumably the original Italian language of the book is of high poetic quality, but it cannot have suffered much, if any, in Eric Mosbacher's translation, which is rich in vocabulary, sensitive, and lively. The author's seventy illustrations, of scenery, habitations, people, religious edifices, works of art, are of the highest technical competence and superbly enrich the text.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Far Eastern Policy

THE AMERICAN RECORD IN THE FAR EAST, 1945-1951. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. The Macmillan Company. Issued under the Auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations. $3.

THE KOREA STORY. By John C. Caldwell in Collaboration with Lesley Frost. Henry Regnery Company. $3.

BOTH these books deal with American post-war policy in the Far East, but they are poles apart. Professor Latourette has attempted a judicious appraisal of our record in the area stretching from Pakistan to Japan. John Caldwell, who worked in the information programs of Army and State Department, gives a spicy, opinionated account of his own experiences in Korea. Latourette is the historian asking what happened and why; Caldwell is the reporter telling what he saw on his beat.

Did we have a wise and consistent policy in the Far East after the war? What were the crucial decisions, and were there alternative lines of action which might have prevented the disaster in China and the war in Korea? Could we have stemmed communism without strengthening colonialism in Indo-China? Questions such as these will perplex Americans and employ historians for many years. Professor Latourette is one of America's most respected historians, dean among those specializing on Eastern Asia. In 200 pages he examines the public record and gives a tentative appraisal. His book is a scrupulously honest attempt to determine whether we blundered, with what consequences, and why.

The record, he concludes, is very uneven in spite of general adherence to a set of worthy principles. This unevenness was due to the fact that American action was only one ingredient in a highly complex and constantly changing series of situations which differed fundamentally from country to country. Given our continuing involvements in the Far East, the problems and aspirations of the nations concerned, and the unfolding conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, Professor Latourette believes the record was fairly good in India and Southern Asia, doubtful in the Philippines, poor in China, excellent in Japan, and fumbling in Korea. But he repeatedly cautions that judgment can only be tentative. Japan looks good but could turn out badly; China looks bad, but our serious defeat there may have been unavoidable. This sort of cautious appraisal certainly will not satisfy the critics, and it does not make exciting reading.

The chapters on China and Korea are naturally the most controversial. It must have been very difficult for Professor Latourette, with his strongly Christian, anti-Communist view, to maintain detachment when dealing with what he clearly regards as tragedy for these two countries. He finds that American policy in China had serious errors—the Stilwell appointment, Yalta, Marshall's attempt to bring the Communists into the Chinese government. American military and economic aid produced meager results. Yet in examining various alternatives, from withdrawal to all-out intervention, he believes that the policy of generous assistance, advice, and limited commitment was the only feasible one. The Wedemeyer recommendations were clearly impracticable. It is apparently his conclusion that the Nationalist defeat was foredoomed as early as 1945. And even though in China "the United States experienced the greatest defeat in its history," Latourette finds consolation in the cultural influences he feels sure will outlast Communist ideological reforms and hate campaigns.

The Korea story is treated briefly and soberly. Latourette finds the principal reasons for American difficulty to lie in lack of foresight and in Soviet competition. In his much fuller treatment Caldwell gives a vivid account of the American occupation, the U. N.-sponsored Korean elections of 1948 and 1950, the operations of E. C. A. and the United States Information Service, the noble work of American missionaries, and the frantic American evacuation when the North Korean army struck in June of 1950.

Caldwell is an idealistic young man who threw himself into the cause of independence and democracy in Korea,, who came to love the Korean people, and who developed a strong abhorrence of the North Korean regime. He has an interesting story. In my opinion the book is marred, however, by its intemperate, spiteful denunciation of the State Department and particularly the Foreign Service. There is doubtless much justice in his criticism of ineptitude, waste, and strangling red tape. His description of the gigantic and generally futile American embassy in Seoul is shocking. But the offhand implication of treason as the underlying cause of American failure in Korea and China is smear. It tends, furthermore, to obscure the valid criticisms of our operations overseas which Caldwell so ably presents.

C. MARTIN WILBUR

Trade and Tribulation

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Jacob Viner. The Free Press. $2.75.

JACOB VINER, a leading international-trade theorist, has cast a cold eye on the theory and practice of commerce among nations. In a manner distinguished by painful clarity and frequent acerbity he diagnoses the ailments of world trade as stemming from overambitious efforts of nations to plan their own economic existence, impediments placed in the way of private capital movements from richer to poorer countries, and, finally, relentless population pressures. And he suggests no easy remedies.

In fact, what he offers is a catalogue of fallacies often enjoyed by economists and laymen in common. It is a mistake to believe that the theories of John Maynard Keynes can cure dollar shortages in Europe and elsewhere. It is another to assume that national economic planning solves more old problems than it creates new ones. In an especially grim lecture Mr. Viner demonstrates relentlessly how the most moderate of planners is forced into ever wider measures of control, as the goals of his plan are evaded and thwarted by the activities of the uncontrolled. These same pressures logically entail supervision of foreign trade and reinforce the trend toward autarchy. Here as elsewhere no short review can do justice to the subtlety and force of Mr. Viner's reasoning.

Mr. Viner finds much in the classical tradition of trade theory which is still useful. The gold standard did impart a stability to trade among nations which no device since tried has matched. Analysis in terms of regional specialization and division of labor makes much better sense than the frantic efforts of the least likely of nations to industrialize at all costs. Industry is not always more advantageous than agriculture. Are not Switzerland, Denmark, and Australia richer than Italy? Shifts of capital and other resources to countries which can profitably use them still make excellent logic. Goods continue to move in response to price changes, just as Ricardo and Mill always maintained.

In contrast to many of his fellows, however, Mr. Viner has a sense of the practical. Delightful as classical theory may be, the world to which it applied fully is a sad memory.

> The gold standard is gone, probably beyond recall. . . . Whatever may be the true price-elasticities of demand, domestic price-rigidities, as the result of monopoly, of collective bargaining, and of official ceilings and supports, leave them limited opportunities . . . within national economies, and high tariffs, import quotas, and exchange licences . . . limit their operation in the foreign-trade field.

Where are we, then? If we accept Mr. Viner's demonstration, modern planning and Keynesian policies will solve neither the problem of dollar deficit in Europe nor economic development in much of the remainder of the world. For reasons good or bad, free international trade cannot be restored. Nor is a code of trading manners feasible between free and controlled areas. Perhaps only the fool is happy in such a universe. Mr. Viner, no fool, can see nothing ahead but "piecemeal adjustments where the pressures are greatest" and "avowed or disguised improvisation."

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Of Liberty and Equality

DEMOCRACY AT BAY. By Felix Somary. Translated by Norbert Guterman. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WHY DEMOCRACY? By Alf Ross. Translated by David Gatley-Philip. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

DEMOCRACY is not only the most difficult form of government; it is also the hardest to write about intelligently. Two impeccably translated European importations forcefully demonstrate the truth of this saying.

Dr. Felix Somary, a European banker and economist, purports to offer a concise diagnosis of democracy by employing a single method—generalizations based on epigrams which are either commonplaces or of questionable validity. (Here are but two of the "twenty inversive propositions" which "determine modern politics, wars, and public finance": "The more rights a man has, the less he is aware of them"; and "The greater the advance of civilization, the less does freedom prevail.") Since he neither understands nor cares for democracy, the results are pretty depressing.

To be sure, the author expresses some praiseworthy sentiments: he hates war and paints a grim picture of its devastations; he opposes tyranny and champions freedom. But his definition of freedom and of democracy must sound strange to non-members of the Liberty League. He professes that direct taxes, social legislation, permanent bureaucracies, the closed shop, all contradict the very essence of democracy. He cites with relish De Tocqueville's dictum that freedom and equality are incompatible and defends John Locke's stress on property rights. The essence of freedom, he writes, lies not in the right of the individual to choose his church or school, but in professional privileges of guilds against the state; the ideals of nationalism and of racial equality have invariably led to tyranny. To put it plainly: Dr. Somary parlays a half-truth—that revolutionary mass-movements give rise to despotic élites such as the Jacobins—into a reactionary philosophy of politics.

His detailed opinions amply confirm this judgment: he attacks Keynesians as currency "fanatics"; he advocates deflation ("From the economic point of view a period of exhausting wars should be followed by the severest restrictions on expenditures for a generation"); he has only contempt for trade unionists ("The worker taking over his heritage is interested only in his right to belong to a union. His organization thinks, speaks, and acts for him. In so far as he plays a role personally, his political outlook consists of violent opposition to foreigners, to other nations or races, and opinions other than his own"); and he extols, in thoroughly unhistorical fashion, his hero, the bourgeoisie ("The middle class has always represented only a minority of the population, but all civilization springs from it").

This remarkable point of view is buttressed by some astonishing distortions and oversimplifications of history, and we are forced to conclude—to borrow Dr. Somary's favorite device—that the more pretentious a book the less value it is likely to have.

Alf Ross's "Why Democracy?" is a far less spectacular but far sounder effort. Professor Ross, who teaches Public Law at the University of Copenhagen, opens his book with a useful historical retrospect, tracing the roots of democratic thought back to contract theories,

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to the right of resistance, and to the democratic seventeenth-century pamphlets of the English Levelers. He continues with an analysis of the two basic approaches to democratic theory—Rousseau's dogmatic reliance on the *volonté générale* and Bentham's pragmatic proof of the utility of democracy. Professor Ross then considers in illuminating detail the liberties and obligations of the citizens in a democracy without slighting democracy's opponents and critics.

He concludes, soundly enough, that liberty and equality, far from being incompatible, are essential to each other in modern mass-society, and he argues that "the moderate social-democratic criticism of democracy under a capitalist economy is justified." However, the chapter on the social conditions of democracy, helpful as it is, does little more than to indicate the range of social and economic problems with which modern democratic thought must grapple.

In my judgment "Why Democracy?" should prove extremely serviceable to that reader who wants a sensibly argued and reliably grounded introduction to all aspects of democratic theory and practice. Still, this book in no way supersedes A. D. Lindsay's famous "The Modern Democratic State," which it resembles in many respects. To the social scientist or political philosopher "Why Democracy?" offers nothing that is new. The book that integrates the passion for freedom of nineteenth-century liberalism with the tragic twentieth-century realities of power and of man's nature has yet to be written.

PETER GAY

Books in Brief

PIONEER'S PROGRESS. By Alvin Johnson. Viking. $5. The autobiography of a great educator and rugged personality—a reservoir of vitality and optimism whose energy overflowed into many fields. Born in 1874 of Danish American parents on a remote Nebraskan farm, the author attended the University of Nebraska, enlisted as a private in the Spanish-American War, studied at the Columbia School of Political Science, taught at Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Nebraska, Texas, Chicago, Stanford, and Cornell, helped edit the *New Republic,* collaborated in founding the New School for Social Research and served as its director until his retirement in 1945; meanwhile serving on various state and federal commissions, editing encyclopedias, writing a novel, inaugurating the University in Exile, which enriched American education by rescuing many distinguished scholars from the Nazis and bringing them to this country. Finally he found time to write what, with characteristic modesty, he calls "this exceedingly long autobiography of a common man." "Education," he says, "has been to me from childhood a consuming passion. I wanted to know as much as I could about as many things as possible, but above all about the life of man." This passionate curiosity, so evident on every page, gives richness and zest to a remarkable record of accomplishment.

THE SCANDALMONGER. By T. H. White. Putnam's. $3.75. T. H. White is a contemporary Englishman who has written novels, a curiously savage nature book called "The Goshawk," and at least one previous study of the eighteenth century. Some sort of never quite explained bitterness runs through most of his work, and the present book might well be subtitled "Some unflattering side-lights on an overpraised age; with incidental observations to the general effect that our own is not as much better as we think." Some of Mr. White's anecdotes are familiar, but a good many are not, and they range from the brutal to the scabrous as they concern themselves with such subjects as rakes, duelists, crooked politicians, and madmen. They make lively if somewhat horrendous reading and may be recommended especially to those who think that the "charm" of the eighteenth century has been a bit overdone.

STRANGE ALTARS. By Marcus Bach. Bobbs-Merrill. $3. The author, who has written several books on minor religions, spent some time in Haiti attempting to understand the nature and witness the rites of Voodooism. He found it to be in essence an African ritual magic driven underground by the church and specializing, like other primitive religions, in demoniac possession, second sight, and prophecy under the hypnotic influence of repetitious music and dancing. A book of impressions rather than of analysis, but with some interesting detailed descriptions of Voodoo worship.

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THIS WAS PUBLISHING. By Donald Sheehan. Indiana. $3.75. An admirable study of the problems and practices of book publishing from the Civil War to the First World War. Then as now pessimism was an occupational disease in an industry so bedeviled by difficulties that its continued health seems nothing short of miraculous. Paper books, cut prices, lack of outlets, high costs and low profits—decade after decade the same perils threaten. Even television had its percursor in the bicycle craze, which in 1896 was said by the *Publishers' Weekly* to be "demoralizing the equilibrium of the trade."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

EVERY clown fancies himself as Hamlet; and actresses of straight parts apparently fancy themselves as B. Lillie. Once in a blue moon the illusion becomes reality—I am thinking of the success with which Jean-Louis (Baptiste) Barrault impersonates the Prince of Denmark; but the exceptions occur only often enough to prove the rule, and B. Davis as the singing comedienne in "Two's Company" (Alvin Theater) is no exception. The clown is not in her. The volatility, the variety, the infectious and compelling gaiety of face, figure, voice, movement—these are missing. So is that charm which transcends—I'm thinking again of B. Lillie—the most grotesque and unbecoming dress and posture. Miss Davis's best numbers are those in which none of these qualities are called for. She does a good, and a sporting, imitation of Tallulah Bankhead attending a show in which Bette Davis is starred, and she is funny as the overworked slattern housewife whose husband is madly jealous. Her performances in other numbers range from passable to very bad. So do the numbers, and Miss Davis's attempt to carry on the tradition of Helen Morgan and even Mary Martin in a song about her man descends, thanks to the lyrics of none other than Ogden Nash, to a vulgarity of which I've seldom heard the like. Vulgarity, indeed, has several innings in a show that has everything in it, including the kitchen stove in the skit called "Jealousy."

Many of the sketches in "Two's Company" start off with a good idea, but few of them fulfil their promise. The writing, as the saying goes, is very uneven. So are the performances. Hiram Sherman is consistently funny, David Burns intermittently so. Similarly there are some good lines here and there. Everyone is quoting the remark that the rich are getting very pushy since Eisenhower's election. I liked even better a comment on economics—and economists—that cropped up in one of the worst of the sketches. A visiting Britisher, explaining his country's difficulties, envisages a truly critical situation in which "exports and imports exceed each other."

The music is mediocre. As for the dancing, it brings me right back to the observation I began with, the tendency of clowns to turn Hamlets. At some point or other Jerome Robbins, choreographer of the delightful "Fancy Free" and "On the Town," discovered that the female of the species is more deadly than the male, and apparently he has been brooding on that eternal half-truth ever since. The old Jerome Robbins is apparent in the number called "Baby Couldn't Dance," and since it is the first dance number one has high hopes that Robbins is himself again, even though the first part of this number is by far the best. The next number, "Roundabout," is "serious," sentimental, and dull, but the fact that it is the girl who is left out at least indicates that Mr. Robbins may have given over his new "philosophy." In the third number, "Esther," the choreography is brilliant and fast and Maria Karnilova dances it beautifully; but Esther, again, is the deadly female, as savage and cynical as they come. And in "Haunted Hot Spot," Nora Kaye, fresh from "The Cage," is the sultry villain of the piece. Some of the choreography is good, particularly the routine of the piano-player, and this time, at least, the lady gets shot for her cruelty, but as a whole the ballet is maudlin and tiresome. Still, I found in it a ray of hope. Perhaps by the device of killing the female Mr. Robbins can exorcise his currents "hants" and get back to the light-hearted yet pointed commentary of "Fancy Free," which, whether he knows it or not, was far more serious as art and as commentary, too, than "The Cage" or "Haunted Hot Spot."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE second group of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival again offers performances of works by Mozart—this time three of the great piano concertos, K.271, 482, and 595 (each on one record), and two engaging minor works, the Piano Concerto K.449 and Flute Concerto K.313 (both on one record). And again it is exciting to hear the orchestral parts with the heightened life and effect they have with Casals's powerful inflection of melodic phrase and accompaniment figuration. But such treatment of the orchestral part calls for similar powerful inflection of the piano part, like Schnabel's in the old Victor set of K.595; and instead one gets, with the piano's first entrance after the long orchestral introduction, the shock of Horszowski's delicate playing, and additional shocks

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with the piano's replies to the orchestra in their interplay throughout the first movement. In addition, with the piano merely murmuring its figuration the development section in this movement doesn't build up the momentum that Schnabel's treatment of that figuration makes so exciting. The same contrast is heard in the slow movement, in particular in the middle section—this time between the power in the orchestra's accompanying figures and the delicacy of the piano's sustained cantilena above them. All of which leaves one entirely unprepared for the energy and effectiveness of Horszowski's playing in the lilting finale; and in the end one has to wonder why he doesn't play with the same energy in the earlier movements.

Horszowski's playing has an inner cohesiveness and outer clarity even when it is delicate; Serkin's, in the first movement of K. 482, has a nerveless feebleness and lack of clear outline that shocks one even more in contrast with the orchestra; but it improves in the slow movement and is sufficiently energetic in the finale.

Approaching the performance of K.271 with memories of the sentimentality and pretentiousness of Myra Hess's matured playing, one is agreeably surprised to hear only the musicality that charmed one when she first played here thirty years ago. It makes her performances in the first and second movements highly satisfying, even if not quite what Gieseking's are in the old Columbia version; but in the finale she hasn't the dazzling speed in the Presto sections, the cohesive tension of phrase outline and rhythm in the Menuetto episode, that raise the Gieseking performance to sheer incandescence.

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Another agreeable surprise is Istomin's playing in K.449—with a new incisiveness, in addition to its youthful freshness and buoyancy, that gives humorous effect to the finale. And very beautiful is Wummer's performance in K.313.

But what is breath-taking—with the unique tone whose tensile strength lends itself to the equally unique sustained and impassioned phrasing—is Casals's own performance with the orchestra of an arrangement of the Aria from Bach's Organ Pastorale in F, on the bonus record that comes with the complete set.

Mozart's Serenade K.361 for 13 winds is on a Capitol record, played by the Los Angeles Woodwinds under William Steinberg's direction. Parts of the work —chiefly the slow introduction to the first movement, the Adagio, and the Theme and Variations—are very fine; and throughout there is Mozart's marvelous writing for the instruments individually and in combination. The performance offers a realization of this writing in the beautiful playing and phrasing by the individual musicians, and the carefully adjusted combination of the individual strands in beautiful textures.

The Harty Suite from Handel's Water Music is played on an RCA Victor record by Münch with the Boston Symphony; and one of Columbia's new lower-priced Entré series offers a dubbing of the old Harty performance with the London Philharmonic. The superb Harty performance is reproduced astonishingly well; the Münch performance is less good—with the Air played too fast and the Bourrée a little overdeliberately—and the Boston Symphony violins are poorly reproduced. The Victor record offers in addition an unexciting performance of the Overture to Mozart's "Figaro" and the uninteresting Overture to Schumann's "Genoveva"; the Columbia record the excellent Harty-London Philharmonic performance of Harty's arrangement of Handel's Royal Fireworks Music.

Jerome Kern's superb songs from "Roberta" are excellently sung on a Columbia record by Joan Roberts, Jack Cassidy, Kaye Ballard, and others with chorus and orchestra under Lehman Engel's direction. The music of Lehar's "The Merry Widow," well sung by Dorothy Kirsten and Robert Rounseville among others, on another Columbia record, I didn't enjoy.

And after Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith Columbia has given us on LP another of the legendary greats of jazz, the cornettist Bix Beiderbecke. Years ago one of his recorded performances was described in one of Otis Ferguson's most felicitous phrases—"as fresh and glistening as creation itself"; as for me, struggling to describe what made the playing unique and, for some people, more exciting and moving than any other, I spoke of "the unfailing continuity in [the] varied invention; the tensile strength of the continuous line of sound, and at the same time its delicacy; the boldly soaring attack or rise to a high point, the sensitive fall away from this high point or at the end of a phrase." I find these terms inadequate, but I have no better ones for what, in Beiderbecke's first phrase in "I'm Coming, Virginia," has sent chills down my spine and brought tears to my eyes. This and other of his outstanding recorded performances—"Singin' the Blues," "Clarinet Marmalade," "Ostrich Walk," "Riverboat Shuffle"—are on Columbia GL 508; and on 507 there are the outstanding "Jazz Me Blues," "Sorry," "At the Jazz Band Ball," "Since My Best Gal Turned Me Down," "Thou Swell," and "Ol' Man River"—the last two being examples of his wonderfully sensitive "straight" playing of hit songs. GL 509—with only a couple of good performances in addition to a group of Whiteman horrors in which Beiderbecke is heard briefly—can be skipped.

CONTRIBUTORS

ABBIE HUSTON EVANS has published two volumes of poems, "Bright North" and "Outcrop."

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PETER GAY will shortly publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

Letters to the Editors

An Anonymous Letter From the U. N.

Dear Sirs: I am one of the many intimidated members of the unhappy staff of the U. N. We read Leonard B. Boudin's article Dark Days at the U. N. in *The Nation* of December 6 with great interest, and we are grateful that there are still some attorneys in the United States who have the courage to defend peace-loving people. I am a national of a country that was invaded by the Nazis. My husband and my parents were killed by them. As I watch developments in the U. N. I see the pattern that Germany and later Austria went through, and I am horrified at the resemblance.

Please remember when you write on the U. N. personnel that journalists, writers, and top-ranking directors, as well as the rank and file of the secretariat, read every word said about us (and there are many here eager to see objective writing on the subject). We could not get enough copies of *The Nation* for December 6 to supply the people who were eager to read the article. Many of us had it typed.

If you could follow up that article with a longer, more explicit one, you would be performing a service to those who do not dare write and ask for another. Many thanks for the work you are doing for us.

New York U. N. EMPLOYEE

Another Dreyfus Case?

Dear Sirs: After the French Dreyfus Case was legally considered closed the court of public opinion busted it wide open. The Rosenberg case, considered closed by many people today, can be busted wide open as soon as important facts "freely" withheld by our "free" press manage to get loose. This letter will touch on only two of those facts.

One, which has received very limited publicity, is that the jury verdict and death sentence rest on the shakiest foundation—the testimony of two self-confessed spies who had the strongest incentive for lying. David Greenglass was unsentenced at the time he testified, and Ruth Greenglass, a co-conspirator in the indictment, was never brought to trial. The American conscience would stir more vigorously than it does if more people were aware of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals published opinion that "doubtless, if that [Greenglass's] testimony were disregarded, the conviction could not stand."

Another fact, *which has received no publicity whatever,* is that, whereas scientists, as far back as 1945, stated that there was no A-bomb secret for us to keep since the scientists of all countries knew it, the lawyers defending the Rosenbergs seem to have operated on the misconception that there *was* a secret. The trial transcript (pp. 499-500) shows that when the prosecutor introduced a diagram drawn from memory by David Greenglass, allegedly a reproduction of an A-bomb sketch which Greenglass claimed he had given to Rosenberg in 1945, the defense attorney requested that the court seal the sketch "so that it remains secret to the court, the jury, and counsel." The diagram, duly sealed, became inaccessible to scientists who might easily have exposed it as a brainstorm or fraud. That sealed sketch in the Rosenberg case bears a striking resemblance to the infamous *bordereau* in the Dreyfus Case, sealed legally by the French military court on the grounds of French national security *and unsealed by an aroused public opinion.*

In this same connection, the transcript further shows (pp. 500-501) that when the prosecutor asked Greenglass to explain his diagram, the Rosenberg defense came forth with the request that the courtroom be cleared of spectators while Greenglass was describing it. This explanation, *Time* said, "made little sense," and the science editor of *Life* thought his description of an implosion bomb "illogical, if not downright unworkable." But the dramatic clearing of the courtroom and the solemn sealing of an open "secret," both done at the inspiration of the defense attorneys, could not have failed to impress the jury, confuse the public, and lend a semblance of moral validity to the unprecedented death sentence handed down.

If, as seems to this layman, this was a serious error in judgment on the part of the defense attorneys, they could at this point best serve the interests of their hard-pressed clients by entering a motion for a new trial. Such a move, even if it carried no weight with legalistic-minded judges, is bound to carry plenty of weight with the court of public opinion before which the Rosenberg's case must now be actively prosecuted.

And speaking of the court of public opinion, I must sadly report that the left and liberal press, normally effective instruments of that court, are becoming infected with something which lies very close to thought control and censorship. As examples, a left publication, the *National Guardian,* which was active in publicizing the injustice in the Rosenberg case but failed to note the defense errors, rejected an ad for my recently published pamphlet, "Freedom's Electrocution," on the ground that "to pick flaws in the conduct of the defense is now an academic matter." On the other hand, the *New Republic,* known as liberal, refused to advertise my pamphlet on the ground that "the Rosenbergs are a Communist cause, and this being so, your advertisement falls in the category of those we no longer accept."

Amid this spreading bigotry and confusion, *The Nation,* which hospitably accepted the ad, shines like a beacon of *genuine* liberalism.

Los Angeles IRWIN EDELMAN

Why the Democrats Lost

Dear Sirs: The Nation's symposium of November 15, The Meaning of the Election, presents many good reasons for the Republican victory but does not, in my opinion, come to grips with the most important reason of them all. This, I believe, is that most of its contributors were so busy explaining why Eisenhower won that they failed to ask themselves the even more basic question: why did Stevenson lose?

The answer lies, more than anywhere else, in the inability of the Democratic Party to formulate a program that would provide a really dynamic alternative to the hopes, threats, and promises of the Republicans. Much of the Democratic campaign, in fact, geared itself to two talking points, both of them essentially negative: (1) "You never had it so good"; (2) "We Democrats are really just as anti-Communist as you Republicans, though we differ from you in the methods to be used for combating communism."

The first slogan, as *The Nation* rightly pointed out in its November 15 editorial, angered multitudes of voters for whom it was simply not true. Not only this, but it antagonized many who recognized that the Democratic Administration deserved no credit for a prosperity based on an artificial war boom—a boom, they were afraid, which might collapse overnight if peace were achieved. At a pre-election political symposium here in Philadelphia, for example, a Democratic spokesman was asked from the floor what economic steps the Democrats proposed to take in the event of a settlement in Korea. Faced by this question, the spokesman displayed signs of embarrassment and was unable to give any definite reply. Apparently the possibility had never even occurred to him.

As to the second talking point, its unfortunate effect was to place the Democrats in the unhappy role of "me-too-ers," thereby causing them in effect to indorse McCarthyite objectives, even while protesting against McCarthyite procedures. To millions of voters it must have seemed that if the Republicans were right in diagnosing the chief danger to the Republic as Communist subversion, they must be equally right in the methods used by them to combat this danger.

This tacit acceptance by the Democrats of the basic Republican thesis prevented them from taking a constructive position effectively distinguishing them from the Republicans on many vital questions of foreign policy—notably that of a peace settlement in Korea. Hence when Eisenhower promised to go to Korea, Stevenson was powerless to give any adequate answer. If early in his campaign Stevenson had courageously pledged himself to an immediate cease-fire in Korea as a preliminary to further negotiations, and if he had steadily hammered away on this theme, I am confident that he could have been elected. This, however, he was obviously unable to do, for it was precisely such a cease-fire proposal that the Democratic Administration had rejected at the very beginning of the Korean truce talks and had thereafter consistently continued to reject.

PUBLICATIONS

FREEDOM'S ELECTROCUTION

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The 1952 election demonstrates that the uneasy coalition which today calls itself the Democratic Party has become a political anomaly, a thing of shreds and patches. It was the realization of this fact as long ago as 1948 which at that time caused some people to look with favor on the creation of a third political party. To point to the subsequent history of that party is no real answer to its supporters. For what has in fact since happened need not have occurred if in the earlier stages so many Americans had not allowed themselves to be intimidated or confused by the intellectual atmosphere which was then already all-pervasive. Now, four years later, many readers of *The Nation* will perhaps agree that a Truman defeat in 1948 might have been a good deal better than the Eisenhower-Nixon victory we see today.

In 1949, when I was in China, I was not surprised to find most Chinese intellectuals welcoming the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek government, but I nevertheless felt keen disappointment at the failure of these same intellectuals to offer any real criticism of the government that followed. Since returning from China, however, events have forced me to adopt a more charitable attitude. Instead of pondering the failure of the intellectuals to speak out in authoritarian China, I have been compelled to wonder how it is possible for so many well-intentioned Americans in this democratic nation of ours to have retreated, step by step and with amazingly little outcry, from the concepts of decency, fair play, and open-mindedness which were once taken for granted.

During the next four years there will undoubtedly be much soul-searching among the many persons who, like myself, voted for the Democratic program, not because it was inspiring or seemed to promise peace, but because it seemed the lesser of two evils. Let us hope that during these coming years we and the world can retain sufficient sanity to save ourselves from the holocaust of a third world war.

Philadelphia DERK BODDE

Mugo's Defense

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation* may be interested to know what finally happened to Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, the Kenya student who was unceremoniously ordered out of this country at the height of the political disturbance in his homeland. (See The Terror That Walks by Day, *The Nation,* November 29.) Mugo's friends at Lincoln University asked two alumni who compose the New York law firm of Mais and McDougald to represent Mugo. This firm secured the services of an outstanding specialist on immigration law, Jack Wasserman, to assist it.

On December 1 a suit was filed in Federal Court asking that cause be shown why Mugo's visa should be revoked and seeking an injunction against his arrest and deportation. The suit was withdrawn when government attorneys gave assurance that Mugo would not be molested until his case comes up for trial.

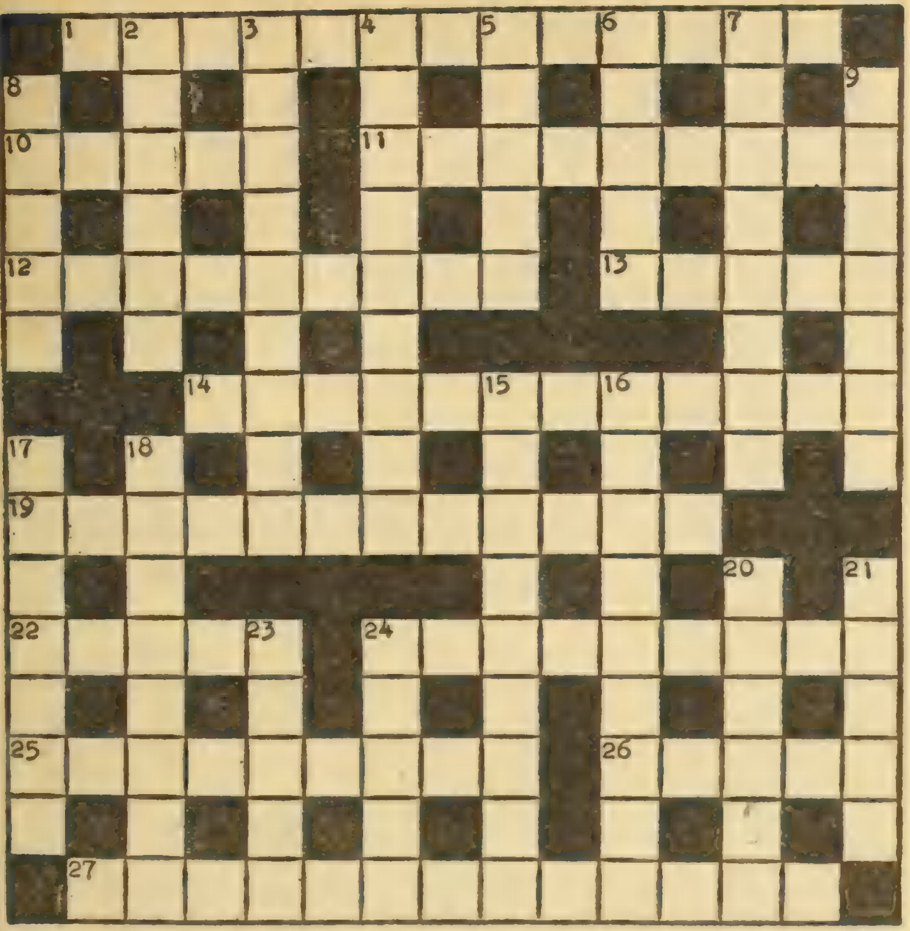
But Mugo's case is not fully won, though his lawyers are convinced he has broken no immigration laws. In their desperation to make a case, there is evidence that government lawyers are going to try to pin a "subversive" label on Mugo because he was active in the militant but non-Communist Kenya African Union. There are indications, too, that they plan to accuse him of "subversion" because of his close association with some of us at Roosevelt College who were unfairly smeared some years ago by the infamous Broyles committee. The case may be an extremely important one because the question what constitutes "subversion" under the terms of the McCarran act will be raised.

Mugo is penniless. Mais and McDougald are giving their services free, but money is needed to pay for specialist services, secretarial work, and travel expenses. President Bond of Lincoln University and members of his faculty have organized The Friends of Mugo Gatheru—a Committee to Insure an American Education to an African Student. Contributions are urgently needed. Regular reports on the progress of the case will be sent to contributors, along with an audited statement of expenditures. Any funds remaining from the defense will be used to further Mugo's education. A contribution today will be a real Christmas gift for Mugo. It should be mailed to Friends of Mugo, in care of Dr. Thomas M. Jones, Professor of History, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Chicago ST. CLAIR DRAKE

Crossword Puzzle No. 496

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Greyhound might be in it, but it often needs props. (5, 8)
- 10 Plant mud (at first, of course). (5)
- 11 Another name for tossing the caber? (It goes into the ground!) (9)
- 12 And more specifically, the parts of 11 get swapped in the forest. (5, 4)
- 13 Sort of like a ruler, but certainly not sort of small. (5)
- 14 On the other hand, you'd be just as good. (12)
- 19 The composer of the *Nell Gwyn* music certainly doesn't sound very British. (6, 6)
- 22 It's a joke with us, if we get it back in time. (3-2)
- 24 Such fruits burst open, and sort of hide an odor. (9)
- 25 Sliding scale for musicians? (9)
- 26 Medium instrument member. (5)
- 27 Not private cars, obviously! (7, 6)

DOWN

- 2 Pope said Satan does by making rich, not making poor. (6)
- 8 Fine old bodily fluid? (A child might hope to get around it, if his dad happens to be in one.) (4, 5)
- 4 You might, with a keen result. (9)
- 5 Land support, when an essential part of the cavalry is regrouped. (5)
- 6 Relatively subtle. (5)
- 7 Would it be found in both fish market and gun store? (8)
- [illegible] 24 across, perhaps. (5)
- 9 Frisky, when just one short day? Dark, rather. (7)
- 15 War mother in the underground movement? (9)
- 16 Convey emotion. (9)
- 17 Time to eat? (Is this what Garcia waited on?) (7)
- 18 Implying a change of wives and a departure from the board. (4, 4)
- 20 Is he on edge in church? (6)
- 21 Lunchers may be due back to make amends. (5)
- 23 Sticks and stones might be. (5)
- 24 Mobile girl, well-known in opera? (5)

✻

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 495

ACROSS:—1 LOOK-OUT MAN; 6, 12 and 24 Across KEEP YOUR WITS ABOUT YOU; 10 OFFICES; 11 GRAMPUS; 13 FORUM; 15 OARED; 17 OVIPAROUS; 19 BULL'S-EYES; 21 TERSE; 23 SCULL; 27 INERTIA; 28 KALMUCK; 30 STANDPOINT.

DOWN:—1 LEON; 3 OSCAR; 4 TESTIMONY; [illegible] ARGUS; 7 ESPARTO; 8 PAST MASTER; 9 HALF-MAST; 14 COMBUSTION; 16 DESOLATE; 18, 2 and [illegible] IT'S NO SKIN OFF YOUR NOSE; 20 LOUVERS; 22 RIO MUNI; 24 AWAIT; 25 TULIP; 26 SKIT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Progress Report No. 1

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Dear Friend:

The first response to the announcement that I am launching a weekly news letter of my own, was extraordinary. In less than three weeks, a mailing of 30,000 letters and ads in the New York Times, the New York Post, The Nation, and the National Guardian, drew 3,000 paid-up subscriptions to I. F. Stone's Weekly.

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